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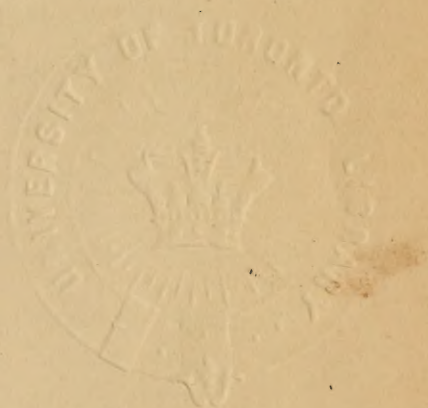
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The Forum.

SEPTEMBER, 1892.

THE ALARMING PROPORTION OF VENAL VOTERS.

I AM a voter and am interested in political questions. But I have never taken an active part in politics and have never held any civil office. My interest in the subject of venal voting is therefore less political than social. It is such an interest as any person might feel who loves his country, respects himself and his fellow-man, and stops occasionally to think.

Moreover, such interest as I have is of recent date. The history of its birth is on this wise: In the fall of 1890 I was chosen, by Hartford town meeting, chairman of a committee on out-door alms, and it became my duty to study with considerable care the whole pauper question. This brought into view the tramp problem; and last summer the "Quill Club," of New York, asked me to write a paper for them on that theme. Thereupon I set to work to inform myself concerning the habits of these curious folk, and sent out blocks of question blanks to mayors of various cities, requesting attention to them from proper officers. These blanks included the inquiry, "When and where did you last vote?" Thirteen hundred and forty-nine of the blanks were returned filled, from fourteen different cities or institutions.

In most instances the information was gathered by the chief of police or his delegate, in all cases through direct questions to the tramp; and it has been assumed by me, in weighing the answers, that they were reliable, with but few exceptions, at least whenever the evidence was unfavorable to the witness. Of the one thousand and eighty-six who replied to the question on voting, five hundred and

three had voted—one hundred and fifteen within a year; one hundred and fifty-two, one year ago; seventy, two years ago; fifty-eight, three years ago; twenty-three, four years ago; eighty-five, over four years ago. Many had spread themselves politically over several States. One at Worcester had voted in California within the year.

On reading these records, the question naturally arose, How would such persons vote? There are dark whisperings, with not a little newspaper talk, about corruption. Can there be something in it, after all? That there might be was more than hinted at by certain facts which had come to me incidentally not long before in the committee work already alluded to. It had been ascertained that the doors of the Hartford Almshouse were thrown wide open early in the morning of every election day, and that the inmates returned in the evening quite uniformly intoxicated, a mystery the mysteriousness of which was not diminished by the facts that such inmates were supposed to be impecunious and that drinking-places were all closed by the law on election days. Furthermore, from November 1, 1882, to January 19, 1891, an average of one hundred and thirty-seven persons was found to have been convicted before the police court twice or oftener; forty-nine, three times or oftener; fifteen, four times or oftener. And since each conviction was found to represent an average of three and nine-tenths arrests, these one hundred and thirty-seven were under arrest at least eight times apiece; while forty-nine of them must have been behind bars twelve times and fifteen about sixteen times.

Careful examination showed that the greater number of these persons appeared before the police court and in jail year after year until the usual processes of vagrancy, or death, removed them from the community. The history of some was traced back for twenty years. Many of them have repeated this last year the history of their previous life. Ninety-four of the one hundred and thirty-seven had averaged one hundred and sixty-one days in jail during the twelvemonth. Most of these were drunkards; all of the ninety-four were. And what kind of voters would such persons be? For most of them were also men and could vote. To any one who has had any intimate knowledge of drunkards the answer could not be doubtful. The average drunkard, however well educated and under whatever bonds from ancestry and station to behave like a decent man, when once he is possessed by the impulse to drink will sell anything he has to gratify it. Neither honor, nor pride, nor any other consideration counts. These men, chiefly without the restraints of respectable surroundings,

the old vestiges of self-respect long since worn away by long familiarity with station-house and jail—how would they probably act in the presence of the three influences: chronic penury, consuming thirst, and proffered money? I have since learned, and I shall presently state, how a majority of them act.

These facts and the conclusions toward which they kept pointing induced me to lead the conversation toward the question of venality while in the company of a few friends known to be, or to have been, actively engaged in what is called politics. Their statements were specific, and they were good enough to permit me to make them public. This was done May 10 of the present year, on invitation of the Board of Trade of Hartford, at a largely attended meeting called for the purpose. The address at that time made was extensively clipped and commentated. Absolute exactness was sometimes sacrificed to brevity; the more striking facts were occasionally printed without giving all the limitations; here and there an unusually boyish scribe attempted to make merry and indulged in flippancy. Generally, however, the press was respectful as well as interested. And if it was often incredulous and demanded more proof, that was scarcely to be wondered at. People in Connecticut who knew most about the situation criticised chiefly the moderation of my estimates. But it was not a matter of surprise that strangers should have been skeptical as to the alleged prevalence of venality in a State with the history and the advantages, educational and other, of this. That from seventeen thousand to twenty-five thousand of our one hundred and sixty-six thousand voters were liable to be bought and sold at every election was hard to believe.

Nevertheless, it is true, or, if incorrect, it is rather below than beyond the mark. And this I hope to show, though I shall here again be debarred, from the very nature of the case, from giving names of persons or places. I will only state that my informants, who are almost equally from the two greater parties, are gentlemen who are considered by myself and by those who know them qualified in a very eminent degree to testify. They include professional and business men of excellent position in the community, and, so far as I know, of exemplary lives; they exclude under-strappers and go-betweens. They include no man who has enriched himself in politics by illegitimate means, to my knowledge. They are, however, men who have pulled the wires. In a word, they were neither the spies nor the private soldiers of the army. They were colonels, generals, officers of the general staff, pay-

masters, and the like. They knew what was done—they did it through others. As to general credibility, my statements must be taken like those of any witness. If the circumstantiality and detail of the allegations made do not carry conviction, there is nothing more to be done.

As I write I have before me four tables. Two of these were prepared from books which have been actually used in campaigns by town committeemen, and which bear all their original marks, together with others which have since been added by them for my present uses. These books too are before me. The third table is prepared from a check-list marked by me at the dictation of a committeeman. This list is also before me. The fourth is made up out of materials supplied from memory by an active politician. He vouches for its approximate accuracy, and I believe him. I do not, however, attach the importance to it which the other three receive, because I distrust memory and impressions. I believe in, and for the purposes of this paper have taken only formal cognizance of, particular statements treating of voters man by man, noted in black and white opposite each name, and reduced to tabular form by myself, with the employment of all possible means for detecting and correcting error. In two of the tables which will be given I feel as great confidence as in any that I have personal knowledge of. And I should be glad to believe that statistical statements are always as accurate as I think the third to be. Necessarily only percentages can be given.

RURAL TOWN I.

Origin.	Total Venal of Each Stock.	Percentage of all Venal.	Temperate.	Intemperate.	Drunkards.	Total Intemperate and Drunkards.	Shiftless.	Arrested or Imprisoned.
American stock.....	7.5	59.8	1.69	¹ 70.0	² 100.0	80.0	³ 100.0	100.0
English born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
English, second generation.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German born.....	11.8	5.5	6.25	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
German, second generation.....	33.3	5.5	11.1	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
Irish born.....	11.1	5.5	5.9	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Irish, second generation.....	29.3	23.7	6.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Scotch born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch, second generation.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign, second generation..	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Totals.....	9.8	100.0	2.5	75.5	100.0	85.4	100.0	100.0

¹ Four are also shiftless.² One is also shiftless.³ One is an idiot.

One remark should be made here which applies equally to all the tables. Attention is given to the proportion of the venal: first, according to origin; secondly, to habit; thirdly, to police record. Thus in Rural Town I., column 1 shows that seven and five-tenths out of every hundred, or seventy-five out of every thousand, of the voters of American stock in this town are venal; column 2, that five hundred and ninety-eight out of every thousand of the venal are Americans; column 3, that seventeen out of the thousand temperate Americans are venal; column 4, that seven hundred in a thousand intemperate Americans are venal; column 5, that every American drunkard—and there are ten of them here—is venal; column 6, that eight hundred out of one thousand intemperate and drunkard Americans are venal; column 7, that all the shiftless Americans in the town are venal; column 8, that all the Americans who have been under arrest or imprisonment are venal. By American stock is meant those whose parents were born here. By “second-generation English” is meant those whose parents were born in England. Finally, by venal is meant any person who accepts or is known to have accepted money or other valuable consideration either to “turn out for his own side” or to vote for the other.

The prominence here given to race and habit should perhaps be also explained. From the first, and from every quarter, came the testimony that in the country the venal were largely of American, in the city of foreign, origin; and that whereas persons of Irish extraction headed the list among foreigners, Irish of the second generation considerably surpassed those of the first in venality. Would the actual facts support this theory? In this case they do.

It was constantly affirmed that intemperance figured very largely in the annals of vote-buying. Now, I am not a total abstainer either theoretically or practically, and I have always voted in favor of license. It is needless to say that I do not belong to the Prohibition party. But anybody who can see must know that, considered merely as a question of social economy, of dollars and cents, of tax-bills and public convenience generally, the “drink question” is the question of the day. The tariff wrangle is a mere baby to it. If intelligent, steady-going people could be induced to spend upon the drink question a fraction of the time and money they employ upon the other, we might hope for some real improvement in its treatment. Prominence is given, therefore, to the temperance and intemperance in venality simply because the subject cannot be treated at all without giving that

prominence. The table speaks positively as to the prevalence of intemperance among the venal. Negatively, or conversely, it may be stated that out of the whole population of the town there are, or rather were, but seven intemperate persons who were not purchasable and not a single drunkard or shiftless person.

Next in order is a second rural town in a different county, and with quite different conditions as to soil, manner of life, etc.:

RURAL TOWN II.

Origin.	Total Venal of Each Stock.	Percentage of Venal.	Temperate.	Total Abstainers.	Total Temperate and Total Abstainers.	Intemperate.	Drunkards.	Total Intemperate and Drunkards.	Shiftless.	Arrested or Imprisoned.
American stock.....	21.0	84.5	12.0	0.0	11.5	65.5	100.0	66.1	100.0	100.0
Colored	100.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
English born	7.7	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.6	0.0	66.6	0.0	0.0
English, second generation	14.3	1.0	14.3	0.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French Canadian born.....	100.0	3.2	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
French Canadian, second generation.....	66.6	2.1	66.6	0.0	66.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German born.....	33.3	1.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Irish born.....	14.3	1.0	25.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Irish, second generation	27.3	3.1	12.5	0.0	12.5	66.6	0.0	66.6	0.0	0.0
Nova Scotian born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nova Scotian, second generation.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch, second generation	100.0	1.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Swede born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Swede, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Totals.....	20.9	100.0	12.2	0.0	12.0	63.4	100.0	63.9	100.0	100.0

In this town twenty-one out of every hundred voters, nearly, or more than one in five, are venal, or "commercial" as they are sometimes called. Nearly four in five are "straight goods," to employ another term in use there. Of "American" voters 21 per cent are venal; Irish of the first and second generations maintain their relative position as above, though in far less striking proportions; but they are considerably outnumbered by French Canadians; and in the proportion of venal to non-venal of their own blood, these latter and also the Germans go far ahead of them. There is but 16.3 per cent of for-

eign population in this town. The make-up of the native population is pictured by the fact that ten family names represent more than a hundred voters—one of them not far from thirty. And it was to me a very impressive object-lesson to note how my informant sailed through that last family. Now and then he hesitated for a moment as Christian names repeated themselves. But in an instant he recovered himself as a second initial or some hint from neighborhood or relationship gave him the cue, and went swimmingly on to the end. He could make a census of that town at his desk at home. And not at all behind him, considering the greater populousness of his town, had been the other rural politician.

This town is somewhat unusually sober and orderly. But the nearest approach to the village drunkard is venal. Two-thirds of the intemperate and drunkard Americans, Irish of second generation, and English, and all of the colored and of the French Canadian intemperate are venal; and sixty-four out of every one hundred of this whole class are venal. The only "shiftless" voters are Americans: and they, together with the few arrested or imprisoned, are all venal.

The next table exhibits the condition of a single ward in one of our Connecticut cities:

CITY WARD I.

Origin.	Total Venal of Each Stock.	Percentage of all Venal.	Temperate.	Total Abstainers.	Total Temperate and Total Abstainers.	Intemperate.	Drunkards.	Total Intemperate and Drunkards.	Arrested or Imprisoned.
American stock.....	5.9	35.9	2.3	34.8	3.2	25.5	66.6	39.4	5.8
Colored.....	100.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
English born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
English, second generation..	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French born	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French, second generation...	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German born.....	13.6	7.7	8.0	0.0	8.0	45.5	50.0	46.2	100.0
German, second generation.	8.6	3.2	2.0	100.0	40.0	33.3	50.0	37.6	100.0
Irish born.....	17.8	24.9	6.0	100.0	7.1	68.8	78.9	74.3	25.0
Irish, second generation....	13.8	23.0	3.6	100.0	4.5	63.0	75.0	66.6	100.0
Italian born.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italian, second generation...	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch born.....	6.6	0.7	7.1	0.0	6.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch, second generation...	10.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
Other foreign born.....	33.3	1.3	50.0	0.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign, second generation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unknown.....	11.1	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Totals	9.3	100.0	3.4	43.3	4.2	42.9	71.7	52.9	72.7

This table is composite, the materials being drawn from three sources, not all of one party, and, party-wise, without consultation or conference. There were in consequence such uncertainties as are sure to arise from different standards as well as diverse minds. This appeared most of all in the matter of drinking-habits and that of origin. A reasonable degree of uniformity was secured as to the first by steady explanation of and insistence upon my own interpretation of the terms, which was that temperate means a man who drinks, if at all, only with strict moderation, being never known to get drunk; intemperate, a steady drinker who now and then becomes the worse for liquor, and is on the straight road to the next stage, that of drunkard—the man who is hopelessly in the toils and is often and publicly drunk. But for the other there was no remedy. And in so large a community bounded by artificial lines and including not a few persons on the constant move, it was not possible to secure that intimate knowledge of parentage on which alone certainty could be based. In fact, on two separate occasions one of my informants, while deviating but one from the tally of “Irish,” made a difference of over fifty per cent in the score of Irish of the second generation; in one instance figuring them at less than half those of the first generation; in the other marking them as they have been left in the table, a trifle below these.

Whereas in the country towns the total of venals showed 59.8 and 84.5 per cent respectively Americans, in this city precinct only 35.9 per cent are of American stock. The percentage of intemperate, or drunken, Americans who are venal drops here from 80 and 66.1 per cent to 39.4, and of the arrested or imprisoned from 100 in both rural communities to 5.8—a tremendous fall. The proportion of venal among American intemperate and drunkard is in excess of that of Germans of the second generation, but falls behind that of Germans of the first and Irish of both generations. In studying this table it need only be added that the district is said to include one of the best and richest parts of the city and none or but little of the slums. This will account for the fact that the percentage of venality is but 9.3, while that of some of the other wards ranges as high as 26.5 and 32.3, and that of the whole town is 13.5.

The next table, representing City Ward II., is a reduction to systematic form of a statement made by an experienced practical politician concerning the number and distribution of venal voters in his ward. This, too, is a ward in a city. The statement was limited to the total of the venal according to origin. The data were therefore

CITY WARD II.¹

Origin.	Drunkards and Hard Drinkers.	Every-day Drinkers but not Drunk- ards.	Not Drinkers and not Shift- less.	Total Drunk- ards and Every-day Drinkers.
American stock.....	7.7	15.3	9.7	23.0
Irish born.	11.5	7.7		19.2
Irish, second generation.	17.2	11.5		28.7
German.....	1.9	3.8		5.7
Colored.....	6.1	7.7		13.8
Totals.....	44.4	46.0	9.7	90.4

THREE DISTRICTS, TWO RURAL AND ONE CITY, CONSOLIDATED.

Origin.	Total Venal of Each Stock.	Percentage of Venal.	Temperate.	Total Ab- stainers. ⁴	Total Temper- ate and Ab- stainers. ⁵	Intemperate.	Drunkards.	Total Intem- perate and Drunkards.	Shiftless. ⁴	Arrested or Imprisoned.
American stock.....	9.5	55.6	4.1	27.6	4.3	51.2	77.1	56.9	100.0	69.2
Colored ²	100.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
English born.....	3.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0
English, second gen- eration.....	5.9	0.3	5.9	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French born ²	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French, second gener- ation ³	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
French Canadian born ³	100.0	0.9	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
French Canadian, sec- ond generation ³	66.6	0.6	66.6	0.0	66.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
German born.....	13.6	5.3	8.3	0.0	6.4	50.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	100.0
German, second gen- eration.....	12.7	2.8	3.4	100.0	5.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	100.0
Irish born.....	16.8	13.6	6.4	100.0	7.2	60.0	78.9	69.2	0.0	71.4
Irish, second genera- tion.....	17.0	17.3	4.4	100.0	5.1	67.7	86.4	74.1	100.0	100.0
Italian born ³	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Italian, second gener- ation ³	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nova Scotian born ³ ..	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nova Scotian, second generation ³	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch born.....	4.8	0.3	5.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Scotch, second gener- ation.....	18.2	0.6	10.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Swede born ³	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Swede, second gener- ation ³	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign born ² ..	22.2	0.6	33.3	0.0	28.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other foreign, second generation.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unknown ²	11.1	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Totals.....	11.3	100.0	4.5	34.2	4.9	54.0	79.0	61.0	100.0	77.8

¹ The percentages represent the proportion the class bears to the total of all venals. ² Two districts.³ One district. ⁴ Two districts. ⁵ Temperate from three districts; total abstainers from two.

lacking for the other percentages. It must be remembered, consequently, that the figures represent the proportion between each class and the total of all venal, whereas in the other tables the proportion is between the number of venal in each class and the total of voters in that class. This last has been preferred as being fairer, though the other is the more usual. It seems to me more just and useful to know, for example, what proportion of American, or English, or Irish voters are venal than to know what proportion they bear respectively either to the total of venal or to the total of voters; though these, too, have been given under columns 1 and 2 in previous tables.

The consolidated table, which has been made up from the first three tables, fairly represents the State, I think, so far as the rural factor is concerned, but not so fairly on the city side; because the single ward here included has less than ten per cent of venal, while the city has nearly fourteen. Moreover, the status of some of the classes would be materially changed if the whole city were included. There were all but no colored, French, Italian, and Swede voters in these precincts. And it happened that the few colored were all venal, while none of the others were. Now, it is certain that the colored voters are by no means all venal¹ and that some of the stocks mentioned are. And this would appear if a larger area were covered. But as to the more prevalent national stocks, it is probable that the rank here established would not be far from the general truth, though the intervals would almost undoubtedly be much altered. The specialist in sociology and politics will probably study the details. But the general reader will be chiefly interested in the totals. From these it appears that out of several thousand voters, taken not far from equally from city and country, one hundred and thirteen out of every thousand were venal. And of these venal, five hundred and fifty-six in every (assumed) thousand were of American stock; one hundred and seventy-three Irish of the second generation, one hundred and thirty-six Irish born; twenty-eight Germans second generation, fifty-three German born; three are English second generation, six English born; six Scotch second generation, three Scotch born; six colored; six French Canadian second generation, nine French Canadian first generation; and six of other foreign birth. It further appears that out of every (assumed) thousand of intemperate

¹Probably not far from three-fourths of them in this city are. They have distinct political preferences, but these need to be confirmed or can on occasion be overcome by the use of money. This is fully comprehended by both parties.

voters, five hundred and forty were venal; in every thousand drunkards, seven hundred and ninety were venal; in every thousand shiftless, all were venal; in every thousand total abstainers, three hundred and forty-two were venal; while in every thousand temperate voters, forty-five only were venal. This latter is again a case where the actual numbers represented on the side of the total abstainers may be so small as to give misleading percentages. The final fact is, however, liable to no such correction. Out of every thousand voters known to have been arrested or imprisoned—chiefly for drunkenness and its attendant crimes—seven hundred and seventy-eight were venal.

In the Board of Trade address percentages of venality and ranges of prices were given for fourteen towns. I have since obtained seven more towns, covering fifteen polling-districts. The entire twenty-one will now be given; and in order to illustrate a point of curious interest, they will be separated into two categories according as they have lost or gained in population during the decade 1880-90:

TWENTY-ONE TOWNS.

Losing Towns.	Percentage.	Range of Prices.	Gaining Towns.	Percentage.	Range of Prices.
1	35.0 to 50.0	\$2.00 to \$15.00	2	35.0 to 50.0	\$2.00 to \$15.00
3	35.0 to 50.0	2.00 to 15.00	6	12.0	2.00 to 20.00
4	35.0 to 50.0	2.00 to 15.00	7	15.0	2.00 to 20.00
5	7.0	2.00 to 15.00	8	3.0	5.00 to 10.00
9	10.0	2.00 to 15.00	11	20.0	2.00 to 15.00
10	5.0	5.00 to 10.00	12	3.0	5.00 to 10.00
13	70.0	2.00 to 15.00	15	21.0	5.00 to 20.00
14	4.0	5.00 to 10.00	17	14.0	1.50 to 15.00
16	29.0	Not given.			
18	25.0	2.00 to 50.00			
19	28.0	2.00 to 15.00			
20	35.0 to 50.0	2.00 to 20.00			
21	17.0	2.00 to 15.00			
Venal average	20.5	\$2.00 to \$50.00	Venal average	12.7	\$1.50 to \$20.00

Venal average for all the twenty-one towns, 15.9 per cent.

This seems to show that the decaying towns have more venality than the others, and also that the prices range higher. There are wards in every city and districts in every growing town where there is as much or nearly as much corruption as in any of the country towns. But in general I think it will be found that where the soil is poorest, money most rare, the conditions of life least favorable to enterprise and mental activity, there is more bribery—and this in spite of the fact that there is more drunkenness, though perhaps not more

intemperance, in the city. Still, we are here, as everywhere, reminded that the offence is individual and follows the laws of all disease in respect to contact and infection. The average health of a city or town may be high, while that of particular neighborhoods in it is low.

That this theory is true of venality the following will show. In one of the above towns there is a precinct in which the venal percentage is only fourteen and two-tenths, while in the other it is thirty and nine-tenths. In the first of these there are only three groups of father and son and four of two brothers, representing but thirty-six per cent of the purchasable element there. In the second there were five groups of father and son, one of father and two sons, nine of two brothers, one of four brothers, four of nephew and uncle, representing thus sixty-five per cent of all the venal. In another town the percentage of venality to the whole number of voters in the different school districts ranges as follows: 11.3; 9.1; 6; 2.7; 2.9; 0.6; 3.3; 15.7; 0; 19.2. By families there were eleven groups of two and three of three.

In one city precinct above tabulated there were twenty-one groups with identical family names and suggestion of relationship; of these there were known to be four groups of father and one son, three of father and two sons, four of two brothers, one of three brothers, one of uncle and one nephew, one of uncle and two nephews. In the same house, or within two doors on the same side of the street, were twenty-nine groups representing sixty-three per cent of the whole number of cases. I call them cases: the parallelism is so manifest. There were eighteen streets where there was not a single case; there was one where forty per cent of the voters were marked purchasable, and the informant remarked sententiously, "I can get about all of them on that street."

The disease may have been first introduced by the direct action of the briber.¹ But in its present stage it is propagated, I am convinced, chiefly by contact with the infected. It first appeared, within the memory of men well advanced in years, thirty to forty years ago. "Old A—, one of the village good-for-nothings," so related one informant, "had always been hired by old man B— to 'fix up' his place

¹A veteran in politics has related to me circumstantially the first instance in which it appeared, within his memory, as a disturbing element within the limits of his own party. It was about thirty years ago. The offender was at once betrayed, confronted with his treason, and reduced to a suitable state of contrition. The thing is now one of the most formidable dangers in party experience.

on election day; and it was understood as a matter of course that 'voting straight' was to be among the day's chores. This went on for a long while, till presently they began to extend the thing, and I remember well how mad C—, of our town, was when he first heard of it. He raged around at a great rate and refused to vote on account of it. Within four years you couldn't get him to vote without paying him." A city informant relates:

"There's one fellow who would have knocked you down, ten years ago, if you had approached him; and now he comes regularly for his pay. It seems only to be necessary to have it go out that 'there is money in it this time,' and the tribe of the venal swarm toward it like bees to a sugar-barrel. One tells another and the news spreads like wildfire. It is the same law and instinct which make the procuring of undeserved alms and pensions so catching and so dangerous. 'The money is there; it is contributed by rich people who won't feel it or by candidates who will get it all back, and more, out of their offices, and I may as well have it as anybody.'"

This last table also establishes the percentage of the venal for twenty-one towns, including one city, at 15.9. Since the proportion between the city and the country population included is as nearly as may be that of the whole State,¹ it follows that we have here a basis for an estimate of the aggregate of venality in the entire State. If this be so, there are twenty-six thousand three hundred and ninety-four purchasable voters in Connecticut. I am in no position to affirm the absolute accuracy of this estimate, simply because my facts are only from one-eighth of the towns in three of the eight counties. But if analysis of samples taken without selection from the whole is ever conclusive concerning the entire mass, I see not why this may not be called a fairly reliable estimate. And surely twenty thousand would allow a sufficiently wide margin for possible error.

In another article the following points will be touched upon: the political complexion of the purchasable element; methods and cost of bribery; where the money comes from; how the matter is looked upon by the briber and the bribed; possible remedies for the evil.

J. J. McCook.

¹ Out of a total of 746,258 in population, 370,703 are in cities of 10,000 and over. Connecticut "Register and Manual," 1891, pp. 454, 455.

THE LESSON OF HOMESTEAD: A REMEDY FOR LABOR TROUBLES.

THE disturbance occasioned by the differences between the Carnegie companies and the large bodies of organized workingmen employed by them has extended to the whole country. It has been felt not merely in the derangement of dependent industries and of business in general, but as a menace to the common peace. A great Commonwealth has had its entire available military force on duty at large expense to the men and the State, for a long period, and at every passing moment the general Government has been liable to be called upon, as it actually was in a similar but less stubborn affair in Idaho. It, with some of its specially dramatic and significant incidents, such as the strange battle between the private armed forces of the respective parties, the attempted assassination of the chairman of the Carnegie companies, and the unusual punishment of a private soldier for the utterance of a mere sentiment, unaccompanied by any act, has attracted the most profound and anxious attention of the entire civilized world. Occurring, as it did, in this well-ordered Republic, regulated by law, in a land where the people themselves are supposed to be sovereign and to possess the power to right their own wrongs, it is necessarily accepted as a sign or symptom of a fatal vice in our system of government, or in the laws relating to such matters, which promises even wider disaster unless a remedy shall be found.

The question raised by the bloody encounter between the organized workingmen and the embodied Pinkertons on the Monongahela is one which cannot be put aside until there shall be found a satisfactory answer to it. It is but a single incident of a long and terrible warfare, whose persistent barbarity is the darkest reproach of the otherwise peaceful age in which we live. For the settlement of all ordinary private disputes, legal and effectual methods are duly provided. Murder, arson, pillage, and rapine in all other shapes are repressed and punished without any draft upon the reserved forces of the State and without a general disturbance of peaceful communities. Even war is prevented by a gradually crystallizing system of arbitration, which, sustained by enlightened public opinion the world over, has acquired

almost the authority of public law. Here, only, in the controversies between large employers and great masses of workingmen, in those controversies which in the last quarter of a century have reddened the streets of every great European city with blood, and which have shamed this country in many instances, the state stands practically aloof, permitting each separate difference to degenerate, it may be, into a cruel and unequal combat between the capitalist and the workingman, until the moment arrives to crush the latter down in his tracks, to take away his arms, to evict him from his home, and to set his family in the road, in the name of law and order!

Let us look more particularly at the case at Homestead. There was little or no reason to anticipate such an outbreak at the time it took place. The intelligence of organized labor, realizing the futility of strikes, discouraged them; and the intelligence of the capitalist class, summing up the inevitable losses of such conflicts and finding a certain degree of security in dealing with the responsible officials of associated labor, was apparently more inclined to justice and moderation. It seemed as if the time was approaching when the antagonists in struggles of this nature would find a way to prevent them, out of mere respect for the colossal power of one another. The Missouri-Pacific strike, the New York Central strike, even the portentous riots of 1877, when we narrowly escaped universal collision between the forces of organized society and the aggrieved classes, had been forgotten, and we were drifting calmly along, complacently estimating the increase of our National wealth, counting the deposits in the banks, pointing to the "poor boys" who were becoming millionaires by the hundreds as the best evidence of our wonderful prosperity, felicitating ourselves upon the prospect of another good crop and the possibility of a small percentage of the mortgages being paid, when the red sky above Homestead, in the very heart of this hollow prosperity, where the "poor boys" were rolling up, more rapidly than anywhere else, the millions afforded them by tariff bounties, summoned us to look not merely upon a local scene of blood and misery, present and anticipated, but to go to the bottom of our paternal industrial system, to consider the cause of the man whose brawny hands were on the machines turning out the vast product of which we were so proud, and to determine whether or not he also was worthy of the protection of the law.

Has the workman made this situation at Homestead in pure wantonness? Has he imperilled the livelihood of wife and child for any light

or trivial reason? Had he any legal recourse for the settlement of what he deemed his wrongs? What had he, then, done which put him beyond the pale of law when his request for reasonable concession in wages was refused; when he was shut out; when he was told that he must abandon the right of association, which he held most sacred, and which alone in all the controversies of the past had secured him any consideration, and must thereby disarm himself of all power of self-protection if he would keep his home and work at that place and in the only trade he knew? Where was he, with the thousands like him and in the same evil case, to turn for legal relief? To what tribunal was he to resort for the adjustment of his rights and the redress of his wrongs? Was there any adequate tribunal provided by the highly civilized state, which owed him peace and security as much as it owed them to the proprietors of the fortified mills, to the service of which he had adapted his life and his labor? Shall the complaints of men in his condition be met forever only with the policeman's bludgeon or the militiaman's musket?

The very spot is sanguinary. At or near Homestead Braddock crossed to slaughter in the tangled thickets where the Edgar Thompson steel works stand to-day. The latter place, in full view of Homestead, was the rendezvous of the so-called "Whiskey Insurgents'" army; and it was here, all along the banks of this romantic river, that Alexander Hamilton's brutal expedient of "terror" as a principal means of "strong government" was put in practice, and bands of military marauders were sent out at midnight to raid the peaceful farmsteads, to kidnap unoffending citizens amid the shrieks of their families, and hale them, with blows and sabre-cuts, before a lawless mixed commission. Both Homestead and Braddock's were lighted up by the fierce glare of the fires kindled by the riots of '77, and heard the musketry which did the slaughter of that day. And now again it became the scene of a conflict more portentous than any of them.

Homestead is but one of the great establishments of the Carnegie companies. Opposite is Braddock's, to which must be added Duquesne, Beaver Falls, and others. With the business of the steel companies has recently been incorporated Mr. Frick's more or less complete monopoly of coke-production in the bituminous-coal regions near by; and that gentleman has become the omnipotent single manager of the whole, employing from thirteen thousand to twenty thousand men. The original plant has grown to unprecedented proportions, until the fortunes of the proprietors, united with the fortunes of

a few others like themselves, actually constitute a menace to the free institutions of the country, contributing as they do fabulous sums for election purposes in order to keep in power a party which shapes public policies in their interests as against the interests of all other classes. Nobody disputes their title to this wealth or their right to use it as they see fit, within the limits of the general public safety. It is certain, however, that the greater part of it is but the tribute which iniquitous tariff laws have enabled them to levy upon the domestic consumption of their product. They have, during a long period, enjoyed an enormously profitable monopoly. The State has stood over their vast accumulations and their huge operations with all its police power affording them every possible security. But neither the Union, which granted them the unconstitutional bounties, nor the Commonwealth, which gives them its peace, has imposed upon them any obligation to share with their unskilled laborers or even their operatives ever so small a proportion of the joint earnings of the capital and labor employed in the business. Accordingly when the men look out upon these vast establishments and note the swelling millions rolling into the account of the proprietors under favor of government, they feel that they have a strong moral right to an adjustment of wages which shall not be dictated entirely from the employers' side. And moral right in the common mind is very readily transmuted into legal right.

At Homestead the men were grievously discontented with certain new arrangements proposed by the company. They belonged to the "Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers," one of the most conservative of the labor organizations. The company refused to sign the scale presented by the association, but announced, instead, an arbitrary reduction of wages, on the ground that new machinery increased the earning power of the men, thus taking to itself all the advantage of invention and experience, while denying it to the other side. When the men came to remonstrate, through their usual committees and in their usual orderly manner, they were met with the ultimatum: Accept the reduction, abandon your organization, and submit yourselves in every particular to the arrangements which our interests shall suggest, and you may work in these mills, but upon no other terms whatever! There was no strike; no time was given for a strike. Going about consulting and planning with their officers and committees, seeking conferences with the company, and otherwise anxiously endeavoring to strengthen their position in the controversy, though doubtless contemplating a strike as a last resort, the gates

were suddenly shut in their faces, and instead of a strike on the part of the men, there was a lock-out on the part of the company. What followed might readily have been anticipated. It is reasonable to suppose that the company did both anticipate and desire it. The doom thus pronounced upon three thousand men and their families could not fail to alarm and exasperate the victims beyond peaceable endurance. It meant practical slavery in those mills, or migration, with all that migration implies. But they did only what their fellows in the absence of just and legal methods of settlement have done elsewhere. They resisted as best they could the introduction of non-union labor into the works from which they had been locked out and which had been insultingly fortified against them in advance. It was not wonderful that non-union men, however urgent their necessities, feared to venture in, or that the sheriff of Allegheny County was unable to raise a *posse* to protect them. Not only everybody in Homestead, but almost everybody in Allegheny County sympathized with the locked-out men.

But the situation was not an especially threatening one. Many such have existed for a long time without serious injury to life or property and without other loss than that occasioned by the idleness of men and machinery. But the class of "protected gentlemen" to which Messrs. Carnegie and Frick belong appear to be, of all human beings, the most impressed with the awful sanctity of their individual right to "do as they please with their own." These gentlemen have been apparently, throughout this trouble, unable to apprehend any other principle. It seems to be not only uppermost in their minds, but to fill their minds wholly, to the exclusion of any other consideration. To all appeals for accommodation; to all remonstrance and argument; to the county of Allegheny, looking forward to an enormous bill of damages; to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, hurrying eight thousand soldiers from their daily avocations to protect them, at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars a day; to the people of the United States, who gave them their monopoly and stuffed their pockets with unearned money, to the three thousand operatives at Homestead; and to the women and children whose homes are practically confiscated over their heads and who must follow their husbands and fathers into exile, they answer only that they will do as they like with their own. They will have their pound of flesh; they will take it next the heart, they will crush the "Amalgamated"; they will employ no union men; they will pocket the largest profits—

but they will pay the wages that please them and entertain no question about them.

But how was this programme to be executed? There was no disorder at the mills. The locked-out men lay quietly around them, and the barbed-wire fences and the electric batteries and the hot-water pipes were all useless. There was a dead calm over the whole place. But no non-union man would go near. The sheriff was powerless; and the public opinion of the county, of the State, and of the world was against the proposition of the private owners to use their own—as the sultan of Muscat or the king of Dahomey or an Apache Indian might use his—without the smallest regard to common humanity. In this emergency they turned to a power beyond the territory and unknown to the laws of the State.

The Pinkertons have been compared to the Hessians, but the comparison is unfair to the latter. They resemble more the free companies of the middle ages, recruited by freebooters for freebooting and their services sold to the highest bidder. The agency is a natural outgrowth of existing conditions. It, more than anything else, illustrates the barbarity of our methods, or rather our lack of methods, in such contingencies. We encourage the association of capital; we foster manufacturing monopolies with subsidies; we permit railways to discriminate in their favor; we allow them to combine in trusts; we drive masses of men, skilled and unskilled, to these centres of work; we induce them by public policy, as exhibited in discriminating laws, to adapt their lives and their labor to these favored industries—and then, when disputes arise between the capitalists engaged in semi-public enterprises and the men employed by them, we allow the fight to go on as it will until the general peace is endangered, and finally turn in the power of the State to crush the weaker. But in intermediate stages of the contest the employer must rely upon his own or hired force if he chooses to employ force. It is therefore much to his convenience and frequently to his pleasure to be able to make a draft upon a private standing army duly disciplined and weaponed and open for engagement in any quarrel, and so to make private war on his own account and in his own way. This was what was done when three hundred Pinkertons, armed with Winchester rifles, were secretly sent up the Monongahela, but the sheriff of Allegheny was left as powerless as ever, and the calm at Homestead after the battle was deeper and more ominous than before.

The governor had held off as long as he dared. Any action

whatever on his part must necessarily determine the contest, and determine it against the men. But it was a strained and painful situation. Another onset of the Pinkertons, which might be expected at any moment, would doubtless cause the loss of many lives and widen the breach instead of closing it. For how much of the blood thus shed and of the injury thus inflicted would he be accountable if he should fail to interpose in time? He seemed to have no alternative, after the formal demand of the sheriff, except to call out the troops, and, as a matter of fact, this unavoidable action of the Executive settled the particular dispute between the locked-out Homestead men and their recent employers; and thenceforward the latter could do as they would with their own. The non-union men would go in if they chose, and the armed Pinkertons would follow them if it pleased the company and the governor of Pennsylvania should permit it. The men at Homestead were helpless and hopeless. There was but one quarter to which they could look for lawful succor. Their fellows in the other Carnegie mills, numbering many thousands, might go out of their own volition, instead of being locked out, as was the case with the Homesteaders, and thus reduce the contest to a question of endurance on a larger scale, as it was at Homestead before the disastrous appearance of the Pinkertons and the fateful arrival of the troops.

The Homestead situation is liable to be reproduced at any other place in the country where multitudes of men are assembled in the conduct of large enterprises. The people of the United States and their governments, State and Federal, are in danger of being plunged into violent conflicts, not of their own making, and in which they have no interest other than the maintenance of the public peace. As to the duty of the State in regard to them, their prevention and repression, or the restraint and punishment of those who cause them, even enlightened opinions seem to differ very widely. The governor of Pennsylvania has shown by his action what he deems the duty of that State under the circumstances and in the present state of the law. He had no choice but to enforce the laws as he found them on the statute-book, and no power with which to do it, in the face of a turbulent community, less warlike than the militia. He might—I believe that he should—have preceded, or at least have accompanied, the order to the militia by a proclamation warning the discontented men to obey the letter of the law, reciting the personal consequences of further disobedience and the necessity of stern enforcement, and at the same time commanding the armed Pinkerton forces and all other

armed bodies, except only the sheriff's *posse*, to disperse or to retire instantly beyond the limits of the Commonwealth, whose peace they threatened. Such a proclamation might have prevented further conflicts between the Pinkertons and the Homestead men, and it might have saved the people of the State the expense and peril of military operations. But the governor doubtless had better information, and he may have been well assured that only the actual presence of an overwhelming force would restore peace and prevent bloodshed. He could not pause to consider the merits of the dispute on either side or to weigh the hardships which might ensue to one or the other.

But the duty of the State in the large sense is not limited to the suppression of mobs. It is confronted by the higher duty of preventing mobs, of depriving mobs of all decent excuse for existence, and of removing the grievances which in labor controversies are alleged as their occasion. Whether these grievances exist or not must be submitted to some other arbitrament than that of clubs and guns, hot water, electric batteries, and dynamite, in the very near future, if any peace is to be kept in the land. The steadily increasing concentration of workingmen in large numbers in mills and mines and at railway terminals has changed all previous conditions. Capital massed on one side and men massed on the other make a situation to which neither the common law nor the statute law of our foregoers is at all adequate. The principles of those laws are as applicable and as effectual to-day as ever, but they need elaboration and the support of new machinery. A dispute between an employer and eighteen thousand men—the number said to be in the service of the Carnegie companies—who with their families make sixty or seventy thousand souls, cannot be satisfactorily disposed of by ordinary judicial procedure. While executives, courts, and juries are confessedly unable or unwilling to cope with unlawful combinations of capital, how can we expect them to deal promptly, successfully, and justly with vast multitudes of aggrieved laborers, too often technically at fault? Is the spectacle of trusts and gigantic conspiracies of corporations overriding constitutions and laws unchecked and practically unopposed calculated to encourage scrupulously legal and orderly conduct on the part of men situated as were these at Homestead? The danger and the damage to the community and ultimately to the individual citizens who are oppressed and pillaged by such combinations are infinitely greater than any to be apprehended from the disorders of which workingmen, organized or unorganized, have ever been guilty. But in the one case

the State defends itself with writs and bills in equity; in the other with its rifles. Why not the writs in both or the rifles in both? Why the summary suppression here and the tender toleration there? Because the corporate offenders are powerful, often more powerful to command and to corrupt than a weakly-officered State to resist, and do not hesitate to employ special privileges to harass and plunder the very people who granted them. Ambitious politicians too frequently prefer to find a specious way to serve them rather than to oppose them; and the workingmen clearly understand the difference in the treatment of the two kinds of law-breaking and the reason of it.

Overgrown and transgressing corporations thus offending against the public, which created and protects them, should be driven back within the strictest limits of their charters, or their charters forfeited, and at the same time a new class of corporations in the interests of labor might be invited and encouraged in American States. Suppose, for instance, that the "Amalgamated Association," or, to present a smaller subdivision, the iron and steel workers of Homestead, incorporated for the purpose of furnishing labor. The men, who lately imagined themselves efficiently organized for all proper purposes, and who have been so rudely undeceived, are members of it. This corporation contracts with Mr. Frick for a given amount of work of a given character. The corporation deals with the men; Mr. Frick does not. It collects wages and in turn pays dividends. It employs and dismisses, or admits to its membership and expels. It hears and redresses grievances. Its existence manifestly renders such outbreaks as the one under consideration almost an impossibility, since the men manage their own corporation and their own business in their own way. It is a counterpart of the capitalist corporation which confronts it. It will sue and be sued; it will collect damages or pay them. It will prosper or not, as other corporations do.

Would such a thing be feasible? Of course not while our one-sided laws remain as they are; while the aggressions of a moneyed corporation are unrestrained and those of a labor association are crushed out in blood. But the State can make it feasible. It can make this labor corporation for all the purposes of its creation quite as responsible as the Carnegie companies, and it can regulate the conduct of both classes of corporations and provide methods for the settlement of disputes which would relieve the sheriff and the militia of a large part, if not the whole, of their disagreeable duties.

The first objection to this corporation is that it would have no

means wherewith to answer in damages for breaches of its contracts. But it can be given means by a provision in its charter requiring that a sufficient percentage of its whole earnings shall be withheld from distribution and invested in public securities, never to be disturbed or expended except for that purpose. The second objection is that its membership would be fitful and shifting. But would it be necessarily more so than the stockholders of other corporations? The latter usually, it is true, pay in money; but the former would pay in solid labor, of which money is but a measure. Such a corporation, if managed with one-half the conservative skill and judgment that have marked the administration of the affairs of the "Amalgamated Association," could well be trusted to arrange the details of its business satisfactorily to all its components and to those with whom it might contract.

But the State has not discharged its duty by merely granting a charter to a labor corporation, with even the most careful and elaborate provisions for its safe management. It must also provide for the peaceful settlement of disputes between the aggregations of capital on the one side and the aggregations of men on the other. It must do this not only in justice to the parties immediately concerned, but in justice to itself. Provisions for arbitration, provisions for speedy litigation in default of arbitration, provisions for preserving conditions against radical changes while the legal settlement is in progress, provisions against call-outs, lock-outs, and strikes in the interim, and, above all, provisions against evictions of workmen and the introduction of armed forces—these are the outlines which the wisdom of a legislature bent upon a fair solution of the most difficult problem and the removal of the gravest danger of modern times might be expected to fill in with details that would not defeat the great object in view.

Many large employers prefer to deal with labor organizations, loose as they are, under present conditions, rather than with the individual men; and some of the associations have been of incalculable benefit in preserving agreeable and profitable relations between employers and employed. The "Amalgamated Association" has been one of these, and its management has in an unusual degree commanded the confidence of the public and of all those having business with it. The labor corporation suggested would be that perfection of organization which would best serve the rights and interests of all concerned. It would bring to the front the best character and the highest talents on the labor side, and the responsible manufacturing or mining corporation would be able to buy its labor from an equally responsible cor-

poration having it to sell, and to carry on its business with an almost absolute certainty that the contracts between them would be faithfully and voluntarily observed, and, if not, would be readily enforced. This, with the obligation upon each not to strike or to lock out or to evict until a question properly raised and pending should be judicially determined, would probably save the public from these gigantic disturbances, which shake the whole State and therefore sternly demand the public intervention of the State for their suppression.

Is it worth trying? Is the public peace worth maintaining? Is it better that American operatives and miners and other classes of laborers too numerous to mention should go on, their hearts swelling with a bitter sense of wrong and continuously on the very verge of turbulent outbreak; or that they should have legal justice, with appropriate tribunals as wide open to them as to those whom they too frequently are compelled to regard as their conscienceless adversaries? Shall we go on forever in this brutish old way, standing off from these dangerous disputes until they degenerate into lock-outs and strikes and riots, only to interpose with the crushing power of the State when it is too late to consider the merits of any of the questions involved, and the naked and cruel letter of the deficient law must be enforced without inquiry and without mercy?

It is true that some of the greater employers, and among them those most highly "protected," deny the right of the public to regulate their business in any way whatever. They would naturally prefer to pursue unmolested the course which has so marvellously enriched them at the common expense of consumers and workingmen. They have cultivated the feudal spirit until it has become the master-passion. They will be naturally reluctant, like the barons—which in many respects they are—to yield the privilege of private warfare. They will, beyond question, prefer the Pinkertons and the soldiers to the milder and fairer methods of the proposed law. They will insist upon their alleged right to use their property precisely as they see fit and to make any contract which seems to them good. They are doubtless perfectly sincere and conscientious in this remarkable claim, and the almost ludicrous solemnity with which it is made and repeated seems to have imposed upon some minds besides their own. But it will not stand a moment's examination.

They are utterly mistaken in their first and fundamental assumption. No man in civilized society can do what he pleases with his own. He cannot do what he likes with his own skin if a public

necessity requires a different disposition of it. His blood and his bones belong to his country. They are taken when his country needs them. His property, no less than his life, is held at the call of the State. But recently eight thousand men were taken bodily from their daily avocations and their comfortable homes and encamped upon the hills about Homestead, without in the least consulting their individual pleasure. Mr. Carnegie's business and the business of other men situated like him challenge public regulation by reason of their very immensity, to say nothing of the public contributions to them by the unjust operation of monopoly tariff laws. If not as clearly subject to such regulation as common carrying, they are certainly as plainly so as money-lending, education of children, poison-vending, powder-making, and hundreds of others. If the law can prohibit Mr. Carnegie from running a "pluck-me store" in connection with his business, it can prohibit him from doing anything else which is unjust and unreasonable, and especially anything which provokes or tends toward a breach of the peace. If the State chooses to say him nay and to lay down the limits of his freedom, he can have no right whatever to go on dealing with three thousand men here, and five thousand men there, and ten thousand men elsewhere, according to his private impulses. All private property is held and enjoyed subject to the public safety; and the contention that great plants like that of the Carnegie companies, built up mainly by public bounties, are exempt from the rule would be nothing short of monstrous.

To this proposed regulation, therefore, of the transactions between employers and their workingmen there could be no reasonable opposition. The State, which upon all established theories of our free institutions is supreme, can never be said to have discharged its sovereign duty until it has opened the way to peaceable and orderly settlement of such disputes and compelled all parties concerned to walk in it.

CHAUNCEY F. BLACK.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES: PUBLICITY AS A CURE FOR CORRUPTION.

MUCH good fruit was borne to us by the Civil War: the extinction of slavery, the development of the National idea and spirit, the increase of our credit in the world at large, the creation of National courage and of an heroic fibre in our American manhood. But there is the reverse picture: war in our case, as in all others, left an immense heritage of loss and evil, much of which fails of due consideration or estimate. It trod ruthlessly in its red wine-press the finest moral life of the Nation; and who can calculate the precise extent to which we still suffer from the withdrawn energies and extinct moral forces of the young men who offered themselves a willing sacrifice at their country's call? The war gave us an enormous increase of the gambler's spirit in business, with its consequent speculations, false aims and methods, and their dark train of embezzlements and defalcations. It also fostered seeds of a serious corruption already existing in our political life and planted fresh ones. The emergency which it presented was so extreme, its importance was so overwhelming, that men on either side of the great question felt that everything short of the main issue must be sacrificed.

In such a crisis neither men nor methods could be scrutinized too closely; indeed, the very lack of time in the swift march of tremendous events forbade such scrutiny. The result was that a certain spirit of moral recklessness, a carelessness as to just how things were done and by whom parties were led, was begotten in the people and has survived the era of the war. This was accompanied by extreme public lassitude which naturally followed the excessive exertions and sacrifices of war-time. The conditions were wholly favorable to the growth of corrupt political aims and practices. Added to this was the existence of an extreme party spirit, which caused party lines to be drawn very rigidly. Men still felt that it would not be safe to grant the enemy anything; it was enough, under the circumstances, if a man were a good Republican or a good Democrat, or even if he professed to be such, to intrust him with almost any amount of political

power that he had the hardihood to demand for himself. But further than this, the advent of the Civil War indirectly aided the growth of certain corruptions in American politics by rendering any serious consideration of the false system under which the civil service of the Government was generally conducted impossible. It planted fresh seeds of evil by leading a class of shrewd and unscrupulous politicians to believe that their leadership and methods would be permanently tolerated by the people. The country was forced to settle the paramount question of its own existence before even the vital matter of its internal health and soundness could be attended to.

The issue of the war is settled, and it is becoming more and more apparent to thoughtful men that no question before the country to-day is of greater National importance than that of civil-service reform, the question whether the public funds represented by the salaries of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand offices of the civil service, aggregating sixty million dollars annual expenditure, shall be used in the interest of the people, or whether they shall continue to furnish an immense bribery fund by which a small but highly organized class of professional politicians shall acquire and maintain their power. Closely related to this question, and only secondary in importance to it, is that of the undue or illicit use of money in connection with elections. This is the era of administrative reform in the United States, and groups of our younger men, in various parts of the country, are getting more and more earnestly and systematically to work toward the solution of this problem. Their first effort is directed toward a clear formulation of the essential nature of the evils to be attacked and of the methods necessary for their removal. Their second aims to convey to the people at large a full understanding of the importance of the issue involved, and to arouse them to a sense of their individual obligations for the performance of the work by which a better and sounder condition of affairs is to be reached. It is the battle for good government in which we are engaged.

A glance at certain features distinguishing political committees, and at National political committees especially—since they are most conspicuous and in some respects most interesting—will furnish valuable material for the practical student of American politics who believes that honest and business-like methods should mark the conduct of public affairs, that all cause for scandal and legitimate complaint may be removed, and yet that equally vigorous and more intelligent practical work for legitimate party ends may be accomplished by those to

whom the executive tasks of the various political parties are intrusted. Political committees as at present constituted represent very imperfectly their popular constituency. A committee is a small body chosen by any larger assemblage to execute any particular business in which the assemblage is concerned. Its powers are delegated to it for that purpose, and it should report specifically as to the work which it has done. It should be in a very positive sense representative of the body from which it derives its powers. But political campaign committees, whether State or National, render no adequate report as to their transactions or expenditures, such as they should manifestly be required to do, and represent far too often the worst and most unscrupulous elements of the party, instead of its best and most trusted. Secrecy and irresponsibility form the most objectionable features of their work. These should be made the points of the reform attack, since in them lurk the various kinds of political corruptions which have steadily and alarmingly increased during late years. In this regard it is but just to blame both parties equally.

The collection of a large sum of money for campaign purposes is a matter of primary importance with a National campaign committee, as according to existing political methods victory is supposed to depend more upon this element of strength than upon any other. The wealthy supporters of the party must be visited by some member of the committee who is a skilful pleader, and made to feel that the salvation of the party or the welfare of his own business interests depends upon the amount of his donation in the coming struggle. Such efforts are often very successful, but were never attended with more brilliant results than in the Presidential campaign of 1888, when Mr. Wanamaker, of Philadelphia, the present Postmaster-General, raised an immense sum of money for the use of the Republican National Campaign Committee. As the political temperature rises with the progress of the campaign and men become more and more intensely interested in the issue, an appeal is often made for funds to the general public, either through the instrumentality of the press or by personal application. It seems unaccountable to a disinterested observer that the many worthy men, accustomed to the strictest regularity of business method in their own affairs, should not feel enough interest in knowing what becomes of their money to demand some sort of a report as to the precise use to which it is put by those to whom it is confided. But political committees composed of the regular politicians publish no report to the public of their receipts or expenditures.

After a recent local contest in Philadelphia, an Independent political committee published a sworn statement of its accounts, in the hope that by so doing the way might be prepared for the adoption of a law in Pennsylvania making such action obligatory upon all similar committees.

The work of the National committees in the campaign of 1888 was in some respects the most remarkable and interesting ever performed in the country. It was typical of the changed condition of political methods, and showed the extraordinary development within recent years of the peculiar methods of the machine leaders. The struggle was felt to be one of vital importance, and both sides spared no exertion to win. The Republicans did not underestimate the strength of the enemy. Mr. Cleveland had conducted a generally successful administration and had developed great popular enthusiasm. The country was awakening from the illusion that a Democratic administration meant financial disaster. But on the other hand, the manufacturers and all strong protectionists were in the most favorable condition of mind to receive an appeal for liberal financial assistance in rendering effective a campaign in which the great issue was protection or free trade. Mr. Cleveland's bold and unmistakable utterances as to his tariff-reform views gave them the most lively anticipations of the result should the eagle of victory perch on his standard.

From the single standpoint of success the twelve members of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee were well chosen; Senator Quay was its chairman and its inspiring genius and in him was its great strength. He undertook his duties with the well-earned reputation for experience, sagacity, and the utmost adroitness in the employment of every means known to the machine politicians for carrying elections. At that time the notorious State-treasury scandal with which Mr. Quay's name has since become linked had not been exposed by the New York "World" and the "Evening Post," or he might not have been able to retain the position in which he attained such distinction and from which subsequently public clamor forced him to retire. Mr. Quay's public career had made him wholly distrusted and discredited, but his reputation for skill in diving into the depths of political waters and fetching brilliant results to the surface was assured. Through the efforts of Mr. Quay the services of Mr. Wanamaker were secured to assist in the financial part of the campaign. In an interview with Mr. Wanamaker, published in a Philadelphia newspaper last April, Mr. Wanamaker gives a very inter-

esting account of the circumstances under which he undertook the work of raising money and of the methods employed. After a careful consideration of the question as to whether or not he should undertake the task, he determined to do so if the Committee would consent to follow his suggestions. In reply to his interviewer's query as to what these suggestions were, Mr. Wanamaker says:

“‘I wanted an advisory board to the National Committee made up of business men, and a treasurer appointed for that board; then I wanted an executive committee taken out of that advisory board and limited in number, and with power to overlook not only the raising of that money, but its expenditure by the National Committee. The plans were acceded to.’ ‘How much money was raised?’ ‘Nothing like so much money as has been proclaimed. We did not need four hundred thousand dollars and we did not raise it; no individual gave so much money as has been represented, myself included.’ ‘Did you raise two hundred thousand dollars?’ ‘Yes, we raised more than that. My contribution was ten thousand dollars. I had a large experience in raising money, from my connection with the Christian Association and other enterprises of that sort. If you have a large purpose and can bring it to bear upon large-minded men, you may as well ask for ten thousand dollars as for five hundred dollars, for men are rather complimented when you ask them higher, and they sacrifice high for a worthy end. I said to such as I addressed: “How much would you pay for insurance upon your business? If you were confronted with from one year to three years of general depression by a change in our revenue and protective methods affecting our manufactures and wages and good times, what would you pay to be insured for a better year?” That they understood to be the measure of their contribution. We raised the money so quickly that the Democrats never knew anything about it. They had their spies out, supposing that we were going to do something; but before they knew what it was we had them beaten. They were not beaten in November nor in October, but long before that. When the election was over and won, the National Committee would have given me almost anything. It was understood that Pennsylvania was to have a Cabinet place. The appointment was tendered to me of Postmaster-General, and therefore I am here.’”

Mr. Wanamaker's idea of having the executive committee of his advisory board empowered not only to raise the money for the campaign, but also to *overlook its expenditure* by the National Committee, was certainly excellent. It seems strange that in asking this much a man of Mr. Wanamaker's business experience should not have asked a little more and required the Committee to print a full statement of its entire expenditures at the close of the campaign as the price of his acceptance of his own important share of the work. Much scandal which afterward attached to the work of the Committee might thus have been avoided. May we question whether also the result achieved would have been imperilled by this course? It is very difficult to

gather from members of National committees or from any source accurate information as to the details and precise nature of their work. A curious veil of secrecy hangs over it all, which it seems impossible to lift completely and difficult even to pull aside.

The question is often asked, "What was the amount of the campaign fund at the disposal of the Republican Committee?" No definite or wholly satisfactory answer has ever been given to this question, but there is excellent reason to believe that it reached not less than the astonishing sum of one million dollars, Pennsylvania supplying four hundred thousand dollars and the country at large the remainder. This shows a great change since the days of the first Republican campaign, in 1860, of which Colonel McClure, in his "Lincoln and Men of War Times," writes:

"I cannot recall five commercial houses of prominence in Philadelphia where I could have gone to solicit a subscription to the Lincoln campaign with reasonable expectation that it would not be resented; and of all of our prominent financial men, I can only recall Anthony J. Drexel who actively sympathized with the Republican cause. *Money would have been useless for any but legitimate purposes.* . . . The entire contributions of the Pennsylvania State Committee for that great battle aggregated only twelve thousand dollars, of which two thousand dollars were a contribution for rent of headquarters and three thousand dollars were expended in printing."

Of course the immense difference of expenditure noticeable in these two campaigns must be attributed partly to the fact that one was in a single State, though on its issue depended a National result, and also in the changed condition of the times. But there still remains an immense margin which cannot be so accounted for, or indeed satisfactorily accounted for at all, and which can be attributed only to a degenerate condition of affairs in need of a speedy reform.

In the Lincoln campaign of 1860 no member of a political committee thought of doing aught but pay his own expenses, and there was but little chance of the contributions of the public filtering away into irresponsible hands. Under the unbusiness-like methods which characterized the National committees of 1888, no sensible person is at liberty to suppose anything else than that thousands of dollars issuing from the fountain-head in New York trickled unobserved and unaccounted for through the devious political channels and dark thickets of the doubtful States of New York and Indiana. To test the reasonableness of the supposition, without touching any other sources of proof, consider for a moment the way in which the finances of politi-

cal committees are handled during the stress of a campaign. A representative of a State committee or of some doubtful district in a particular locality of one of the important doubtful States goes to the National-Committee rooms in New York; he will depict his case as a very pressing one, asking the central committee for so many thousand dollars to do his work. The money is given him, perhaps, without any receipt, and by him is dispensed to his lieutenants and underlings to be spent in ways that may be legitimate or illegitimate, without vouchers or any means of tracing its course. It is by such methods that the crooked work in politics is mostly done, and it is for this reason that it is usually impossible to trace the corrupt use of money in elections to those who are really most responsible for the wrong. You may catch the small fry, repeaters or ballot-thieves, as has been frequently done in my native city; but the big boss whom the initiated well know to be the source of corruption remains well outside the doors of the penitentiary and holds his place as an influential member of the community.

The two States with which the Republican Committee in 1888 needed especially to concern itself were New York and Indiana, because the two parties were so nearly matched in both of them that it took comparatively little change to turn the scales. Connecticut and New Jersey were also considered "doubtful," but they were not of equal importance with New York and Indiana. Mr. Quay's genius, strengthened by his great experience in those methods which work best in the twilight, proved him master of the situation. He determined to reduce the Democratic majority in the city of New York as much as possible. To this end he obtained the services of the Pinkerton Detective Agency and located more than twelve hundred men in the tenement district of the city. Through the detectives he succeeded in preventing much false registration on the part of the Democrats. The cleverness of this move was greatly admired even by his political foes. The "slump," as it is called, of the Democrats in King's County, where in the election of 1884 they had a majority of nearly sixteen thousand, was a great surprise and did much to dishearten the enemy. It was not until the night of the election, so quietly and skilfully had Mr. Quay's agents done their work, that the changed condition of affairs was understood by the Democrats. The county, instead of returning over twenty thousand majority for Mr. Cleveland, gave him but twelve thousand four hundred and sixty-seven. This startling and unexpected result threw the Democratic

managers into a state of panic. Mr. Murtha, chairman of the executive committee of the New York State Democratic committee, a resident of Brooklyn and a former office-holder there, was so chagrined by the defeat that he took to his bed the next day and soon after died. What was the precise nature of the marvellous persuasions made use of by the emissaries of Mr. Quay is a matter of conjecture.

Another influence employed with marked effect upon the result was heavy betting on the election. Until the large contributions began to flow into the New York treasury from Philadelphia, the betting in New York was strongly in favor of Mr. Cleveland. Democrats and professional gamblers who wanted to bet on Mr. Cleveland had to give odds to make the bets. Mr. Quay determined to turn the tide, and so he and his political lieutenants made up a purse of more than one hundred and thirty thousand dollars which was used to bet upon a victory for Mr. Harrison; nearly all of this money was bet in New York on the general result. When this purse was first made up, it was with the knowledge that it might serve a double purpose—to make money for those who accepted the risk and to encourage their political fellow-workers in other parts of the country. It was a brilliant stroke and did much to turn the tide and to establish confidence in Republican success. But what assurance have contributors to campaign funds, under present non-accounting methods, that their donations are always used for purposes political and that they are not employed as capital for gambling speculations?

The most memorable incident of the campaign, and that which attracted the attention of the entire country, was the publication, by the New York "World" and the New York "Times" and other papers, of a letter purporting to have been written by Colonel Dudley, of Indiana, giving directions to a chairman of a county committee upon the management of the political battle in that State during the closing days of the campaign. It gives a clear idea of some of the details of practical politics as they are conducted by the advocates of machine methods. The sentence which made this letter famous and brought so much annoyance to its alleged author is sufficiently suggestive to bear quoting. The fourth bit of advice which the writer gives to his correspondent is: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket." Later in the letter the writer adds: "There will be no doubt of your receiving the necessary financial assistance through the National,

State, and county committees, and only see that it is husbanded and made to produce results."

The popular outcry raised by the publication of this letter was so great that Colonel Dudley felt obliged to take some action in self-defence. He brought suit against the "World" for criminal libel, but this was never pressed to a conclusion. The "World" took the aggressive and addressed certain interrogatories to him calculated to bring out the truth. These the court ordered the plaintiff to answer, and upon his failing to do so the case was dismissed. The public, therefore, was compelled to assume that the letter was genuine. The political debauchery witnessed so conspicuously in Indiana during the last Presidential campaign was but the logical result of those political methods which the people of the United States have permitted to be created and fostered in their midst. Indiana became the storm-centre of corruption because of its peculiar conditions as a doubtful State. The number of purchasable voters¹ in the State became so large because the temptations held out to them by the workers of both parties were so alluring, and each party excused itself and salved its conscience by saying that if it hesitated to employ improper means its opponent would immediately take advantage of its prudishness. Indeed, not only do the machine politicians of both parties so speak when talking freely, but the same sort of fallacious reasoning drops with an unconscious immorality from the lips of otherwise honorable men. We seem to need some moral tonic in our politics which will give us a clearer view of the inevitable punishments following the toleration of such abuses and which will lift the standards of political action. The evil is to some extent working its own cure. As a result of the scandals of the last Presidential election in Indiana, both Governor Gray, Democrat, and Governor Hovey, Republican, have strongly urged upon the legislature the passage of an election law which shall diminish facilities for illicit voting. Such a law has since been enacted, and it is regarded as fairly good.

There is another evil connected with the operations of National campaign committees which is still serious, notwithstanding the existence of a Federal statute which aims to prevent it; this is the disposition of the machine leaders to assess Federal office-holders by ask-

¹ A well-informed and reliable correspondent residing in Indiana writes: "The poll-book makers of both parties returned the number of 'floaters' at between twenty thousand and thirty thousand. This means the purchasable voters. That there were that number is common knowledge."

ing for contributions to campaign funds. Such contributions are quite easily extorted, even under the guise of seductive invitations euphoniously worded, and which to the ordinary reader have no element of compulsion in them. The force of the appeal lies in the well-grounded fear on the part of the office-holder of the personal consequences of the "boss'" displeasure if he should refuse. Such appeals frequently derive great force from the adoption of the mistaken view by the office-holder that the place which he occupies is the property not of the people, but of his party, and that he owes his party a return for its enjoyment. In the autumn of 1890 a gentleman occupying a Federal office in Baltimore received a circular-letter marked "confidential," signed by Mr. Quay as chairman of the National Republican Committee. This was accompanied by a personal note of explanation. The circular-letter asked the recipient to make use of a number of inclosed elegantly engraved certificates, each of which entitled the signer to be considered as a "registered contributor to the Republican National Committee." A coupon was attached to each certificate, to be returned, with the contributor's name *and a contribution of ten dollars*, to the permanent headquarters of the committee in Washington. To these communications the gentleman who had received them, being of an independent turn of mind, replied that he would gladly comply with the request of the senator were it not that, as "you are doubtless not aware," he was a Federal office-holder and "as such would be liable to the penalties imposed by act of Congress . . . 'upon any officer, clerk, or other person in the service of the United States who shall directly or indirectly give or hand over to any senator any money or other valuables on account of or to be applied to the promotion of any political object whatever.' " To this response the following significant reply came from the assistant secretary of the committee: "If the theory laid down in your letter should be universally followed, I do not see how the National Committee is to be equipped so as to elect in 1892 a Republican President. Fortunately your theory is *not* universally followed." In a word, judging from the writer's statement, the National Republican Committee expected to do its work partly through funds illegally extorted from office-holders in the civil service of the Government!

The same general criticism made upon the methods used by the Republican National Committee might be applied with equal justice to the Democratic committee. There has been the same tendency to find for its *personnel* men who will not let the party interests suffer

from scrupulosity, and whose keenness of wit will enable them to circumvent the cunning of the adversary. The name of Mr. Gorman, of Maryland, upon it and others of similar import, showed that the same school of politics was there represented as was conspicuous in the chairman of the Republican Committee. In forming the Democratic National Committee for the fight of 1888 it was hoped that Mr. Calvin S. Brice, long prominent in the politics of Ohio, with a reputation for great shrewdness and boldness as a stock speculator in Wall Street, might prove a match for Mr. Quay. The hope was illusive. In accurate knowledge of the precise kind and degree of pressure by which the hidden political springs can be made to respond to the trained touch the skilled financier was a novice as compared with the silent Pennsylvanian. But notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Brice was not equal to Mr. Quay in the game of practical politics, and that he lost, his work in the campaign was painstaking and vigorous, and he has not been accorded due recognition for it. He had to contend against a party which had ample means at its command—Democratic financial resources were very inferior to those of the opponents—and a party, moreover, which was not *weakened by the jealousies and disappointments which inevitably follow the distribution of patronage*. It is reported on good authority that during the last ten days of the campaign so great was the stress under which the Democrats labored that Mr. Brice from his own pocket supplied them with from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

The Democrats, although doubtless ready, so far as their resources permitted, to follow the methods of their adversaries, are to be commended for one feature of the campaign. It was, to a greater degree than that of the Republicans, one of education. Mr. Cleveland's tariff-reform message, speeches of Mr. Scott, Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Mills, Mr. Fitch, and Mr. Nelson on the Mills Bill and other documents were printed to the extent of millions of copies, were translated into twelve languages, and circulated widely over the country. It is probable that the Democratic committee did not have seventy-five per cent of the money spent by their opponents. They had hoped to get considerable funds from the office-holders, but in this they failed. Efforts were made to assess Democrats occupying Federal positions, but these were not generally successful, those appealed to feeling that the demand could not be enforced. In this instance the law forbidding such assessments proved of value.

That the political virtue of the Democrats is as frail as that of

the Republicans where the conditions are favorable to temptation is clearly shown by their doings in Hudson County, N. J., during the gubernatorial campaign of 1889, where efforts to secure victory by fraud have resulted in the conviction and imprisonment of upward of thirty election officers, who have been sentenced by Judge Lippincott (himself a Democrat) to terms running from nine to eighteen months. The superior organization of the Democrats in New Jersey enables them to pursue fraudulent means with greater chance of success, but this advantage is occasionally overcome by the Republicans, who are better supplied with the means for purchasing votes.

That the general picture of our political methods sketched in this article is a fair one will be universally admitted by those who have had even a glance behind the scenes. That it indicates on the part of National committees, State committees, local committees, and of our politicians as a class, a loose, unsatisfactory way of doing business, often a wholly dishonest, reprehensible, and dangerous way, will not be disputed by reasonable and intelligent men who feel themselves at all concerned in the matter and who have examined it with any seriousness. There is a very simple remedy for these distempers of the body politic, the adoption of which is a necessary preliminary to the remedy suggested for the evil of loose business methods tempting to and concealing fraud which are complained of in the case of political committees.

The general remedy, which must be urged with painful reiteration, is the creation of a public interest in public affairs and of that sense of individual responsibility for their right management which makes every man a politician in the true and good sense of that word. The moment that public sentiment demands higher ethical standards in political life, then will they be applied and then will political acts be judged by them. At once the greatest and hardest work in the long struggle for sound administration is to get the good people interested in it and willing to labor for it personally. The specific remedy for the serious abuse existing in the irresponsible and fraud-concealing methods pursued by political campaign committees will be found in the enactment of laws in all the States, possibly also of a Federal law, requiring political committees to publish at the conclusion of a campaign full statements, duly attested before a notary, giving an account of all money received and disbursed by them in the prosecution of their work. It is not sufficient to make such a requirement of a candidate, as is done by the New York law; it should be required of

committees, for with these the main danger lurks. Michigan has such a law, which is part of that State's new and excellent ballot-reform law. Massachusetts, thanks to the untiring devotion and ability of her strong band of reformers, after several futile attempts, obtained an excellent law during the past winter. This went into operation August 1, 1892.¹

But quite apart from such reforms in the work of National political committees as can only be effected by the combined action of law and public sentiment, there is one suggestion which such committees might at once carry into effect. It is the substitution of a small pocket compendium, containing the most important facts and arguments which either party has to present to its adherents and the public, for the ponderous, ill-prepared, and ill-printed campaign books such as both the National Committees of 1890 issued. People would be really glad to have such a book, prepared with ability and judgment, and it would be of great benefit to the party in whose interests it was issued. It would pour a new life through the various political arteries provided for its circulation. The true conception of a National Committee composed of able and high-toned men, one representing the best life of the party, is that it should be a bureau of information; that by the speakers which it commissions and the literature which it issues the public may be told in the clearest manner possible the true reasons for the party's existence and upon which it bases its appeal to public favor.

The political diseases which afflict our young and vigorous Nation are sufficiently serious; but in view of the youth and vitality of the patient they furnish no ground for despair of a complete recovery. On the other hand, let us beware lest we fall into a fatuous neglect of them and a failure to seek with promptitude sound medical advice, to apply obvious remedies, and to secure good hygienic conditions for their removal.

HERBERT WELSH.

¹ Very interesting and valuable information on this topic, to which the writer is indebted, will be found in an article entitled "Corrupt Practices Legislation in 1891," contained in the "Century" for November, 1891.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES: A PLAN FOR MORE EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT.

HAS not the time arrived when some reforms in the stereotyped methods of directing National political campaigns can be made with profit? Cannot some changes be introduced which will render the work done and the money spent through National committees more effective and its effects more wholesome? The present methods are largely perfunctory and antiquated, and the idea that doubtful and devious paths lead to success should be set aside, and the doctrine advanced that direct and open courses are to be preferred, not only on the ground of greater political courage, but also because they have the merit of greater efficiency and will secure greater results. Tricks and traps, operations in "mules" and transactions in "blocks of five" are hardly defensible upon ethical grounds; and if they are both costly and ineffectual, as most close observers will admit them to be, it is clear that simpler and wholly commendable methods ought to command approval and secure adoption. Assuming that there is in the land too much intelligence and too much political integrity to make it possible that the old-fashioned campaign management should be either generally acceptable or properly effective, I venture to outline a somewhat different method of procedure. Taking only the side that affects the Democratic party, I will endeavor to suggest a Presidential campaign for 1892 which will commend itself to the people on account of its transparent fairness and to the party because of its probable successful results.

The fight should be made from start to finish on the platform, and both platform and candidates should be constantly held up as the promise the party makes to the country if intrusted with its control by the voters in November. No dodging, straddling, or deception should be encouraged in any part of the country. No promise or hint of any future action inconsistent with our platform pledges should be permitted, and every vote we secure should be, therefore, solely upon the pledge of the platform and upon its promises. A campaign for principle will result, and it will be both refreshing and successful.

The party thus appealing to the Nation's conscience, to its sense of fair play, to its intelligence and to its honesty is sure to triumph. It is this open, straightforward, and courageous appeal which will bring to us the doubtful States, and it certainly will not lose us a Democratic State.

As we believe in local government, in home rule in State and Nation in political affairs, we should apply it to our campaign management. This would not involve anything like close connection between the National Committee and the various State committees. Throw all the direct responsibility on the State committees and give them entire control of their own territory. The work then of the National Committee would be simplified by being made largely advisory, and in the end it would become more vigorous and efficient; while the work of the State committees, acting independently and practically as if it were a State and not a National election, would be immensely more effective than it has been in the past half-dozen Presidential struggles. The National Committee would still find enough to do, and could perform its work thoroughly and promptly. Securing from the State committees complete poll lists of Republican and Independent voters, it could supply each of them for three or four months with a leading Democratic weekly paper of National reputation, and occasionally reach them with an extra document or publication of brevity and force. These poll lists, worked in this way, would prove the richest political soil in which to plant and cultivate truth, and a most satisfactory crop could be gathered from it in November. If properly developed, this alone would produce and supply enough extra votes for us to secure overwhelming Democratic success next fall.

Of course, the work of securing campaign speakers from outside to canvass particular States might be undertaken by the National Committee, but it would be better if all such matters were worked out by local and State committees. The National Committee ought to have a list of all local speakers taking part in the campaign from the Pacific to the Atlantic, without the omission of a State; and to such speakers it should supply campaign literature and such information and encouragement, as well as occasional direction or suggestion, as might be found necessary as the campaign developed. At the end of the fight the National Committee should publish a statement of its receipts and expenditures, and when taken in connection with the results accomplished, the party and the country would recognize the truth that a

moderate sum of money devoted wholly to a campaign of education, and none of it wasted in doubtful and almost uniformly futile efforts at outwitting or misleading the opposition, is more effective than a much greater sum spent in the usual manner. Campaign publications should be brief and tract-like, never exceeding in length a short catechism, and illustrated as often as possible by cartoon work. After such a campaign local politics would be left in better condition and in more efficient shape for the succeeding State, county, and city struggles which are annual throughout the country.

My suggestion simply is to take from the work usually done by the National Committee that part which can be done much more easily and directly and with far greater results and place it where it belongs; that is, with the State and other local committees. If there is added to this the effort to make the work of the National Committee more open than it has grown to be, and then the details are filled in which are inevitable to a campaign, but which cannot be stated here for they would fill a small volume, we have in brief an outline plan of party organization which in 1892 would sweep the country for the Democratic party and its candidates.

MICHAEL D. HARTER.

THE NEXT GREAT PROBLEMS OF SCIENCE.

THE progress of the race and the advancement of civilization, whether in the direction of industrial improvement or of intellectual growth, depend, the first mainly, the second largely, upon the extent and the success of man's utilization of the four great natural forces, or "energies" as the man of science calls them: heat, light, electricity, mechanical or dynamic power. Civilization is based upon their application to the purposes of humanity in the world of matter; intellectual and even moral progress is advanced by that steady march of improvement which, in modern times especially, has so constantly promoted the material welfare of the world, and has thus given leisure for that employment of the mind in higher work which is the essential prerequisite to either intellectual or moral elevation.

The greatest of all our problems to-day is thus that of making this utilization of the forces of nature more general, more efficient, and more fruitful. Could the engineer, to whom all this work is intrusted, find a way of producing steam power at a fraction its present cost; could he transform heat energy directly and without waste into dynamic; could he find a method of evolution of light without that enormous loss now inevitable in the form of accompanying heat; could he directly produce electricity, without other and lost energy, from the combustion of fuel—could he do these things to-day, the growth of all that is desirable to mankind and the advancement of all the interests and powers of the race would be inconceivably accelerated. Moral sentiments, logical power, inventive genius, capacity for accomplishing all the grander tasks of civilization, develop together. All gain and retain existence through the mysterious power, possessed by all, of transforming and utilizing those original natural energies coming to us all alike from the central sun, and to the central sun from initial chaos and a diffused universe. Every motion and every power of each and all is due to conversion of these primary energies for a specific purpose and in a specific manner.

The engineer, to whom is confided this duty of utilizing all the forces of nature for the benefit of his fellows, has, however, now ap-

parently reached a point beyond which he can see but little opportunity for further improvement, except by slow and toilsome and continually limited progress. He seems to have come very nearly to the limit of his advance in the directions which have, up to the moment, been so fruitful of result. His steam engine is doing nearly the best that can be done, so far as he can see, in the conversion of heat into power; light is produced through the steam engine and the dynamo-electric machine about as efficiently as he can hope to obtain it by known methods; heat is obtainable for his thousand purposes, economically at least, only by the combustion of his rapidly disappearing stores of fuel laid by in the past millenniums for his use during a brief life on the globe, and without visible substitute when they shall have been exhausted; and civilization, the life of the race, dependent upon our coal-beds, is only assured of ultimate and, on the geologist's scale of time, early extinction; unless, indeed, again consulting nature and studying the lessons of life, as we have so often profitably done before, we can learn of new ways of availing ourselves of existing forms of energy in nature, or of enormously improving our methods and reducing those wastes which are now so frightful, as judged from the standpoint of both the engineer and the man of science. Whether we can expect or even hope to accomplish the first of these tasks is extremely doubtful, not to say absolutely improbable; that we may possibly succeed in the second may be less unlikely. In any case, our only recourse is the same method which has brought us all that we now possess: scientific research and the study of nature's own methods.

What we are to seek is, first, a method of producing, directly or by modification of other ether vibrations, just that sort of ether wave which we require, in the form of heat, light, or electricity, of exactly defined rate and amplitude of vibration; secondly, the complete transformation of either or all forms into mechanical power, into "dynamic" energy. It is easy to say and usually is safe to assert that what has been done may be again done; what is accomplished to-day in nature may be, in a similar manner or by parallel methods, performed by man. Nature accomplishes many of the tasks that man is about attempting, and has been holding up to him the solution of his problems throughout the ages. It is for him to solve her riddles and thus to obtain power at a fraction of its present cost; prolong the life of the race indefinitely; secure light, isolated from heat, and in many times the quantity for a given amount of labor now expended; and

produce electricity without loss and directly, instead of, as at present, through the intervention of heat engines with their now enormous wastes. Human progress depends upon the ability of mankind to do more work, and to accomplish greater tasks, to supply the necessities of life with less expenditure of time and strength, thus to secure leisure for the production of the comforts and the luxuries that give modern society its characteristics, and to insure that leisure for thought, invention, intellectual development of every kind, which still more strikingly characterize the highest civilization. In all this, only the application of the forces of nature without waste and the complete subjection of all its energies can give maximum result.

It is now well known that the heat engines, whether steam, gas, hot air, or ether, only utilize a fraction of the power latent in their fuel, and that this fraction, as a maximum, in even an ideally perfect engine, is measured by the division of the range of temperature through which they expand their "working fluids" by the "absolute" temperature of the fluid as supplied to the engine; that is, a temperature measured from a point about 460° , on the Fahrenheit scale, below the Fahrenheit zero. This fraction, we have learned, is, in the case of the modern steam engine, usually between one-fourth and one-half; while the actual performance of our engines falls to one-fifth or one-third this ideal maximum, in the ordinary and best engines, respectively.¹ The engine fully utilizing, ideally, but two and one-half pounds of steam and one-fourth of a pound of coal per horse power per hour practically demands six to eight times this amount, even when of the best construction; while the average engine probably utilizes but one pound in ten, and often but one in twenty, wasting from ninety to ninety-five per cent of all the heat from its furnaces. The gas engine gives higher thermodynamic performance than the steam engine; but it compensates this advantage by loss, through a "water-jacket," of one-half of all the heat that it should completely transform into useful work.² No method is yet discovered of imitating nature in direct conversion of heat into other forms of energy without waste; and our production of light, in our most recent and most wonderful inventions, involves the same waste by the intermediate use of the heat engine for primary transformation of heat into mechanical energy,

¹ "Steam and its Rivals," R. H. Thurston : FORUM, May, 1888, p. 341. Also "Manual of the Steam Engine," Vol. I.; New York, S. Wiley & Sons, 1890.

² "Last Days of the Steam Engine," R. H. Thurston : "North American Review," July, 1889.

in turn to be converted, with great efficiency, into electricity, thence to be once more transformed, with great waste again, into light. The direct evolution of light, purely, or of electricity alone and without loss, from fuel oxidation, though it is constantly performed by nature, is as yet beyond the power of man. Could these problems of life be solved, power and light would cost us but a small fraction of their cost to-day; and the exhaustion of our coal-beds would be deferred thousands of years. Were grander problems ever presented or nobler prizes ever offered the man of science than these? Nature solved them in the earliest days of the earth's history; it begins to seem probable that man may find a way to penetrate the secrets and solve the problems of life and vitality. All that he seeks may be evolved from the mysteries and lessons of life.

The living body is a machine in which the "law of Carnot," which asserts the necessity of waste in all thermodynamic processes and in every heat engine, and which shows that waste to be the greater as the range of temperature worked through by the machine is the more restricted, is evaded; it produces electricity without intermediate conversions and losses; it obtains heat without high-temperature combustion, and even, in some cases, light without any sensible heat. In other words, in the vital system of man and of the lower animals nature shows us the practicability of directly converting any one form of energy into any other, without those losses and unavoidable wastes characteristic of the methods the invention of which has been the pride and the boast of man. Every living creature, man and worm alike, shows him that his great task is but half accomplished; that his grandest inventions are but crudest and remote imitations; that his best work is wasteful and awkward. Every animate creature is a machine of enormously higher efficiency as a dynamic engine than his most elaborate construction as illustrated in the 20,000 horse-power engines of the "Teutonic" or the "City of Paris," or in the most powerful locomotive. Every gymnotus living in the mud of a tropical stream puts to shame man's best effort in the production of electricity; and the minute insect that flashes across his lawn on a summer evening, or the worm that lights his path in the garden, exhibits a system of illumination incomparably superior to his most perfect electric lights.

Nature in each of these cases converts the energy of chemical union, probably of low-temperature oxidation, into just that form of energy, whether mechanical or of a certain exactly defined and re-

quired rate of ether vibration, that is best suited to the intended purpose, and without waste in other force, utilizing even the used-up tissue of muscle and nerve for the production of the warmth required to retain the marvellous machine at the temperature of best efficiency, whatever the environment, and exhaling the rejected resultant carbonic-acid gas at the same low temperature. Here is nature's challenge to man! Man wastes one-fourth of all the heat of his fuel as utilized in his steam boiler, and often ninety per cent as used in his open fire-places; nature, in the animal system, utilizes substantially all. He produces light by candle, oil lamp, or electricity, but submits to a loss of from one-fifth to more than nine-tenths of all his stock of available energy as heat; she, in the glow-worm and fire-fly, produces a lovelier light without waste measurable by our most delicate instruments. He throws aside as loss nine-tenths of his potential energy when attempting to develop mechanical power; she is vastly more economical. But in all cases her methods are radically different from his, though they are as yet obscure. Nature converts available forms of energy into precisely those other forms which are needed for her purposes, in exactly the right quantity, and never wastes, as does invariably the engineer, a large part of the initial stock by the production of energies that she does not want and cannot utilize. She goes directly to her goal. Why should not man? He has but to imitate her processes.

Mysterious as seem these processes and methods, however, and wonderful as seem their results when compared with the crude ways of the engineer and the man of science, we at least know something of them, and are even familiar with many facts relating to them. The facts are these: Every living creature throughout the animal kingdom is a machine which takes into its internal furnace or whatever it may prove to be, its fuel, its "food," composed of vegetable matter or, like the body receiving it, itself directly derived from vegetation; and by a chemical process in what the chemist calls the "wet way" it consumes this food, the resulting products of this chemical action being such as, dissolved in the blood, may be converted into brain, nerve, muscle, and fat; and by later combustion and transformations at low temperature it may produce heat certainly, electricity probably, often light, and always mechanical power. The composition of this fuel is known to be principally familiar chemical elements mingled with the rarer in minute proportions. The hydrocarbons, water, and a little lime, phosphorus, sulphur, and other minerals, such as iron, constitute the food of all living creatures.

Every process involved is carried on at "blood-heat" in the higher animals, and at much lower temperatures in the "cold-blooded" creatures; and all parts of the system are retained at substantially the same temperature at all times. All heat is thus the result of low-temperature combustion; all light and electricity are evolved at a constant low point on the scale, and these energies are converted into new forms, or into dynamic energy, and applied to the performance of work without variation of that temperature. That heat *is* produced is a matter of constant experience and observation, and we throw off more as we work harder, whether with mind or body, and as we move more rapidly. That this heat, so far as converted into other energies by the body, must be so converted at a sensibly constant temperature is obvious from the fact that the change goes on in a mass of circulating fluids; that this proves that the conversion is not thermodynamic, but is due to some entirely different and unknown method, is equally evident to the engineer, who understands that only so could the "law of Carnot" be evaded. That this mass is possibly electrodynamic is indicated by the fact that electric currents traverse the system, and that we may at any moment compel the muscles to do work by the application of a current from an external source.

Of the methods of production of electrical energies in the body, we know as yet absolutely nothing; but we do know that electricity may be produced in large quantity, and at "high pressure," as the electrician says, as illustrated by the torpedo and the gymnotus or electric eel; and the anatomist knows the mechanical structure of the organs from which it is evolved, though he is ignorant of the processes therein conducted. We also know that the best currents for electrodynamic operations are those of low intensity, such as are easiest of control and insulation in the body. By analogy with the other methods of transformation, we may presume that the source of this vital fluid in the animal is low-temperature combustion or other chemical action, and that a system of direct conversion is there in operation.

Scientific men are somewhat more familiar with the case of the fire-fly, curiously enough; that is to say, the production of light without heat, as well as the transformation of energies resulting in the economical production of heat and power in the animal system. It has long been known that certain chemical compounds, notably fats containing sulphur and phosphorus, may be burned at exceedingly low temperatures, with an evolution of a mild light almost or quite

entirely free from heat. Some such compounds are found in nature, and the chemist has artificially produced others. He finds that he may at will produce, in some cases, slow and cold light-production or rapid and heat-producing oxidation. Numerous experiments upon the fire-fly and the glow-worm indicate that theirs is a light thus obtained. This so-called "phosphorescence" is seen in many insects, worms, fishes, and molluscs, and even in vegetable and mineral matter. For a century this investigation has been in progress, and it is well established that the low-temperature combustion of a peculiar substance, given form in the body of the fire-fly, for instance, by peculiar organs specially constituted for that purpose, results in the production of light without heat. This has been most recently and most conclusively proved by Messrs. Langley and Very, the distinguished astronomer and his naval friend, who show by actual measurement with the Langley "bolometer," an instrument capable of measuring even the heat received from the moon, that "insect light" is accompanied by approximately one-four-hundredth part of the heat which is ordinarily associated with the radiation of flame of the luminous quality of those familiar to all of us. Thus "nature produces this cheapest light at about one-four-hundredth part of the cost of the energy which is expended in the candle flame and at but an insignificant fraction of the cost of the electric light or the most economic light which has yet been devised." Many deep-sea fishes and numberless animalcules exhibit a solution of this problem.

Some idea of the advantage to be hoped for from the substitution of the economical ways of nature for the wasteful ways of man may be obtained from the following facts: Experiments by Mr. Merritt, in the Cornell University laboratories, have shown the wastes of the incandescent electric lamp to be from $93\frac{1}{2}$ to $99\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, according to intensity of current; while Mr. Nakano's tests, in the same place, of the arc lamp give a waste of 95 to 84 per cent. The insect wastes almost nothing. But even now the electric light has ten or fifteen times the efficiency of the oil lamp, and is still better as compared with the candle. Professor Langley found the common gas-burner to waste 99 per cent of the developed energy of combustion. His fire-flies were more efficient in the proportion of one to thousands. The six millions of tons of coal supposed to be concealed in the earth, at our present rate of consumption, if employed for power-production, would supply about fifteen thousand millions of horse power for twelve thousand years; but could we discover and employ nature's methods

and gain in such proportion as is indicated above, we might feel sure that all the wants of the race would be supplied as long as the earth should continue the possible abode of man. More than ten years ago I remarked in my inaugural address as president of the "American Society of Mechanical Engineers":¹

"I have sometimes said that the world is waiting for the appearance of three great inventors, yet unknown, for whom it has in store honors and emoluments far exceeding all ever yet accorded to any one of their predecessors. The first is the man who is to show how, by the consumption of coal, we may directly produce electricity, and thus, perhaps, evade that now inevitable and enormous loss that comes of the utilization of energy in all heat engines driven by substances of variable volume. Our electrical engineers have this great step still to take, and are apparently not likely soon to gain the prize that will reward some genius yet to be born. The second of these greatest of inventors is he who will teach us the source of the beautiful soft-beaming light of the fire-fly and the glow-worm, and will show us how to produce this singular illuminant and to apply it with success practically and commercially. This wonderful light, free from heat and from consequent loss of energy, is nature's substitute for the crude and extravagantly wasteful lights of which we have, through so many years, been foolishly boasting. The dynamo-electrical engineer has nearly solved this problem. Let us hope that it may be soon fully solved, and by one of those among our own colleagues who are now so earnestly working in this field, and that we may all live to see him steal the glow-worm's light and to see the approaching days of Vril predicted so long ago by Lord Lytton. The third great genius is the man who is to fulfil Erasmus Darwin's prophecy closing the stanza:

" 'Soon shall thy arm, unconquered steam, afar
 Drag the slow barge or drive the rapid car ;
 Or on wide-waving wings expanded bear
 The flying chariot through the fields of air.' "

And even this latest of the mechanic's triumphs, already known to present far less difficulty than was formerly supposed, will attain highest success only when nature's methods of energy transformations are discovered and adopted.

Should the day ever come when transformations of energy shall be made in nature's order, and when thermo-electric changes shall be a primary step toward electrodynamic application to purposes now universally attained only by the unsatisfactory processes of thermodynamics as illustrated in our wasteful heat engines, the engineer, following in his work the practice of nature, which has been so successful throughout the life of the animal kingdom, will find it easy to drive his ship across the ocean in three days; will readily concentrate in the space now occupied by the engines of the "Majestic" a quarter

¹ Transactions "A. S. M. E.," November, 1881.

of a million horse power; will transfer the 3,000,000 horse power of Niagara to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, to be distributed to the mills, shops, houses, for every possible use, furnishing heat, light, and power wherever needed; and may possibly do quite as much for the benefit of mankind by breaking up the modern factory system and distributing labor in comfortable quarters as by this reduction of costs of products to the consumer. One of the many difficulties in the way of successful navigation of the air is known to be that of securing some propelling instrument that shall not weigh more than about ten pounds to the horse power. Could we evade Carnot's law by complete energy transformation, we could to-day build engines of over 4,000 horse power to the ton weight, and that obstacle would be out of our way. Could we completely transform heat or mechanical power into light, a resulting advantage would also be the reduction of the whole system of light-producing machinery in weight and bulk in corresponding degree. These gains would be observed in innumerable directions.

On the other hand, nature in all her transformations makes use of chemical processes and organic and complex compounds that may prove to be too costly as substitutes for the fuels, though the latter are subject to present wastes; and thus the question of dollars and cents, always controlling, comes in to confuse the wisest of scientific men. However that may be, these problems must always afford instructive lessons to the student of the mysteries of nature; and the bare possibility that by following her methods he may find ways of so enormously benefiting his fellow-man and of adding so greatly to the comfort, the pleasure, the safety, and the opportunities of the race, must be quite sufficient to stimulate every young aspirant for fame and every lover of research to strive to achieve some one or all of these solutions of the grandest scientific problems that remain unsolved. It seems more than probable that it is to the mysteries and lessons of life that the chemist, the physicist, the engineer, must turn in seeking the key that shall unlock the still unrevealed treasures of coming centuries. These constitute nature's challenge to the engineer.

ROBERT H. THURSTON.

“A TARIFF FOR REVENUE”: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS.

“TARIFF for revenue only” is the expression of a fundamental principle of one of the great political parties of the country, and has for years been familiarly used by statesmen, politicians, journalists, and disputants generally in discussing our National fiscal policy. To ask at this late day what this expression means may imply an assumption that it has not been understood; and singular and perhaps unwarranted as such an assumption may seem, an examination of the subject will, I believe, nevertheless show that the proposition in question embodies a principle that in its largest and legitimate sense is not yet popularly recognized, and a meaning far broader and more important than any that would follow from a limitation of its application to the mere levying of duties (taxes) upon imports. In justification of this belief, attention is asked to the steps and sequences of such an examination.

It is important in the first instance to recognize clearly the origin and justification of taxation. How happens it that the *entity* which we call the state has the right to take from the individual that which is absolutely his, annul his ownership, and convert the thing to its own use? How happens it that the exercise of this right is so absolute that the state requires the citizen to set apart from the earnings of his labor a certain sum for its use before he applies any of those earnings to the support of his family?

On this subject there has been a good deal of philosophizing: all of which, although interesting, is of little practical importance, inasmuch as it is only necessary to recognize that the state exists for certain definite purposes, even though they may be difficult of precise definition, to obtain a satisfactory answer to the question at issue. For the command of an adequate and certain revenue being absolutely essential to the existence of organized government, the power to compel or enforce contributions from the people governed, or, as it is termed, “*to tax*,” is inherent in and an incident of every sovereignty and *rests upon necessity*. Without revenue (and a government never has any resources except what it derives from the people) regularly and uniformly obtainable, no governmental machinery for

the protection of life and property, through the dispensing of justice and the providing for the common defence, could long be maintained; and in default thereof production would stop or be reduced to a minimum, accumulations would cease or become speedily exhausted, and civilization would inevitably give place to barbarism. For like reasons also, or as the old-time Latin maxim "*salus populi suprema lex*" concretely expresses it, the state holds command of the lives and liberties of its citizens as it does of their fortunes. In fact, the sovereignty of the state exists and exemplifies itself in its power to abridge the liberty of the individual citizen and take his property; and the character of every government is mainly determined by the intent and purpose for which these two great functions, from which all its force proceeds, are exercised.

These conclusions naturally lead up to the consideration of the question as to the extent to which the power of the state to interfere with the citizen's rights to property may be exercised. Under a purely despotic government there is no limitation on its exercise except such as arises from the inability of the subject to contribute. The head of the state—shah, czar, or emperor—decides how much shall be exacted and the time and manner of exaction; and not infrequently the amount taken is only a little short of what it is necessary to leave to the producer in order to enable him to maintain a mere animal existence. People are accustomed to think that the extreme exercise of the power of exacting tribute has long since passed, but in this they are mistaken. Thus in Russia the present governmental exaction—under the name of taxes—from the agricultural peasant is understood to amount to about forty-five per cent of his annual product or earnings; and in Italy, although it is hardly fair to characterize its government as despotic, agriculture is burdened with a state exaction that absorbs from one-third to one-half of its annual returns.

In a truly free and highly developed state, the two great functions, namely, the right to interfere with the liberty of the citizen and with his property, have been called into existence and can be rightfully exercised for certain purposes only, which admit of precise definition. In such a state the fundamental and essential purpose of government is not to abridge the liberty of the individual citizen in respect to his person or his possession and use of property, but to increase it; and this result, as has already been pointed out, can only be attained by taking a part of the property of the citizen which the existence of

the state has enabled him to acquire, for the purpose of maintaining instrumentalities for preventing any encroachment upon his rightful liberty and punishing those who attempt it. In fact, in every free state there are limitations on the exercise of the taxing power, growing out of the structure of its government, or because it is free; or, as Chief Justice Marshall expressed it, "by the implied reservations of individual rights growing out of the nature of a free government, and the maintenance of which is essential to its existence."

No one would probably question that if an assemblage of men reasonably intelligent—though not versed in law, political economy, or the teachings of social science—were to come together for the purpose of founding a state *de novo*, they would, while recognizing at once, and as it were instinctively, the necessity of insuring to the government of such state a revenue adequate to its support, never even so much as dream for one moment of intrusting to it a power to take the property of any individual member of such assemblage, except so far as might be absolutely necessary to carry out and fulfil the purposes for which it was proposed to call the state into existence. They would be mentally blind if they did not see at once that in intrusting to the state a power of unlimited interference with the citizen's right to property, they would create not a free government, but a despotism. And in proof that this reasoning is not mere rhetoric, but plain, hard legal and political sense, it is well to note what our highest legal tribunal, the United States Supreme Court, has had to say on this subject. Speaking through the late Justice Miller, in the celebrated case of "Loan Association v. Topeka," it unqualifiedly indorsed the position above taken by declaring that "in every free government there are certain rights beyond the control of the state—implied reservations of individual rights without which the social compact could not exist"; and that "a government which recognized no such rights, which held the property of its citizens subject at all times to the absolute disposition and unbounded control of even the most democratic depository of power, is after all but a despotism," and "none the less so" if it happens to be "a despotism of a majority." And in the same case the same court further declared that "the whole theory of our governments, State and National, is opposed to the deposit of unlimited power anywhere."

The limitation, accordingly, on the exercise of the power of taxation under a free government, necessarily grows out of the source and sole justification of the power, namely, its *necessity*; and the right-

eousness of any specific interference by the state with individual rights in respect to property (as well as in respect to personal liberty) may be tested by the question, *Is it necessary?* If the necessity exists, then the power may be justifiably exercised to a corresponding extent. But, on the other hand, if the interference transcends that which is absolutely essential for fulfilling the rightful purposes for which the state exists, then it loses its sole justification of necessity and becomes tyranny, the definition of which is "despotic use of power." Further, "if the state, even to promote its necessary and legitimate objects, takes the amount of property to which it is entitled in such a manner as requires a citizen to pay more than his just share of the requisite amount—whether it be great or small—it takes that to which it has no right; it does what if done by a citizen in defiance of law is called robbery, if under color of law is called fraud, but which in a government which makes law is simply confiscation and tyranny." And yet, very strangely, this tyranny has come to be regarded and defended, by not a few intelligent persons who claim to understand the theory and nature of a free and just government, as an act of wisdom and statesmanship and in the highest degree beneficent to the citizen whose property is confiscated.

Consider next the instrumentality by which taxation subserves the necessities of the state and enables it to effect the purposes for which it was instituted. The designation of this instrumentality is "revenue," as is indicated in the phrase "tariff (or taxation) for revenue." But the term "revenue" is abstract and most indefinite, and as popularly used conveys little meaning, other than a receipt of something of value. In rude or incipient forms of government, where tribute or taxes are payable in cattle, skins, cocoanuts, salt, grain, and the like, the term might be fairly interpreted as an income of property in general. But in a highly civilized state such a meaning is inadmissible. The government of such a state obviously could not defray its varied expenses by payments with various articles of property, even though their value may be unquestioned—as, for example, its executive with fish, fresh or salt; its legislators with distilled or fermented liquors; its judges with boots and shoes; its soldiers and sailors with cotton or corn; and its clerks with agricultural implements, even though the producers of all these forms of wealth or property may be most willing to give them in discharge of their tax obligations. To such a state revenue has and can have, therefore, but one meaning, namely, *money*; because money is the indispensable and practically the only means of

defraying the expenses of the state and efficiently administering its government; and taxation is the process by which the state obtains money from its citizens, who in turn obtain it in exchange for some product of their labor or for some direct personal service.

Now, if these premises are correct—and it is difficult to see how they can be disproved—it would seem to follow that to seek to make taxation, which is a fit contrivance only for raising revenue, an instrument for effecting some ulterior purpose, be it never so just and legitimate, to seek to use it for the attainment of any other advantage than the obvious one of raising money, is to lose sight of a fundamental principle of every free government and to forbid all expectation of recognizing any other basis for the exercise of this great sovereign power of the state than expediency, which in turn will depend upon the actions, passions, and prejudices of legislators, who may not be the same in any two successive legislative assemblies. Such a perversion of principle, furthermore, reaches its climax of absurdity in practice when its immediate beneficiaries claim to be the only proper persons by whom the incidence and amount of taxation can be intelligently determined, a claim that is practically equivalent to the assumption that privilege should take precedence of right in the theory of government.¹

It is essential to the completeness of this discussion to call attention at this point to the circumstance that a full recognition and rigid adherence in practice by a government to these fundamental principles of taxation will not interfere with or impair the efficiency of its administration. The raising of revenue (money) by taxation is one thing; the determination of how the revenue collected shall be used or expended is quite another thing, and the danger line to the liberties of the people is crossed when these two functions are confounded. The exercise of the first, as already pointed out, is subject to limitations growing out of the conditions essential to the existence of a free government. The determination of the second rests primarily in the legislative department of such government, and is subject to no legal limitations in the United States other than what flows from the

¹ "To the extent that the mass of our citizens are inordinately burdened beyond any useful public purpose and for the benefit of a favored few, the Government, under pretext of an exercise of its taxing power, enters gratuitously into partnership with these favorites, to their advantage and to the misery of a vast majority of our people." Message of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, December, 1888.

oft-repeated *dicta* and decisions of its highest judicial authorities, that money taken out of the pockets of the people by taxation cannot be used (expended) for any other than a public purpose; but what constitutes a public purpose is so indefinite that one eminent jurist, especially versed in the subject, has declared that "there is no such thing as drawing a clear line of distinction between purposes of a public and those of a private nature."¹

If a state, therefore, in the plenitude of the wisdom of its legislators, desires "to interfere with the operation of the laws of trade, domestic or foreign, control the preferences of its citizens in respect to production or consumption, repress one form of industry and stimulate another, and discourage even to prohibition the indulgence of such tastes and passions as it may judge to be detrimental to itself or the individual," it may legitimately exercise functions entirely different from that exercised in raising revenue and governed by entirely different principles. The right to regulate trade and commerce and the power of police are entirely independent of the right to raise revenue.

If the state, in providing itself with what it regards as necessary revenue, levies its taxes in such a manner that no citizen is required to pay more or allowed to pay less than his just proportion, then there is no tyranny in taxation, even if the methods employed, without any such intent, may incidentally promote private interests and sumptuary purposes. But if, on the other hand, a just and equitable method of taxation will not promote these purposes, and, as usually the case, the state resorts to methods that are not just, not equitable, and imposes upon some citizens an undue share of the general public burden, then to just that extent taxation becomes tyrannical, and cannot be justified except upon the assumption that there is no limitation on the right of a state to interfere with individual rights to property; which is the same thing as asserting that the state in question is not "free," but is a "despotism." In short, the proposition would seem to be clear and not open to dispute that the state cannot, without violating that simple principle of justice which prescribes equality in taxation, use its taxing power for effecting any other purpose whatever except to raise money.

The principle here involved may be further illustrated by reference to a curious chapter of railroad experience. Some years ago the managers of one of the great railroads of the United States appropriated a part of its receipts from the carriage of freight and passengers

¹ Cooley: "Law of Taxation," p. 70.

to the support of an opera-house and a corps of ballet-dancers. Extraordinary as was this procedure, there was no question that the directors, who were trustees for the stockholders, had the right to determine how the earnings of the road should be applied, so long as the stockholders failed to restrain them or prevent their continuance in office; and as they did not, no legal action or restraint of their singular use of the receipts of the property was attempted. But if these same directors had decided not to take money directly from the aggregate earnings of the railroad for the furtherance of their peculiar views, but that in addition to certain rates for transportation all passengers and freight should pay a special sum (tax) for the support of the opera-house, the state would have undoubtedly and properly intervened and forbidden its collection, on the ground that the railroad was not chartered (called into existence) for any such purpose, and that the attempt to use any power other than what was granted or contemplated in its charter was illegal and unwarranted.

Again, if the legislative department of the state decides that it would be expedient to establish or stimulate the manufacture of certain commodities, no one under a free government would venture openly to justify such action, except on the ground that public welfare would be thereby promoted, although practically such justification in the United States has long since ceased to be other than a pretence and a cover for the promotion of private interests. Suppose, for example, that the manufacture of the commodity which it is proposed to stimulate is tin-plate, and it is decided that the desired result can be best attained by giving the domestic manufacturer the difference between what his product will fetch in a free market and what he can make it for, say fifteen million dollars per annum: it would seem to be only simple justice that the state should fairly and honestly pay the sum representing this difference, and raise the money,¹ not by a tax on the consumers of the product artificially maintained, who are no more interested in the matter than all other citizens, but by a levy

¹ The statement of Senator Hoar, in his recent letter from Paris to the Massachusetts Republican Committee, that the assertion by the Democratic party in its Chicago platform that "the Federal Government has no constitutional power to enforce and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only" was equivalent to an unveiling of an opinion that "the American people alone, of all civilized nations, have no power to do anything for the encouragement of their own industries," displays an amount of ignorance and misconception of the powers and objects of the Government he serves which is, to say the least, most discreditable to the writer.

upon the community at large, in the same equitable manner as it raises money to defray its other expenses. In short, if any industry cannot live without state aid, and it is for the public welfare that it should live, let the state directly subsidize it, and not maintain it by allowing private interest arbitrarily to exercise the great sovereign power of taxation.

This was the idea of Alexander Hamilton, who in the early days of the Republic favored state interference with the pursuits of the people to a large extent, as the best method by which domestic manufacturing should be stimulated by the state. This idea, however, found no more favor with the parties specially interested at that time than it would at present; inasmuch as a brief practical experience would so soon demonstrate the smallness of the revenue necessary to be raised by honest taxation for the maintenance of the state, in comparison with the amount raised, for the most part by inequitable and unjust taxation, for the support of that interference by the state with production which goes under the name of "protection," as to make any long toleration of the latter policy by a free people exceedingly unlikely.

Attention is next asked to the generic difference between the "taxing" and "police" powers of the state (to which a brief reference has been made already), and to the incongruities and governmental abuses that inevitably result from a lack of full recognition of this fact. The object of the taxing power is to raise money to defray the expenditures of the state, and proof and argument seem conclusive that it cannot be legitimately used for anything else. By the power of police is understood the internal regulation of the affairs of the state in the interest of good order. The idea, therefore, of resorting to taxation for the purpose of enforcing morality, preventing social evils, or as an instrumentality for the punishment of crime, is to pervert an agency from the one sole purpose for which it can rightfully exist to another less fit and not warranted by necessity, and presupposes an entire misconception of the principles of a free government. If the prosecution of any trade or occupation or the manufacture and use of any product constitutes an evil of sufficient magnitude to call for adverse legislation, let the state proceed against it directly, courageously, and with determination. To impose taxes upon an evil in any degree short of its prohibition is in effect to recognize and license it. To demand a portion of the gains of a person practising fraud may be an effectual method for putting an end to his knavery by

making his practices unprofitable, but it would be all the same a very poor way for a state to adopt as a means for suppressing fraud. If absolute prohibition is the object, then such result should be attained through the police force of the state and through legislative enactments making the act, powers, or products which it is desired to suppress misdemeanors or felonies. The manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors, in common with all other branches of business, is a legitimate subject for taxation, but there is a broad distinction—indeed, nothing in common—between taxing this business for revenue and attempting to make the receipt of revenue proportionate to the expense which such business entails upon society and the state and in levying taxes with a view of preventing the business from being transacted at all and so preventing revenue.

If the above analysis of the origin, justification, and limitations of the power of taxation is correct, it would seem evident that to seek to make the occasion for the exercise of the power other than necessity, and the object anything else than the raising of money for meeting the expenditures of a government economically administered is to strike a blow at not only good government, but also at free government. It is also a flat denial of the authoritative statement of the United States Supreme Court that "there are rights in every free government beyond the control of the state," and that the theory of our Government, State and National, admits of no place for the deposit of unlimited power. For the deliberate recognition and indorsement of the right on the part of the state to disregard these limitations in a single instance is equivalent to a denial that there are any such, and certainly in this one department makes the government despotic rather than free. Once recognize the principle of inequitable taxation, and no one can foresee how far it may be carried.

The lesson of all history is to the effect that, save in the case of war or invasion, nations have rarely or never lost a freedom once possessed, except through a tolerance (born of indifference) of a succession of gradual and insidious perversions and weakening of those fundamental principles which must be maintained unimpaired to make popular liberty possible. And it is alike startling and discouraging to note how rapidly, in recent years, the United States, as a political entity, has been travelling in this direction.

The idea of using the power of taxation for other purposes than that of obtaining revenue for defraying the necessary expenditure of the Government was one hostile at the outset to all the beliefs and

habits of thought of the American people; was totally incongruous with the social and political system which they instituted and expected, and was reluctantly admitted under the idea that the industries of a new country might need some temporary stimulus and assistance at the outset.¹ The old Whig party did not advocate the theory of protection as an article of faith. It admitted that the Federal Government had no original right to exercise the power of taxation except for revenue, but it claimed that taxes on imports might and should be so adjusted as to afford protection to our infant industries. And in this they were joined by some Democrats who argued in favor of what was called "incidental" protection, or the protection which inevitably results in a greater or less degree from the imposition of duties without any such premeditated purpose. But it was not until after our late war that anybody ventured to openly maintain or defend the proposition that protection was other than the incidental and not the main object of the exercise of the taxing power, although this perversion of principle was tacitly recognized by the imposition and continuance of taxes which had for their intent or resulted in a prevention of the raising of revenue.

One of the most instructive examples of this kind was afforded by the imposition of a tax in 1869 of five cents per pound on the importation of crude or unmanufactured copper, which proved so prohibitive that in one year (1878) revenue to the extent of only five cents, accruing from the importation of only one pound of copper, was collected. The legislators who enacted the law productive of such a result might have pleaded in justification that revenue was their intent;² but when a brief experience had proved that the taxing power had been used to prevent the raising of revenue by the state, and for a different purpose, it was evident that a continuance of the policy (and the tax was long retained) was in effect a justification and an indorsement of it. To complete the illustration, it should be further pointed out that the result of this perversion of the taxing power was to enable the owners of copper mines in the United States, especially certain ones of unprecedented richness—formerly the property of the

¹ The doctrine of Hamilton was that while the payment of bounties for the encouragement of new industrial undertakings was justifiable, their "continuance on manufactures long established was most questionable." "Report on Manufactures," 1791.

² The United States Supreme Court has held that the judicial power cannot inquire into the intentions of Congress in imposing a tax; and that if injustice is done, the only remedy is an appeal to the legislative power that has inflicted it.

United States, but sold for a mere song—to extort for a period of years from the people of the whole country the sum of five cents for every pound of copper they consumed, but from which exaction (aggregating millions) the people of other countries, who consumed the large surplus product of American copper exported, were exempt, as the tax laws of all countries have no extra-territorial jurisdiction. During the discussion, enactment, and defence of the so-called "McKinley tariff," however, all pretence and evasion were discarded, and the position openly taken that the Government could rightfully levy taxes, not for the purpose of raising revenue, and not to subserve any necessity of the state, and under the name of protection delegate to private or corporate interests the right to collect and appropriate them.

Again, no more disgraceful reflection on the intelligence of the American people was ever made than was involved in their sanction of an attempt to use the power of taxation for the prevention of the use of one of the great discoveries of the age, namely, the manufacture of artificial butter, which, when properly prepared, is a most valuable and perfectly healthful addition to the food resources of the people. The practical results of this attempt are exceedingly curious and ought to be in the highest degree instructive. The burden of the tax has not been sufficient to accomplish the object of its levy, for the annual production, sale, and consumption of oleomargarine in the United States has continually increased (from 30,797,000 pounds in 1889-90 to 43,215,000 pounds in 1890-91 and 47,283,000 pounds in 1891-92), and the Federal courts have decided that it is a merchantable article.¹ The Government derives a considerable revenue from its production and sale; and if such production and sale are fraudulent and wrong, then the Government has become a partner in such fraud and wrong and in effect licenses them.

Next, a measure known as the "Anti-Option" bill was introduced and found favor in Congress, which is nothing more nor less than an attempt to make people dealing in certain staple commodities honest by the exercise of the taxing power; a measure devised for effecting indirectly that which it would be unconstitutional to do directly; namely, to prevent trading in cotton, grain, etc., for future delivery, by first assuming that all such sales are "immoral, unnatural, unjust, and injurious," and then attempting to put an end to them, not by the exercise of the police power, but by licensing and taxing them, under

¹ Being such, a state may to a certain extent regulate its sale, but it cannot prevent its importation.

a pretence of collecting revenue, and intentionally fixing the license and tax at a rate so high as to prevent the raising of any revenue. It is difficult to see why, if this extraordinary measure is made law and obligatory on all citizens, the policy of restraint involved should not be made also applicable to the buying and selling of all articles other than cotton and cereals—as cloth, stoves, boots and shoes, securities—and even personal service; and why, if it is right to extinguish one trade or calling by taxing it, every other may not be uprooted and extinguished in the same way.

Next we have a proposition from an eminent judge¹ to employ Federal taxation for the crushing out of State lotteries, with the absurd accompaniment of no revenue (taxes); for if the desired object is attained, the payment of taxes and the procurement of revenue will be prevented. It seems clear, also, that if such a measure was once adopted it would constitute a precedent and authority for the destruction by the Federal Government, through the exercise of the taxing power, of nearly every faculty or power now belonging to and exercised by the several States; and that houses of prostitution, gambling and liquor saloons, opium "joints," and other haunts of vice now under the control and supervision of the police powers of the States might be regulated or suppressed by Federal taxation, as well as lotteries.² Certainly since the proposition of the right of secession from the Union was made and stamped out, no proposition more fraught with prospective evil to the Republic has been advanced than that of Judge Cooley, that Federal taxation should be resorted to for crushing lotteries authorized by a State within its territorial jurisdiction. And yet such is the indifference of the public in respect to this matter that when application was made by a writer for opportunity to review the article of Judge Cooley, in the "Atlantic Monthly," its editor replied that he was unwilling "to publish any paper against the Federal taxation of lotteries"; and the editor of another leading magazine also declined to accept such review on the ground that the public was not interested in the subject.

During the early years of the late war, taxes were imposed on the circulation of the State banks, "manifestly with a view to raise rev-

¹ Judge Cooley, in the "Atlantic Monthly," April, 1892.

² When the Provincial Legislature of Canada recently decided to suppress lotteries in the Dominion, the measures which it instituted for so doing were the imposition of heavy fines and penalties, not only on those engaged in the business, but also upon those having lottery tickets in their possession.

enue and inform the authorities of the amount of paper money in circulation, and for no other purpose." But in 1865 these taxes were greatly increased, not for revenue, but with the admitted intent of destroying all banking institutions chartered by the States, leaving only similar institutions chartered by the Federal Government in existence. The attempt was successful, although no one probably will seriously deny the constitutional right of States to charter banks,¹ and found justification under the then admitted necessity for the exercise of war powers. But this necessity having now passed, the continuance of the taxation in question is equivalent to an assertion that the Federal Government has a right to exercise this power not for revenue, and not therefore by reason of any necessity that can justify it.

Next we have a recent recommendation, from an eminent American writer on taxation, that a Federal tax should be imposed on silver, varying from month to month according to the changes in its market price as bullion, with a view of establishing and maintaining a parity of value between gold and silver, with, of course, a total disregard of the sole object and justification of taxation, namely, revenue. But the most curious illustration of the extent to which an entire misconception of the nature and functions of taxation has obtained favor in the United States is to be found in a pamphlet entitled "Rational Principles of Taxation," recently published by Prof. Simon N. Patten, professor of political economy in the University of Pennsylvania, and included among the authorized publications of the university. In this the author advocates the levying of taxes by the National Government for the purpose of effecting "stability in prices"; and on the assumption that a large and increasing percentage of the National wealth is consumed in the expenses of the retail distribution of commodities, proposes to remedy the evil by imposing a discriminating tax on retail dealers so heavy as to crush out all such whose business and profits in a given time do not exceed a certain amount to be prescribed by statute. Among the anticipated advantages enumerated by the author of the adoption of such a scheme would be the saving of rent "on one-half the stores" of cities and a great reduction of rent on the other half. "There would be little need

¹ In the case of *Vesey Bank v. Fenno* (8 Wallace, 552) the United States Supreme Court, "after the fullest consideration, held that the States possessed the power to grant charters to State banks"; that "the power was incident to sovereignty, and that there was no limitation in the Federal Constitution" of such power. Minority Report, United States Senate Committee on Finance, 1892.

of advertising; . . . the stocks of goods carried by the whole trade would be greatly reduced, from which there would be great saving of capital." But "perhaps the greatest saving of all would arise from the reduction of the force of salesmen and in the cost of delivering goods." And finally, carried away apparently by a beatific vision of the glories of such a tax millennium, the professor exclaims, "Think of all the elements of economy in conjunction, and an idea can be formed of the amount of taxes that could be levied on retail dealers without putting the public to any inconvenience";¹ and "would not the unnecessary capital now absorbed in business be fully sufficient to furnish us with pure water, lovely parks, fine art galleries," etc.? One can hardly escape the thought, on reading this remarkable essay, that if the Federal Postmaster-General did not suggest its writing and publication, it was exactly what it was for his special interest to do.

In view of such experiences and propositions, the questions are most pertinent: How much further is such a perversion of the taxing power to be carried? And is not our entire recent experience as a nation in this respect, in the direction of supplanting a "free" by a "paternal" government, which last in turn finds its highest expression in the enactment of sumptuary laws for the control by government of the private life of its citizens? All despotic power is alike in its nature; and once indulged in, the results are always the same. Once let it be fully accepted as a legitimate feature of public policy that the great public power of taxation may be intrusted to individual hands for private purposes, and the power of life and death will be promptly seized to make the former effective. Once confer upon government the power of dealing out wealth, and the day is not far distant (if it has not already come in the United States) when its recipients will control the Government and by the use of money elect their magistrates and legislators to perpetuate this policy.

The foregoing discussion leads up to and warrants the following conclusions:

First. That equal and honest taxation constitutes the foundation of every free government, and that the unimpaired maintenance of such taxation is essential to the continual existence of such government.

¹ Obviously Professor Patten supposes that the retail dealers of this country are such simple-minded people that they will cheerfully pay their proposed heavy taxes out of their capital, and not transfer them, through increased prices of their goods, to their consuming purchasers.

Secondly. In order that taxation may be equal, honest, and not tyrannical, its exercise must conform to the following conditions. It must be justified by necessity or be absolutely essential for fulfilling the object of every truly free government; which is, not to abridge the liberty of the individual citizen in respect to either his person, business, or property, but to increase it by restraining and punishing all those who would lawfully encroach upon it. Its burden should not bear more hardly upon one man or class of men than on another. Its exercise by the state should contemplate no other purpose than the raising of money for defraying its expenditures.

Thirdly. The instant that these natural conditions, lawful purposes, and just limitations of taxation are violated; the instant that the state takes property from its citizens that is not needed or takes inequitably that which is needed, that instant the exercise of the power becomes a matter of will and might and not of law and right. The greatest evils that characterize free and popular governments of to-day are evils that result from the abuse of taxation, and their magnitude and tendency to increase are so great as to make the boast of individual freedom on the part of citizens in respect to the full ownership and control of their property very often little more than an unmeaning phrase. Shall these abuses be recognized and tolerated, and a tendency to further progress in this same direction be encouraged, or shall they be met with stern and uncompromising protests, immediate check, and ultimate complete arrest and prevention? These are the real questions at issue at the present time between the two great political parties of this country, and the situation exemplifies anew the lesson of history—that all the great contests for freedom from the earliest times have originated in abuses of taxation.

Sharp political criticism has been made, and during the present pending campaign will undoubtedly continue to be made, against that part of the platform adopted by the Chicago Democratic Convention which unequivocally asserts that "the Federal Government has no constitutional power to enforce and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only." Such criticism, however, has no validity if any respect whatever is to be paid to the true principles of taxation; and if such assertion, as is claimed, involves a "radical departure from any of the previous official utterances of the party," it is a departure in the nature of true progress and in the direction of freedom, and not a retrogression. In fact, the only mistake which the framers of that part of the Chicago platform made was that they did

not go far enough in their declaration of principles. For although conversant with our tariff policy, they apparently did not see that there was a much more important matter involved in the present National political contest than the mere adjustment of duties upon imposts, and so failed to recognize and point out to the American people a greater truth; namely, that had the framers of the Federal Constitution even so much as dreamed that the government to be established under it would ever practically refuse to acknowledge any limitations on its right to interfere with the property of its citizens, would use the taxing power with undisguised intent for promoting private rather than public purposes, and would levy taxes to prevent the payment of taxes, the Constitution itself would never have been called into existence, and the great American Republic would never have had a history.¹

DAVID A. WELLS.

¹ For the views advanced in the above article respecting the origin, purposes, and limitations of the right of taxation, no claim for originality is preferred. At the same time they are not familiar to the public, are not embodied in any work on political economy, finance, or the polity of civil government with which the writer is conversant, and have been rarely discussed in a sense of full appreciation by American statesmen and politicians. The most marked exception to this latter statement is a remarkable speech delivered by Hon. W. C. P. Breckenridge, at Creston, Iowa, August 27, 1891; and in his speech in taking the chair at the National Democratic Convention in Chicago in June last, Hon. William L. Wilson showed that he clearly appreciated the dependence and existence of a free government on the correct and limited exercise of the function of taxation. Whatever of originality pertains to the subject should be credited to Hon. Theodore Bacon, of Rochester, N. Y., who, in an essay contributed in 1867 to the "New Englander," so originally and exhaustively discussed the subject that little more has been left to the present writer than to reproduce Mr. Bacon's statements and arguments and re-enforce and illustrate them by more recent experiences.

THE ENLARGED CHURCH.

THE Christian Church bows to a constitutional law of our planet and slowly changes and advances. As the state under Victoria or King Oscar is not that state which once answered to the name of Zenobia or Augustus, as the literature of the English nation is not that shape of thought which once found utterance through the Hebrew and Sanskrit tongues, so the popular religion of our period is not that faith and practice which prevailed when King David ascended the marble steps of his temple or when Paul delivered his sermon on Mars Hill. As in painting the artist first draws in outline and with a few pencil-marks foreshadows a great picture, so in religion the earliest ages draw a mere sketch of the virtues and deeds which the subsequent times must produce. All the good of our race is cumulative. If the physical globe is growing under a perpetual shower of star-dust which makes the sky blue and helps compose the rich colors of the sunset, not otherwise do knowledge and sentiment grow wider and deeper as the centuries come and go. That would not seem a wise Providence which should permit the mind to remain shallow and should constantly deepen the earth's dust.

It is not known in what form or when or by what means man came into existence, but he has always acted in harmony with this formula: Given a good or a beauty, to find a greater beauty or a greater good. His world has therefore been cumulative, and his religion has always passed from one idea toward two and from one virtue to many virtues. All students of the qualities and habits of primitive man find his religion to have been composed largely of fear. Unable to escape the notion that an effect implied a cause, the primitive mind soon reached the conclusion that some cause or causes lay back of the many things the eye could see and the hand touch. But only a high education could have attached to this godhood great moral qualities. Early man could not ascribe to his Deity attributes undreamed of by man himself. The conception of a great cause must have reached our world long in advance of the notion of an all-wise and benevolent cause.

The historic religion began more as a dread than as a loving

worship, and the first cardinal doctrine of early orthodoxy must have been formulated in the words that God must be daily appeased, that to keep on good terms with such a powerful being was the chief end of man. It exhausted the genius of priest and philosopher to invent the ways and means of keeping the sky at peace with the earth. The ill-nature of God was as extensive as his existence and ability. Kings, generals, and great citizens were always wondering how many lambs and oxen would be required to keep Jove or Jehovah in friendship with the fields until the wheat had been garnered and the grapes had escaped the last form of blight. The great poem of Œdipus cannot by all its eloquence and many-shaped excellence prevent the modern reader from regretting that Zeus should have become so indignant at a noble young prince who had unwittingly married his own mother. When Œdipus learned that his wife was also his mother, his own grief was so great as to render the wrath of the gods a spectacle wholly uncalled for. But with even the semi-cultured Greeks, the more the divine wrath the more perfect the religion. The early problem of religion was not chiefly how to fling a sweet "sop to Cerberus"; it was rather how to make a sop rich enough and sweet enough to pacify the Olympian group. Virgil was at last sufficiently thoughtful to raise the question whether ill-nature were the ideal condition of celestial minds—" *Tantæ-ne iræ?* "; but of the merit of hot indignation as a divine attribute, primitive theologians had little doubt.

This first cause not only was capable of great and prolonged wrath, but it was also the embodiment of all that egotism and selfishness which in the department of human life came with authority and power. If a chief of a tribe or the monarch of a state were always marked by a certain self-consciousness which our times might perhaps designate as self-conceit, what a colossal self-esteem must have characterized the Creator and owner of all things in the whole circle of space and time! The ancients assumed the unbounded self-love of the Deity, and therefore the early worshipper added to fear the perpetual desire to confess Heaven's greatness. Along came the people with their two sentiments, dread and self-abnegation. As when the king was passing the true subjects lay down in the dust or mud, that in such rows of prostrate forms the potentate might read his own greatness, so when the loyal subject of a god assumed himself to be near his deity, down went his body to the dust, that in such acts of human humility the heavenly king might reach a new sense of his own exalted condition and destiny.

Language and art and passion urge into the service of expression the well-known power of contrast. Painters do not make the color of a sky or of a piece of woods by working only at the sky or at each leaf. They work in some adjacent spot or spots of the canvas, and exalt the blue of the air or the picture of the woods by artistic manipulation of what is neither sky nor forest. From no field of thought has this power of contrast been absent. When the early religionist longed to confess the glory of his maker, unable to put a more brilliant jewel in the divine but invisible crown, he placed ashes upon his own head, and thus made sackcloth and dust proclaim the splendor which no art or language could directly express.

It is not necessary that the student of religion should find how far into the history of Christianity these two sentiments, dread and contrast, moved, and how rapidly they faded before the widening and deepening truth of an advancing race; but it does seem the painful duty of the Christians of to-day to confess that under those simple words, "the glory of God," lay for many a century the unhappiness and degradation of mankind. It is almost within the reach of living memory that God was thought of as a mighty conqueror who was made only the more illustrious by the length and breadth of the desert left behind by his chariot wheels. The barbaric primitive human taste which could once be thrilled with pleasure by the exploits of an Alexander or a Cæsar advanced far into the career of Christianity and clothed with attractiveness the sweeping desolation which the Almighty had wrought among the earthly millions, and which was liable at any moment to be repeated in the present or future arenas of life. Our fathers not remote felt that religion was all to be exhausted in the effort to compliment the Creator. The "glory of God" was little else than an enormous self-love. In the Christian centuries in which this "glory" flourished, humanity sank that God might be exalted. The story repels by its sadness. Heaven was the home of a selfishness which asked all things and gave but little. Men, women, and children complimented the infinite Father because he had, for a time at least, kept them away from a consuming fire. It was often assumed that the greatness of God made his will an absolute, spotless morality, and that no creature might complain at the alleged theory and practice of the Creator, for the infinity of Jehovah permitted him to do what he would with his own. The lump of clay must not dictate to the potter; it must bless the potter for the privilege of revolving on his wheel.

The Christian Church may well designate as sad and wasteful all those centuries in which it attempted to encourage and gratify the infinite self-love which seemed enthroned in the heavens. It ought to have perceived that all moral principles were universal and perpetual. Their arena is not only amid human life, but it expands and is amid all the forms of intelligent being. If the human soul cannot be ennobled by a self-aggrandizement, pure and simple, a divine soul must be subject to the same incapacity. It is not possible for self-love to be the attribute of a god. In all those times when the worshippers in both pagan and Christian temples were marching up marble steps that they might tell the Lord again and again the story of his own greatness, the air was full of rebukes and whisperings. The Almighty must have wished that his children would bring to his altars the many-shaped greatness of their race. Could the sacred temples have spoken for their Deity, they would have uttered the sublime ethics of Jesus: "What ye do for these little ones, ye do for me."

The past of the Church includes not only this long effort to applaud the Almighty, but also a period of the supremacy of doctrine. By processes which seem lost, the Infinite Being was made into an ardent admirer of forms and fashions. The vastness of creation and the sweep of years which struck with awe the astronomer and the geologist, the amazing heights and depths, that grandeur which not only thrilled the Galileos and the Newtons, but which also created them, did not excuse the Almighty from being partial to a mode of baptism and from a disposition to make his children study hard the lessons of "eternal procession" and "total depravity." There were centuries which were rich in the possession of about two hundred doctrines, each one of which was assumed to be utilized in saving a soul and in pleasing the Heavenly Father. Before the constitutional republics of America and France came into existence, there passed along a great procession of nations founded upon practices which are now designated as "red-tape." In the theory of Darwin, man wriggled a million years while he was learning to walk nobly and erect. In the history of nations there was a long wriggling period. Mankind was waiting for principles to arrive. No history of the Church will be complete which shall omit those years in which, vital ideas being absent, the clergy governed with a red-tape manual the kingdom of man's God.

These facts may be recalled the more willingly because the heart is cheered by the reflection that they have passed away. God's self-

love has been eclipsed by his love of his rational beings. The awful isolation and solitude of the Creator have been broken up, and the Father is with the children. Worship has not declined, but it has asked an elevated humanity to be a part of its hymn and prayer. As the classic matron said, "These are my jewels," so the Christian Church would point to happier men and women and say, "These are a part of my prayers."

It has now been about three hundred years since the human mind began to study itself and its world. The philosophers assumed that man must master his own planet. If it were true that he was on his way to a second life, he must all the more industriously exhaust the lessons and duties of this career. If man has two lives they must be cognate. If death only divides it must divide a lesser beauty from a greater, wisdom from more wisdom, and love from love. This new philosophy opened to society a new field of action and to the Church a new form of religious being and conduct. It began to say, I must build up this earthly kingdom. It is a part of the divine empire. Any slights shown the earth are shown to Heaven, because all human years are interwoven.

The Church of the present is seen reaching out toward man in all the great breadth of that term. It still busies itself over the salvation of the soul; but it has slowly added to that work the task of making the rescue assume the preliminary form of salvation from ignorance and vice and poverty. The older Church worked to remove or obviate a special misery called by the many names of "Hell," "eternal pain," or "banishment"; but the later logic asks the sanctuary to consider all misery as near of kin, and to connect the mind which suffers in this life with the mind which may perhaps suffer beyond the tomb. Ignorance, vice, poverty, injustice, are viewed as calamities, and must be treated as a part of that deep shadow which in its blackest form makes up a "lost soul." All tears need pity, fall in what world they may.

Worship has added to its old repertory the notion of honoring God through his works. As the best praise of an artist is the matchless beauty of his canvas, as the best fame of a vocalist is found in the sweetness of the song, so the most rational and most impressive worship of the Deity will be found in that hour or nation which shall lead up to his altars the most enlightened and most moral characters. The worship can be most improved by improving the worshipper. The "Book of Common Prayer" need not be read more frequently nor

with louder voice. The little volume, standing the same from generation to generation, asks only for lips which can utter its petitions in more of uprightness and peace.

It is indeed possible that some congregation or some pastor may be making his meeting-house too earthly and may be teaching a gospel that is too "muscular"; but these cases seem sporadic and need not weigh heavily against the new truth that the Christian Church is looking toward and must look toward the complete interest of man as a mind, a body, a soul. If we assume the existence of a personal God, we must assume that the Church is such a general agent of God that it must see to it that man "suffers no detriment." Whether the detriment threatens to come from the state or from the misfortunes of society or from its vices, the Church must stand forth as the defender and savior of the sufferer. It is the earthly administrator of a celestial kindness and right. It is, however, no such agent of Heaven as that one which once under the name of Protestant or Catholic attempted to rule the race. It is only an administrator of Heaven's wisdom, Heaven's eloquence, persuasion, and solicitude. It is an agent of Heaven as art is an agent of beauty. Art carries no whips. It does not drive slaves; it leads lovers. It studies and seeks and expresses all the forms of beauty. It watches the leaf fluttering in the wind; it notes the drifting summer cloud; it studies the features of the Madonna. It is the purveyor of a heart which it daily makes more hungry. Thus the new Church of the Christian discovers and secures for its members and friends the most possible of all physical and spiritual good. It possesses no authority; it cannot decree like a state. It rules only as a vast wisdom joined to a vast friendship.

The present situation of the Church would seem expressed should we say that its old kingdom of worship has opened to admit the kingdom of benevolence. Even when the Salvation Army marches at night in the streets of London or Liverpool or Paris, it is not difficult to admire that wisdom and kindness which appeal to the higher nature of a wicked, reckless man, and persuade him to dress and act like a soldier and to march under a banner inscribed with the name of the Lord. There may be puerilities in the code and practice of that organization; but when a depraved and purposeless, hopeless soul turns away from its moral ruin and begins to march toward that goal marked out by such a captain of salvation as that one who first led men in Judea, the puerilities fall away from the case and leave it worthy of manhood's highest respect.

The annexes to the Holy Temple are numerous. Sometimes the modern meeting-house contains a well-furnished kitchen. Perhaps an exhaustive criticism would "draw the line" at kitchens. This essay is not meant to contain a last analysis. Acute minds will perhaps arise to find the exact religious and social bearing of the strawberry-festival and the oyster-supper. Up to this date the most popular objection to the religious oyster-supper has been embodied in the complaint that too much happiness and nutriment have been expected from a single member of this bivalve family. Let us have little to do with such details. It is evident that the Temple has been enlarged and improved. The names of the additions would fill a page. The "Young Men's Christian Association," the "Young Women's Christian Association," the "Woman's Christian Temperance Union," the "Society of Christian Endeavor," the "Red Cross" and the "White Cross" societies, the "Episcopal Guilds," the "Helping Hands," the "Young Woman's Friendly," are only a few of those terms which tell the story of a widening Church.

When the Church began to care for mind, soul, and body, and began to make a cultivated earth the logical prelude to the ultimate streets of gold, it compelled the pulpit to widen in scholarship, mental power, and sympathy. A demand sprang up for minds which could make a survey of man's condition and hopes. Theology at once expanded until it admitted social questions and inquiries; and the men who once needed only to apply texts of Scripture to a careless sinner or a trusting saint found themselves compelled to study the whole history and need of mankind. Heaven suddenly annexed earth. The men who had preached about Paradise were compelled to add to their subjects the fields and shops and mines and the duties and perils of labor and capital. The Church, in studying man as man, indirectly acted upon its clergy, and compelled them to prepare themselves for a wider intellectual career. This new mental power, this new influx of practical earthly philosophy, is the potent cause of the decline of doctrine which is now visible in the many of the Christian denominations. The mind which once loved to find and mark hidden meanings in the Scripture and wonderful distinctions between terms and entities, longs now to work in and for the swarms of human life and to say with Charles Kingsley, "I have loved the world, I now love it, I shall love it always." The difference becomes less between the clergyman, the statesman, and the philanthropist. Each one must equal all manhood.

There is no proof that these new applications of the Church are making the Christian character less full of worship. It is probable that the greater mankind becomes the more adorable will be its origin. By so much as society enlarges and ennobles itself, by so much should it bow the more lovingly before the Power which set going such wheels of mind and heart. The king is made great by the growth of his empire. If man could go from all degradation and sorrow to the altars of praise, with a profounder piety may he repair thitherward from a civilization full of greatness and happiness. As the most learned philosopher carries in his spirit a deeper sense of the world's mystery than can be found in the thoughts of a school-boy, so an age may well expect all its growth of learning and virtue to deepen the solemnity of its thoughts and feelings about God. Worship ought to grow with the growing reasons for worship.

It is difficult to measure at a given place and time the status of this sentiment. Not all ages are open-hearted. Some races are silent in hours when other peoples are talkative. It is difficult to map and measure underground streams. There is reason to hope that the Christian Church of to-day, in its espousal of the temporalities of mankind, is not moving away from the altars at which all kindreds and tongues have cast down their offerings and chanted their psalms. Inasmuch as the greater man becomes the more he loves greatness, it ought to follow that religion, enlarged in wisdom, power, and love, ought all the more to feel thrilled by thoughts of the Creator of all things and of all life. It would be a misfortune should the sentiment of worship decline in this continent. The misfortune would not in the least fall upon man's God, but rather would it all rest upon that human soul which in order to be great and blessed must enjoy the advantages of living amid sublime thoughts and divine, even infinite, longings and passions.

DAVID SWING.

RELIGIOUS PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO.

IF the genus man is a religious being, the species Negro is pre-eminently so. Wherever you find him, in whatever state of civilization, whether living as a savage in the depths of the Dark Continent or as an educated and prosperous citizen of the United States, you find him ever ready to acknowledge the claims of religion and attentive to its forms. Worship seems to be a necessity of his nature. There may be Negro atheists, but we do not hear of them; there may be Negro doubters, too sceptical or indifferent to be moved to any kind of religious exercises, but they cannot be numerous, or the fact of their existence would have been impressed upon the world.

In his native condition, on the lakes, streams, or plains of his own continent, the Negro's religion generally is of a low and degraded type, but not uniformly so. He pays divine honors to his ugly, unshapely fetich; he resorts to cruel rites to overcome malignant influences; but he also has conceptions of a *Nyangmo* who sends the sunshine and the rain, who veils his face with the clouds and makes the stars his jewels. Old Mtesa, of Uganda, on the Victoria Nyanza, whom Stanley taught Christianity at a single sitting, so to speak, worshipped the spirits of the lake—the *lubari*—but vacillated between his ancestral religion and Islam and Christianity, according as the influences in favor of the one or the other happened to predominate; and his son and successor, Mwanga, has shown the same inconsistency. But fickleness is perhaps a peculiar taint of the royal blood, for the people, receiving Christianity from faithful missionaries, attest the strength and constancy of their attachment to it by their life-blood. That the native African passes quickly and easily from his heathen rites to those of Islam and Christianity is a matter of common knowledge; but that a poor, ignorant, superstitious slave boy should in the course of a few years become an educated, dignified, respected prelate of the Church of England shows that the native African is not only capable of being educated and Christianized, but of being polished in mind, manner, and faith so that such a distinguished body as the Anglican Episcopate should delight to do him honor.

We have in the United States, according to the last census, about seven million four hundred and seventy thousand Negroes. It is well to remember that this includes not simply pure-blooded Africans, but all those as well who have a strain of Caucasian mixed with the darker current of their slave ancestry. Mulattoes, quadroons, octoroons, all who are known to have a drop of Negro blood in their veins are classed commonly as Negroes. Of this colored population, six million eight hundred and eighty-nine thousand are to be found in the old slave territory—sixteen States, including West Virginia, with the District of Columbia and Oklahoma. This leaves not more than five hundred and eighty-one thousand for all the rest of the Union, a smaller number than competent observers generally would have ventured to ascribe to twenty-eight States and three Territories. That ninety-one per cent of the Negro population, after the lapse of nearly three decades since emancipation, is still in the South is a fact which it is important to remember in considering their present condition of religious development and how they have reached it.

Such Christian instruction as the great bulk of the Negro population received before they were emancipated was given by the white churches of these States. The religious atmosphere surrounding them was that which the white man created. The faith of the master naturally became the faith of the slave; the denominations with which he preferred to worship were likewise the choice of his black servants. If there are great numbers of colored Baptists and Methodists in the South, it is because these forms of Christianity predominate among the whites; if there are few or no colored Unitarians or Universalists, the reason is that these bodies never had a footing among the whites of the South. The same explanation accounts in part for the fact that there are comparatively few colored Roman Catholics. Louisiana is the only one of the old slave States which had any considerable number of Catholic churches, excepting, of course, Maryland, the chief city of which gave the title to the oldest archiepiscopal see in the United States. In Louisiana, therefore, and in Baltimore are to be found nine-tenths of the colored Catholics.

As Methodists and Baptists are far more numerous in the South than all other white Christians, so also do colored Methodists and Baptists greatly exceed all other colored Christians. It is not to be assumed as a matter of course that these popular forms of faith are naturally most acceptable to the Negro, and that Presbyterianism or Congregationalism or even Catholicism would not have been as cor-

dially embraced by him if any of these forms of worship had predominated among his masters. There is a quite prevalent opinion that the Negro does not take kindly to the Catholic ritual and ceremony. This is probably an inference from the fact that the number of colored Catholics is not large considering that Catholic priests have had access to the Negroes for more than a hundred years. If it is true, as has often been asserted, that the Negro is fond of that which is showy in worship, he ought to be attracted to the Catholic Church; but it is to be remembered that its service is largely conducted in a language which he does not understand and in which he cannot therefore freely take part. It leaves comparatively small play for the spontaneous expression of his feeling. Moreover, it has given him no priests of his own color until quite recently, and even yet not half a dozen in all; while the Methodist and Baptist churches have opened wide the ministerial door to him. It is also due to them to say that they were more earnestly devoted to his religious welfare in the days of slavery than any of the other denominations in the slave States.

The largest denomination of colored Christians in the South is the Regular Baptist. It has in round numbers one million two hundred and thirty thousand members. Of these, two hundred and eight thousand are in Virginia, one hundred and eighty-eight thousand four hundred in Georgia, one hundred and twenty-three thousand seven hundred in South Carolina, one hundred and ten thousand eight hundred in Mississippi, and one hundred and six thousand in North Carolina. These are the strongholds of colored Baptists. In no other State except Alabama do they approach one hundred thousand in number. These States are also, with a single exception, those in which the white Baptists are strongest. It will be interesting to compare the numerical strength of the two races in Baptist membership:

States.	*Colored Members.	White Members.
Virginia.	208,000	93,000
Georgia.	188,400	142,500
South Carolina.	123,700	83,600
Mississippi.	110,800	121,500
North Carolina.	106,000	139,000
Alabama.	98,700	101,000
Kentucky.	76,000	152,600
Totals.	911,600	833,200

According to these figures, the colored Baptists exceed the white in these seven States by seventy-eight thousand four hundred. In two

of the States, South Carolina and Mississippi, the colored population is larger than the white. In Kentucky there has been a small decrease in the colored population since 1880, and in Virginia only a few thousands of increase. Louisiana is, like South Carolina and Mississippi, a Negro State; but it is not a Baptist State, having only about twenty-seven thousand white and sixty thousand colored Baptists. These figures show that as a rule where the white Baptists are most numerous the colored Baptists are particularly strong. In Virginia, however, where the colored people constitute only thirty-two per cent of the population, the colored Baptists are more than twice as numerous as the white. It is not easy to find an explanation of this notable fact.

The colored Methodists of the South are not so numerous as the colored Baptists, and they are divided among several branches. First among these branches comes the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which had its beginnings in Philadelphia in the second decade of the present century and only secured a foothold in the South after the Civil War. It had a following in South Carolina of some three thousand members in the first quarter of the century; but in consequence of excitement among the whites over an uprising of slaves, the congregations were disbanded and some of the free members went North. After the close of the war this Church was warmly welcomed in the South, and there were large accessions to it and to the Methodist Episcopal (white) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. It now reports in all the States four hundred and fifty-two thousand seven hundred and twenty-five members. In 1866 it had but seventy-five thousand. Here is a net increase in twenty-four years of three hundred and seventy-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-five, or more than six hundred per cent. How is it to be explained? By the fact that many of this number were already Methodists. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which was organized in 1845 as the result of a division in the Methodist Episcopal Church on the slavery question, had gathered upward of two hundred and seven thousand colored members. It had welcomed Negroes to its own churches, building galleries for their use or providing separate pews for them on the main floor; it had assisted them to procure houses of worship for themselves, and by establishing missions among plantation Negroes and appointing its own white ministers to preach the Gospel to them it had wrought a notable work among them. In 1860 its colored members constituted about twenty-nine per cent of its entire numerical strength.

The freedom of the black man and the opening of the South to Northern churches, and the temporary prostration of the Southern Church so that it could not properly care for its colored members, led thousands of them to forsake its communion and unite with those bodies which, coming from the North, were hailed as bringing the gospel of freedom to them. The African Methodist Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, together with the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, which the Southern Church organized in 1870 to save the remnant of its colored constituency, shared the "spoils" which emancipation and the result of the war offered them. Each of these bodies has done a large evangelizing and educational work among the blacks, particularly the Methodist Episcopal, with its numerous and well-equipped schools, and the African Methodist Episcopal, which is more completely organized than either the Zion or the Colored branch. The combined strength of these four churches is about one million one hundred and seventy-three thousand. Other small bodies will raise the total of colored Methodists to about one million one hundred and eighty-six thousand.

These, with the colored Baptists, constitute the great bulk of colored Christians in the United States. Among the Presbyterians, North, South, and Cumberland, the Congregationalists, who have done an educational work for the freedmen second to that of no other denomination, the Disciples of Christ, the Episcopalians, including the Reformed, there are some thousands of Negroes. The Roman Catholic Church has twenty-five churches composed almost exclusively of colored persons, with a total of Negro communicants of about one hundred and twenty-one thousand. Gathered into tabular form the result is about as follows:

	Members.
Colored Baptists.....	1,230,000
Colored Methodists.....	1,186,000
Colored Catholics.....	121,000
Colored Presbyterians....	31,500
Colored Disciples.....	31,000
Colored Congregationalists.....	6,125
Colored Episcopalians.....	4,900
Total colored Christians.....	2,610,525

This total does not include some thousands of Negro communicants scattered among white congregations, nor all colored congregations in the North and West. The census inquiry has not proceeded

far enough as yet to secure full and exact results as to colored organizations; but the final figures are not likely to add more than from thirty thousand to fifty thousand to the total above given. The proportion of communicants of all denominations to the population of the country is believed to be about one out of every three; that is, in our population of sixty-two and a half millions, we have about twenty million eight hundred and sixty-six communicants. This proportion is more than maintained among the Negroes. On the basis of their population of seven million four hundred and seventy thousand, they should have two million four hundred and ninety thousand members. They go beyond this by one hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and twenty-five, or, with due allowance for the colored congregations and members scattered through the Northern States, one hundred and sixty thousand. So far as figures go, this should be accepted as quite satisfactory.

The proportionate number of slaves who were professed Christians in 1860, which is not and cannot be known, is needed to show the full significance of the fact that in 1890 nearly one out of every three Negroes was a church-member. The proportion must have been considerably below this in 1860. Here are a few reasons for thinking so. The great body of colored Methodists in 1860 were in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The number reported was two hundred and seven thousand. Besides these, there were in the colored and other branches sixty-five thousand to seventy thousand more, making in all about two hundred and seventy-five thousand. As there were one million one hundred and eighty-six thousand in 1890, the increase since 1860 has been nine hundred and eleven thousand, or about three hundred and thirty-one per cent. Two hundred and fifty thousand would be a very liberal estimate for the number of colored Baptists in 1860. Upon this basis there has been a net gain of about nine hundred and eighty thousand colored Baptists in the thirty years, or nearly four hundred per cent. This increase must not be entirely attributed to evangelization; doubtless many colored communicants in the days of slavery were not organized into churches and reported in the denominational statistics.

Church organizations of Negroes have established, since the close of the war, universities, colleges, academies, called thousands of men into the ministry, and provided many houses of worship. The value of the property in church buildings and lots which colored Christians have acquired for public worship shows that religion is not a mere

camp-meeting affair in the thought and purpose of the Negro. The buildings in which he worships, with the ground on which they stand and their belongings, aggregate in value probably nearly or quite twenty millions of dollars. This, making due allowance for the encumbrances and for the help received from white persons, shows how ready he is to make large financial sacrifices for religion's sake, and how his industry, thrift, and business capacity have been brought into play.

The common idea respecting the Negro's religion is that it is a crude and superficial form of Christianity and exercises but little moral influence upon his life. He is religious, intensely religious, many insist, but he is not moral. Faith in a system which embraces and enforces the Ten Commandments and requires purity of life does not seem to him inconsistent with the constant violation of one or more of these commandments and with a notoriously impure career. Caught in wrong acts and publicly exposed, he feels no hesitancy in continuing his church duties and perceives no incongruity between his profession and his guilty life. Moreover, he is superstitious, still entertaining some of the crude notions of African savagery concerning witches and evil possessions and using strange ceremonies to ward off the bad spirits. There may be *voodoo* doctors among them and peculiar exercises for the casting out of witches; no doubt many of them have ideas impossible to cultivated Christians.

It would be strange if it were not so. Has all trace of superstition disappeared from the Saxon Christian after centuries of cultivation in the faith? It is only fair to remember that the Negro emerged from barbarism at no ancient date; that the space of time between him and his heathen practices is measured by one or two, while that between the Anglo-Saxon and barbarism covers many centuries. It is also fair to take into account the fact that the masses of the colored race have not yet been a generation out of slavery, which, while it did not forbid but favored the religious instruction of the slave, did generally aim to keep him ignorant of books and illiterate. His illiteracy was insured in Virginia, South Carolina, and other States by laws imposing penalties on persons attempting to teach him to read or write. Of course the purpose of his owners in debarring him from educational advantages was to make him more content with his condition as a chattel. Education would have developed notions of liberty in him. Unless these vitally important considerations are kept in view, it will be impossible to arrive at any just conclusions as to what religion has done for the Negro in America.

Christianity did much for him as a slave; it can do much more for him as a free man. It made him long for freedom; the hope for freedom became a part of his religion. As one of his own race, Dr. E. W. Blyden, has eloquently expressed it:

"There streamed into the darkness of their surroundings a light from the cross of Christ, and they saw that through suffering and affliction there was a path to perfect rest above this world; and in the hours of the most degrading and exhausting toil they sang of the Eternal and the Unseen; so that while the scrupulous among their masters often, with Jefferson, 'trembled for their country,' the slaves who had gained a new language and new faculties were enjoying themselves in rapturous music—often laboring and suffering all day, and singing all night sacred songs, which in rude but impressive language set forth their sad fortunes and their hopes for the future."

The slave had a capacity for moral, mental, and social improvement. The United States Commissioner of Education, the Hon. W. T. Harris, has recently said of the Negro's slave life:

"By contact with the Anglo-Saxon race in the very close relation of domestic servitude, living in the same family, and governed by the absolute authority which characterizes all family control, the Negro, after two and a half centuries, had come to possess what we may call the Anglo-Saxon consciousness."

That is, with the exception of those in the "Black Belt" who, in plantation life, were separated from white influence, the Negro is "thoroughly imbued with nearly all the ideals and aspirations which form the conscious and unconscious motives of action with the white people among whom he lives."

It is this consciousness which makes vain the prophecy of those who insist that his tendency, in the state of comparative isolation into which freedom and independence have brought him, is to "revert to all the distinctive features of his African ancestors." "Freedom itself," observes Dr. J. L. M. Curry, a Southerner and an honored Baptist minister who is deeply interested in the development of the Negro, "is self-educating." The Negro understands what way he must take to reach the heights of superiority, and he is eagerly seizing upon the educational advantages offered him. His isolation from higher influences and models is more apparent than real, we must conclude, when we learn that a million and a quarter of Negroes were in school in the South in 1889. Education tends to make isolation impossible.

Intelligent Christians are of course the best Christians. The vastly increased school attendance of the whites of the South shows that the dominant race appreciates this truth as never before. The Southern

churches are giving more and more attention to the need of better educated colored ministers and teachers. The Northern churches have been laboring assiduously to supply this need since the war, and among the results is a large and increasingly intelligent Negro ministry and a corps of Negro teachers. The report for 1892 of the Southern Baptist (white) Home Missionary Board says of colored Baptists:

"The work of evangelization among them is largely done by their numerous ministry. The ratio of church-membership among them is greater than among the white people, even of the South. Their own efforts have enabled them out of their poverty to supply themselves in a large measure with houses of worship. Even in this respect they are not so needy as some of our white churches in various sections of the country."

A paragraph in the report for 1889 of the Board of Missions of the Georgia Baptist Convention is significant:

"There is no mistaking the fact that there is on the part of the Negroes an earnest desire to acquire knowledge. This is seen in their anxiety to get books and to read them, and very marked in sending their children to the schools through the country. In this respect they show more concern than the illiterate whites."

Their progress has been moral as well as educational. A recommendation which closes the episcopal address to the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1888 speaks volumes both as to the prevalence of immorality and the discernment of it: "No bigamist shall have any place either in our conferences or churches"; that is, either among ministers or members. When this same Church entered South Carolina after the war, the ministers from the North had, says one of their members, James H. A. Johnson, D.D., even to teach the plantation Negroes how to receive the bread and wine of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He adds:

"The domestic relationship was so debasing by an ignorance of connubial rites that some remedy had to be supplied for it. Those who had been for a long time living together as man and wife were joined as husband and wife. Funerals had to be regulated in order that they might be characterized by the solemnity due them."

Dr. Curry says that religion and virtue "are often considered distinct and separate things" in the "Black Belt." The hopeful feature of the case lies in the Negro's growing sense of the incongruity of religion and immorality and in his appeals to his own people to aspire to purer lives.

Everybody knows into what excesses the emotional nature of the Negro often leads him in worship. But everybody does not know what efforts his bishops and ministers are making to correct these abuses. I cannot forbear quoting somewhat at length from Bishop D. A. Payne's "Recollections of Seventy Years," a most interesting book by a refined and cultured Negro leader and bishop, to show the common form these excesses take and how he has sought to induce the ministers to abolish them:

"In 1878 I attended a 'bush-meeting,' where I went to please the pastor whose circuit I was visiting. After the sermon they formed a ring, and with coats off sang, clapped their hands, and stamped their feet in a most ridiculous and heathenish way. I requested the pastor to go and stop their dancing. At his request they stopped their dancing and clapping of hands, but remained singing and rocking their bodies to and fro. This they did for about fifteen minutes. I then went, and taking their leader by the arm requested him to desist and to sit down and sing in a rational manner. I told him also that it was a heathenish way to worship, and disgraceful to themselves, the race, and the Christian name. In that instance they broke up their ring, but would not sit down, and walked sullenly away. After the sermon in the afternoon, having another opportunity of speaking alone to this young leader of the singing and clapping ring, he said, 'Sinners won't get converted unless there is a ring.' Said I, 'You might sing till you fell down dead, and you would fail to convert a single sinner, because nothing but the Spirit of God and the Word of God can convert sinners.' He replied: 'The Spirit of God works upon the people in different ways. At camp-meetings there must be a ring here, a ring there, a ring over yonder, or sinners will not get converted.' . . . These 'bands' I have had to encounter in many places. . . . In some cases all that I could do was to teach and preach the right, fit, and proper way of serving God."

The Negro imitates his white brethren in many things, both good and bad. He imbibes to some extent their sectarian feeling; Negro Baptists delight in making proselytes of Negro Methodists, and *vice versa*. In some directions, however, the Negro will not follow his white brethren. Among the whites are many thousands known as "Primitive," "Old School," or "Hard-Shell" Baptists. They do not believe in Sunday-schools or missionary societies, and are otherwise antiquated and unprogressive in their notions. The great mass of Negro Baptists are of the progressive sort. Probably not as many as five hundred of them belong to the "Old School." They are heartily and almost invariably "New School" Christians.

H. K. CARROLL.

A CHINAMAN ON OUR TREATMENT OF CHINA.

THE Absolute Exclusion Bill, passed by the House, has been rejected by the Senate. I congratulate our country on having been spared another humiliation, and I likewise congratulate the United States on the proof that there are yet men who are (to use the language of one of her own eminent scholars in connection with another international event) "too jealous of the fair name of their Republic not to resent a position which would place their country in the light of the half-civilized swaggerer who knows his strength and is ready to use it whenever a chance is offered of victory over a weak opponent."

But the defeat of the bill has caused, I fear, only a temporary cessation of the efforts made to exclude my countrymen from the United States; for as labor competition is unavoidable, race prejudice instinctive, egoism stronger than altruism, as the Republic is ruled by quantity rather than by quality and as China is not easily provoked to war, the conflict is irrepressible, and sooner or later, with a certain section of people and leaders, new exclusion bills will be concocted. Meantime, I venture to lay before the American public some facts and to make known the opinions and feelings of such as intelligently appreciate both sides of the question, if perchance they may help toward the solving of it. I do so with the belief that with the majority there is a strong desire for fair play.

The opposition to Chinese laborers has been put on various grounds at different times. The first outcry against them was that they were ousting the American laborers in underselling their labor. I remember reading the story of an American who had wood to saw and who refused a Chinaman offering to do the work for fifty cents, and gave it to an Irishman for seventy-five. The Irishman sublet it to the Chinaman and pocketed twenty-five cents. A Chinese government minister was quoted as saying that "Ireland was the only country the Irishman did not rule," having on his mind that it was the Irish laborers who brought about the anti-Chinese bills. Soon, however, there was another outcry. "The Chinese do not benefit, but impoverish our

country. They eat their native food and wear their native clothing. They take their gains to their own land and don't spend them here." Later on, it was said that they were a degraded class of people and that they demoralized the country. Lastly, there are those who maintain that they do not assimilate with the white race, and that their coming in unrestricted numbers will cause danger of another "Negro problem."

At this distance of space, I do not pretend to know which is the true or the dominant reason. But of this I am convinced: that opposition from whatever reason is made prominent by race prejudice and by the question being dragged into politics; for as regards labor, I have read that "the number of Chinese employed in cheap labor is comparatively small," and that Italians, Hungarians, and Norwegians receive less pay than Chinamen do. As to the charge that the Chinese who go to the United States belong to low types of character, though it is greatly exaggerated, the same may be urged against others to an equal or greater degree and with less force to the Chinese, inasmuch as they live by themselves and have no opportunity to corrupt the morals of the country. The statement about food and clothing, etc., is puerile, not to say that what is imported for them pays a large duty to the Government and that Americans in China do exactly the same thing. The danger of another "Negro problem" is fanciful, because the Chinese here do not intend to become citizens. Against this dark side, if it can be called a dark side, I may say that they are industrious and inoffensive, willing to take up the work refused by white laborers. If they had a free field they would develop American manufactures and increase American commerce.

But granting all that has been urged, does not any international intercourse proceed on the principle of "give and take," and does not China also have to tolerate from the Americans what she would gladly be freed from? It was an American steamship company that first broke up, in part, our junk trade on the Yang-tse-Kiang; and from Confucianists, Buddhists, and Taoists there have been constant complaints against the presence of American missionaries as well as those of other nations, and expressions of a desire to be rid of them if possible. Between nations as between individuals, conflict of interest cannot be avoided. If America thinks that an influx of Chinese is ruinous to the country, the only proper course for her is to take counsel with China in the matter; for as long as there is intercourse between the two nations, it stands to reason that neither should take any action affecting the name or interest of the other without consulting the other.

A statement is abroad that "the United States has become the advocate of the principle of international arbitration, and stands to the world to-day as the chief representative of that idea." Is this true only when she is in trouble with a really strong nation, and does she forget this idea when dealing with a weaker opponent? Mutual consultation on this emigrant question, as in all others, is the more rightful because it was the United States that first asked for commercial intercourse, not China. It was President Tyler, not H. M. Tau-kwong, who made the advance; and even at this day Chinese officials often say that it is foreigners who want to trade, and that China has everything and needs nothing from them. Again, citizens of the United States first encouraged the Chinese to immigrate. Is it not reasonable, then, for China to demand that in this conflict of interest no arbitrary and high-handed action shall be taken by the United States, but that there shall be forbearance and compromise?

We condemn the Exclusion Bill altogether, because it singles us out for exclusion and thereby degrades us, not only before the world, but before all other Asiatics. But I let that pass, because it was agreed to by the emperor after mutual consultation. We condemn, however, the one-thousand-dollar qualification bill, which was made a law without our knowledge and consent, and we condemn each and every effort to pass anti-Chinese bills without counsel having first been taken with our government. If we feel aggrieved at the American people's hostility, we feel indignant at their leaders for their *manner* of showing this hostility.

What effect has this treatment upon our people at large? There are only three newspapers in China; consequently the majority of the people are ignorant of the whole question, nay, they are ignorant of even the treaties. The articles in the "*Shun pao*" and the "*Hu pao*" echo the feelings of those in the northern provinces who are informed. One may notice that the tone of the papers is one of reproach and bitterness rather than of *vis et arma*, for our people are not warlike, and unless personally deeply provoked they "dare to be angry, but dare not to speak and act." Besides, scarcely any one in the United States emigrates, and so, individuals excepted, the question does not touch us closely. The "*Shun pao*," published in Shanghai, says:

"What is a treaty of peace but that two countries are to be at peace? If they in their intercourse with each other act fairly, they are at peace; but if either should be partial then there would be unfairness, and unfairness leads to cessation of peace."

After quoting the eleventh article of the American-Chinese treaty of 1844 and the sixth of the Burlingame treaty of 1868, it went on:

"From these it may be seen that the Americans are to treat the Chinese in the same manner as the Chinese the Americans. Now, suppose China were to expel Americans or to prevent their coming: would Congress allow it to be done? It is indeed true that the Chinese in America sometimes commit crimes, but if such are to be deported, what of the Westerners in China who commit crimes? And there have been surely such. In these instances in the past we only petitioned their judges to try them; and though they have generally gone on the principle that 'punishment ought to be light where is any doubt of guilt,' and punished the offenders lightly when evidence was (to us) convincing, we never interfered with their judgment. . . . We see from this bill that America is bent upon breaking every intercourse with China and on abrogating the treaties. . . . She thus presumes on her might and ill-treats the Chinese laborers, who are but men of toil and without influence or power. She has that quality which causes men to tyrannize over the weak and to fear the strong. Does she not herself feel degraded? . . . It is known that the Chinese helped to open and to develop their country, and now they who were benefited by their labors have thus requited them. Is it in this manner that 'America is to treat the Chinese according as she treats the most favored nation'? She indeed can treat us with impunity, but as to how she is to face the world and with what countenance her citizens can quietly reside in our country, we do not wish to discuss."

But in Canton the feeling against America is strong. A friend who lately arrived from New York and who went south to see his relations tells me that the feeling there against America is also bitter, not only on the matter of exclusion, but on the consequent decay of business. I am strongly of the opinion that the riots there were aggravated by the antipathy of the returned emigrants.

But though the people are incensed more or less, according as they are more or less concerned and according to the extent of their knowledge, they leave the solution to the government; for ours is an absolute monarchy, where the authorities are everything and the people are nothing. Whatever the "father and mother of the people" do, it is as the law of the Medes and Persians. In fact, it is the very submissiveness of the people which has developed this monarchy of absolutism; so true it is that all institutions are determined by the character of the average people. What His Majesty and his councillors feel in the matter or intend to do I do not presume to know; but, like the people, they have no warlike spirit and perhaps will do nothing more than remonstrate and diplomatize. Marquis Tsêng, the late talented statesman, was the only high official who ever expressed an opinion on this subject; and his statement was that China was going to utilize the laboring classes by settling them in

uncultivated districts of Mongolia and Kashgar, and thus retain them at home.

Such being the general ignorance of the question and the comparative indifference of those who know it, and such being also the money-getting propensity of the race, the American-Chinese trade will be little affected by the strain of relations and, unless the government retaliates (which to speak truly is little to be feared), will continue as before. What America has to fear is not from China, but from the fact that she stands before the world convicted of injustice toward a weak nation, and that she puts her citizens here in a delicate and painful situation. An American Protestant-Episcopal clergyman in Han-Kow, anticipating the adoption of the Geary Bill, wrote to his arch-deacon: "If this bill is not rescinded—and there seems no chance of that—we had better turn our Chinese mission over to the Church of England and devote ourselves to Japan." This was not because he apprehended retaliation from the Chinese, but, as a man of honor and self-respect, he felt he could not face an audience. So the minister and consuls would feel in respect to the mandarins; so would merchants of the stamp of Russell, Cunningham, Heard, Olyphant, Purdon, and Wetmore feel in respect to their dealers; and so would every Christian man of every Christian country feel in respect to the pagan nations of the earth.

What, then, are the practical suggestions adapted to the situation? It seems to me the source of evil is the "favored-nation" clause; for while Americans in China enjoy under it equal privileges with China's other treaty powers, it is not so *vice versa*, as it ought to be. Hence our grievance and accusations of injustice. But in the nature of things this clause cannot work both ways, for the reason that whereas it is easy for China to treat America and other nations alike, all these nations being of the same race, religion, and civilization, and in some cases language also, it is quite difficult for America to treat China and other nations alike, for China differs totally from these in all such respects. Therefore this clause ought to be removed.

An entirely new treaty between America and China, based on grounds of reciprocity, should be made. Americans in China should relinquish their privilege of carrying on a river and coast trade, whether by steamers, ships, or by *lorchas*, the privilege of establishing manufactories and that of paying only a low tariff; and the Chinese should give up the privilege of settling everywhere in America, and settle only in certain cities, corresponding in number to those in China open to

American merchants, storekeepers, etc. This restricted settling would of itself stop immigration, for laborers would not go to countries where no work was to be had. Those already settled in what hereafter may be called non-treaty cities could be registered by Chinese consuls, so that no new immigrants could go there, and the leaving or the death of the old ones would close these cities to the Chinese altogether. Those who wished to enter China for travel or for education could be regulated by passports, as the Chinese are in this country. I am speaking as a Christian, but non-Christians will surely have something to say on the subject of the residing of missionaries in non-treaty cities in China, which is at present allowed under the "favored-nation" clause, and to which the Chinese from their standpoint strongly and sincerely object. To meet concessions America ought to give some additional privileges, say in granting more treaty cities than an equal number or in freeing certain Chinese goods of duty.

YUNG KIUNG YEN.

PROVINCIAL PECULIARITIES OF WESTERN LIFE.

It is an old truth, but only old men seem to understand the particular importance of honesty, simplicity, and order. Young towns, like young men, are constantly trying experiments, only to discover that the old way is so much better than any other that they are at last compelled to come back to it. Much has been said as to what is the greatest pity; I think it is that young men and young towns do not accept the lessons of their elders without the punishment of experience. Most Western country towns are guilty of all sorts of mistakes, because few of them have reached years of discretion. However wise a man may be in his individual capacity, and however wise he may have been as a resident of an older community, as a citizen of a new town he votes bonds with the recklessness that characterizes young men in giving notes, forgetting that pay-day will inevitably roll around and that they will probably not be prepared to pay.

Many of the great fortunes in the East were gifts from communities in the West. When it was decided to build a railroad in a certain direction, the people were asked to vote bonds, and the line selected by the engineers as the most feasible always had apparent opposition, which caused the people living along the best route to give liberal aid. In many cases the aid amounted to more than the cost of the railroad. The railroad companies usually made conditions favorable to the communities voting the aid; but in all cases of which I have any knowledge these conditions are violated, generally by agreement with the people themselves.

The usual plan is for the railroad company to agree to issue stock to the community voting aid; but this stock is finally given back to the railroad company in return for promises that are never fulfilled. The official representatives of the people who engage in these transactions are not dishonest men, as would be suspected; they are simply Western boomers, who receive some sort of a flimsy promise from the railroad company, and nearly always there is a public sentiment in favor of the transaction. A private car is uncoupled in a town and a railroad dignitary is known to be on board. A report is easily started

by some interested person that the company is thinking of building shops to employ a thousand men. The dignitary says not a word, and the people fix up a story to suit themselves. Two or three visits of this kind result in the turning over by the county or city of its stock to the railroad company for a consideration of one dollar. I know of a case where a party of railroad officials stopped in a town in a private car, and although the people imagined that very grave questions were being discussed, I learned afterward that the officials talked about nothing save a plan to enlarge the ice-box in the official car so that it would hold another case of beer. In such cases the railroad company acts on the best business principles, the people on the worst; and this sort of carelessness distinguishes them in nearly everything they do.

The mania of Western people for voting bonds has been so pronounced that as States grow older legislative restrictions upon it have been found necessary; and these laws extend gradually Westward with the settlement of the country. In spite of their terrible experience with bond-voting, Western communities often evade the law. The people conspire for months to get control of their valuables, in order that they may give them away. If there is a valuable franchise in a Western country town, the people usually manage to give it away, the recipients being men who have probably been victims themselves in some new community. Not long ago Omaha voted an enormous lot of bonds to a railroad company, and the methods were those of the earliest bond elections in the West.

The theory of voting bonds is that posterity will have them to pay. The county in which I live has already paid more interest than it ever voted bonds, and the debt is still unpaid. In voting one hundred thousand dollars of seven per cent twenty-year bonds, people forget that they are creating a debt of something like two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This indifference to fact ruins most men; it is the trouble with most Western country towns. Experience teaches that many of our theories have no foundation in fact; yet we continue to teach them, to the exclusion of the truth. The Western orator never mentions the hard times that inevitably follow the good; he seldom mentions the follies of the people, but rather encourages them to continue their mistakes, by giving them a character they never possessed. We are forever dealing with theory, although the truth is different, and we all know it.

Most old men and most old towns live by the rule of fact; but

there are so many young men in the West and so many new towns that the country is ruled by theory. The great lessons of life are few in number and very simple, but we make the mistake of calling them "old-fogy" ideas. The wisest men in the West are known as "old fogies"; you will find them opposed to every wild and impracticable scheme. They are the men who opposed voting the bonds we are now compelled to pay. The Jews are said to possess a secret with reference to Moses, and all good Jews are supposed to keep the secret quiet if they discover it by accident. We Western gentiles also have a secret, which is that there is not so much in theory as we have pretended for years, and we are all supposed to keep the fact quiet when, between the ages of thirty and forty, we discover it.

I wonder that a great poet does not come out of the West. The confidence of the Western man that his town lot will finally make him rich, somehow reminds one of the bard who longs so ardently for ambrosia and nectar, although about all he ever gets is cornbread and creek water. I have known men in the West who have been rich for years, and never had a dollar they could truthfully call their own. Magnificent fellows, these Western men, but they are poets, every one, content with a Pegasus in the absence of the horse they really need to plough corn. The boomer is only another name for a poet, and his plats are as unreal as the verses of his brother who has turned his attention to unrealities of another kind. You can go into the average Western country town with a scheme to manufacture oysters, and the people will attend your meetings and respectfully listen to your foolish plans rather than offend you by expressing the opinion that you are crazy, a probability they have discussed among themselves. Such politeness would surely nurture poetry.

I should say that towns came of age about as men do. At twenty-one a town has a good deal more corporate sense than it had when ten or fifteen years old; but it is not at its best, so far as common sense is concerned, until it is thirty or forty. The great mistakes in towns have been made early in their history. By the time a Western country town has learned that it is not to become a city, it has made mistakes that will forever interfere with its prosperity. This is also true of men; very few young men believe that they will be ordinary men at forty or fifty, but when they start down the hill they realize that their discomforts in old age will be largely due to mistakes in youth. To some extent this must always be true, but matters could be very much improved by admitting and teaching the truth, to the

neglect of theories of no consequence whatever. Many of the cherished theories of Americans, which we nurture with great care, actually lead us away from the simple and important truth. It would be a good idea to employ a man to preach one day in every week against the folly of planting soft-maple trees, since sugar-maples may be had at the same expense; but in the absence of such practical preaching, the people do not discover their mistake until their soft-maple trees are covered with green worms and break in every high wind.

The great sin of Western men, if not of all Americans, is careless indifference to the simple and important rules of life. We do not make the best use of the abundance with which we are surrounded. We strive for rewards which are no rewards at all, and neglect the paramount virtues of economy, industry, and patience. Wherever there is poverty, we invent a theory and an apology which covers up the main fact that we are usually poor because we are shiftless. In the field of gold in which we have settled we run about undecided what to choose, and at last we save nothing. Collectively we are a wonderful people, but individually we do not accomplish as much as we should. Public extravagance has been copied into our living, and our public grievances are the result of our private follies.

I am an advocate of getting rid of boom values in men as well as in towns. The boom idea originated in the West, although it has lately been copied elsewhere and always to the disadvantage of those adopting the idea. Booms inevitably collapse, and we all know it; therefore there is no good excuse for investing in them. The wiser the man, the more likely he is to invest in a boom. I sometimes think that your wise man is more easily victimized than any other. I have passed through several booms, but I believe I never have known a fool to lose money by one. A friend of mine, a very wise man, once bought a piece of property of a fool during a boom, and he asked me if I thought a smart man like him was warranted in robbing a poor fool who did not know any better. The wise man worried a good deal about the transaction until the boom collapsed, and he has been busy during the past five years in paying out.

Every man who tells what the people ought to do, although he knows very well that they never will do it, is a boomer. Theorizing about men doing what nature never intended they should do is a favorite American weakness, and is more pronounced in the West than elsewhere. A promise will bring more in the Western market than in any other market in the world. Perhaps the reader has

noticed that men never do what the newspapers say they should do: nature is so often called bad habit; but we keep on scolding, although there is not the slightest hope that theory will ever supplant fact.

The great need of Western country towns is manufactories. The people themselves should establish them, though the theory is that "Eastern capital" should undertake the ventures. Many citizens of Western country towns have money they do not know what to do with; but they seldom invest it in the enterprises which they clamor for "Eastern capital" to engage in. These citizens with money often have investments in other communities, in spite of the fact that such investments never pay as well as would investments at home. I can account for this only by the theory held by most Western people that they will finally remove to larger places. No Western man seems to be satisfied with the community in which he lives; he likes the West, but seldom the town where he is located. He does not expect to end his life there (although he usually does), and as a result he neglects his interests. Experience proves that the successful men are those who make few changes. Although money seems to be made more easily in places away from home; there is no doubt that wherever you go there is about the same clamor over a dollar. Making money is a matter of industry and saving, seldom of location. In the town where I live we have a habit of threatening to remove to a larger town not far away, which we all believe appreciates its citizens. The people of that town threaten to go to Chicago, and I have heard that the people of Chicago threaten occasionally to go to New York unless taxes are reduced or times improve. But in New York the rule is reversed; there is an impression in that big town that the proper place in which to get your rights and make money fast is the West. We are all dissatisfied, and every one of us makes a mistake in not being more content and therefore more at liberty to give his affairs intelligent attention.

The people of Iowa, after clamoring thirty or forty years for "Eastern capital," have themselves successfully engaged in manufacturing; but Kansas and Nebraska are still indignant because their natural advantages are not recognized. The wonder is that the people of Kansas and Nebraska do not take advantage of their own manufacturing opportunities, and thus realize on their loyalty to the policy of protection. The quantity of agricultural machinery sold in the two last-named States is enormous; but none of it is manufactured at home, although there is not the slightest reason why it

should not be. American agricultural machinery is sold at lower prices in foreign countries than in Kansas and Nebraska, which means that the farmers of the West pay the manufacturers an unfair profit. But there is no protection for the people of Kansas and Nebraska, who buy protected articles and sell their wheat and beef and corn in the open markets of the world. No section of the country offers better opportunities for manufacturing and jobbing than Kansas and Nebraska. In the town where I live there is a jobbing house employing twenty-six travelling men. Fifteen years ago the proprietor was a struggling retail merchant, and his average profits since engaging in jobbing have amounted to twenty thousand dollars a year. Our towns are becoming of age, and our own people are investing in the enterprises to which they so long invited Eastern capital; and when managed carefully and intelligently, such enterprises never fail to yield a large return.

The free lands have nearly all been taken up, but the opportunities in the West are better than they ever were. The taking of free lands has always been a good deal of an experiment. The best time to go to a new country is after the pioneers have demonstrated what the country is good for. Farms on the frontier of Kansas were sold two years ago for almost nothing, although their owners had spent years in profitless experimenting to demonstrate the kind of crop best suited to the country. The man who bought a quarter section two years ago for four hundred dollars certainly did better than his homesteading neighbor who spent five years in acquiring his title. The last census shows that several frontier counties of Kansas lost in population from 1880 to 1890. This fact represents the weary experiment of the settlers, the mistakes of youth. I pretend to say that the man who locates in the West now will have a better prospect of success than he would have had ten years ago. But the best opportunities in the West are in communities twenty to thirty years old. It is not necessary to go beyond wood and water. In one county in Kansas there is not a running stream or a single tree of natural growth.

I believe industry, economy, and good conduct bring better rewards in Western country towns than in any other communities in the world. There is nothing to which a citizen of such a town may not aspire, providing he practises the virtues named. There is a social equality in Western country towns that prevails nowhere else, and the daughters of the blacksmith are quite as prominent as the daughters of the banker, providing they behave as well, which they are likely to do,

as they all grow up together and are educated in the same schools. The only social test in the West is good conduct. I once lived in a town where it was always said, after a big party, that the line was drawn only at color. The women are more democratic than the men in inviting "the neighbors" when a party is given. Western women always call on their neighbors, and when a man gives a party, the appearance of the husbands of his wife's friends is sometimes startling. Love of society seems to be a natural attribute with a woman, but it is an acquirement with the men. It is dangerous to give a party in a small Western town unless the invitations are general; those not invited will not like it and will find opportunity to "get even."

The social outcasts of the West are the husbands. There is an impression in the virtuous West that when a man gets married he should be content with his wife's society and long for no amusement beyond playing with the children. Young men are petted until they are spoiled, and married women have their afternoon parties; but a married man is only expected to come home promptly at meal-times and carefully wipe his feet, if muddy, on the door-mat. The Western married man has no standing in society except by his wife's side. The men who "run" the towns are seldom seen at the parties which are managed by their unmarried clerks. In the old courtly days a man and wife had a social individuality; but when a man attends a social gathering in the West, he is expected to seat himself beside his wife and behave as well as he can, to the end that people may understand that he is not only fond of the worthy woman at home, but in company as well. If a married man should attend a Western social affair without his wife, he would be very apt to be approached by a married woman, who would ask him in an audible whisper, "Where is your wife?" and there would be a certain something in the woman's tone indicating that he ought to be ashamed of himself for being there under such circumstances. I once knew a gay young husband to exhibit a paper, signed by his wife, to the effect that he was at the party alone with her knowledge and consent.

The men who have made the West and who are interesting have no social side in the strictest sense. Western society is made up of young people, who are always more or less uninteresting except from the standpoint of good looks. A middle-aged man who attends a social affair in the West is looked upon as an oddity, so firmly rooted is the impression that as soon as a man marries he ought to retire from everything except business. Very few Western men possess

any of the social graces, although they are noted for shrewdness in business and politics. Our idea of society is that it is an institution for bringing about marriages; after the marriages take place the contracting parties are expected to retire. In very good society in the West—I mean gatherings of people that would be creditable anywhere in point of appearance and conduct—you will find girls who work as clerks, and many of them reigning favorites, in opposition to the idle daughters of rich parents. This is the exception, however, rather than the rule.

Dr. Hyde has been vigorously attacked for his article on "Impending Paganism in New England" in the June FORUM by the preachers of the West, who are unanimously of the opinion that he is in need of conversion. The great foes of religion in the West are indifference on the part of the people and intolerance on the part of the preachers. In their private capacities, some of our preachers are disposed to accept the logic of events, but in their pulpits they preach the old doctrines which have brought about the prevailing religious indifference. There are few seceders among the Western preachers; secession seems to come from the East, and religion there no doubt feels the effect of it; but in the West, in order to be religious you must be pious, a word which almost carries a reproach with it.

When I was a boy, I remember, the people discussed religion a good deal, but I have not heard a religious discussion in years. Even the infidels here have ceased talking about the subject. It is a favorite saying in the West, "I long ago quit discussing religion." Thirty or forty years ago preachers were regarded with respect, and they led in most affairs, but now there is something in the air very much resembling contempt for them. I do not say this should be the case; I only express the opinion that it is the case. I think it is due to the intolerance of the preachers themselves. The Western churches are supported by the women, as Dr. Hyde says is the case in New England. Their financial condition is growing worse every year, and concessions are made to the few men who belong to them that are very damaging to the churches. I know one member who gets drunk and attends the festivals, but as he is good about paying he is not turned out.

The women who support the churches in the West are known as *pro-bono-publico* women. I do not believe they are very popular, or that women ever are popular who bother the men for subscriptions, however worthy the cause represented. The activity of women in church

work is possibly a bad thing; it has a tendency to keep the men away. Give a man an idea that his wife is making an effort to save herself and is leaving him out, and he will invent a new plan of salvation. When a man comes home and finds his wife away doing church work to the neglect of his interests, he finds another argument against religion and forms another prejudice against the Church. If I were a woman I would not go to church without my husband; not from foolish sentiment, but because of a conviction that the best church work demanded such a course. A man is sentimental before he is pious, and his sentimentality is always stronger than his piety.

The Western man is more sentimental than his brother in the East. When he engages in a new enterprise he expects his fellow-citizens to "appreciate" him, and he particularly desires that the newspapers mention him in connection with the words "energetic" and "pushing." When he has "trouble" he expects the neighbors to take notice of it; and after the funeral he is apt to publish a card of thanks. I have never lived in a Western community where the people were not surprisingly good to each other in affliction. Every Western man who has trouble loves his neighbors afterward, if he did not before. The people are equally prompt to relieve the distress of poverty. For many years I have published a newspaper, and every winter I make it a rule to print notices of distress, which the people never fail to relieve. Reporters are always hearing of such cases through the poor-commissioner, and a case of distress mentioned in the evening is pretty sure to be relieved the next day. In the East all such matters are regarded from the cold, matter-of-fact standpoint of an old man, but in the West with the enthusiasm of youth. The typical Eastern man who removes to the West is so exclusive that people imagine he is proud, but he is simply true to the habits of a lifetime. Every Western man who visits in the East is shocked when he cannot find out who lives across the street. When a man builds a house in the West his neighbors give him the benefit of their advice, but in the East I have heard that such matters are left to the architect.

In the West, also, every man takes an interest in the public welfare. If he finds a bunch of Canada thistles he gives notice of the fact to the local newspaper, which suggests that they be cut down. I have never heard, however, of any one turning out to cut these weeds, nor have I ever seen a patch, though I have often heard of the Canada thistle threatening the agricultural interests of the country. Knowledge of these dangerous weeds seems to be confined to those persons

who are so fortunate as to have lived in the East and who are always telling us how much better things were done where they came from. Although they frequently hear that the Canada thistle is preparing to cover the face of the earth and wipe out corn and wheat, I do not believe Western people know the weed when they see it.

Once when I was travelling through Iowa I stopped at a town where an election was in progress. The manner in which the men yelled and carried banners and badges seemed to me to be the funniest thing I had ever seen. The enthusiasm of the people over a few minor offices seemed to me to be the enthusiasm of crazy people, and I watched the proceedings with a great deal of interest until I suddenly remembered that we did exactly the same thing at home. When a friend of ours runs for office we all turn out to help him, and there is a very ridiculous time until the contest is decided. While the campaign is in progress we all say it is high time really good men were called to office, and that the best citizens should turn out to support such a candidate; but after the election is over we privately confess that the good man elected is a disappointment, for no office-holder can possibly carry out the reforms his friends promise. It is a favorite theory in the West that the best citizens neglect the primaries. Perhaps they do as a rule, but I have noticed that when the best citizens of the first ward turn out because of the unfitness of a candidate, the best citizens of the second ward decide in favor of the man opposed in the first. The best citizens seem to make quite as many mistakes in politics as the other class. My own opinion is that it is impossible to avoid mistakes if you engage in politics.

A certain thoroughfare leading to the town in which I live is known as the "Doniphan Road," and for fifteen years I have heard that it is in such bad condition that trade is driven to rival towns. In my capacity as editor I think I have referred to the condition of the Doniphan Road as a burning shame at least a thousand times, always at the request of indignant citizens and never caring much about the matter myself. At last a number of men raised a considerable amount of money by private subscription and went to work to improve the Doniphan Road. There was a good deal of rejoicing because the road was to be improved and the trade of the town thereby increased; and the men who were doing the work went about with such an injured air, because they were not appreciated, that finally some resolutions were passed and printed. Three or four months after the work had been completed, a man called at my office and filed complaint against

the condition of the Doniphan Road! I was very much surprised, and called his attention to the fact that the road had lately been fixed. "Fixed!" he said scornfully. "The road was all right until some crazy men from town came out and ruined it!"

This incident illustrates one of the great weaknesses of the West. Except by bridging, Western roads have never been improved a particle. Every citizen is supposed to pay a road tax every year or work two days. In the country the tax is always paid in work; and all the farmers do is to scour their ploughs along the roads and arrange for the election of a road-overseer who is not so particular. If a little ploughing and scraping is done according to a plan, it is washed out by the next rain. In bad weather our roads are simply disgraceful, but they are no more disgraceful than the system by which we attempt to improve them. Every Western man is ashamed of the country roads, but the trouble is he is ashamed without taking intelligent steps to improve them.

We of the West have been clamoring for liberty so long that at last we have too much of it; it is one of our most serious faults that we have confounded political liberty with social license. Our young people are allowed dangerous liberties in their intercourse with one another if the motive is believed to be marriage. Engagements are lightly entered into, and an engagement is accepted as a pretext for liberties that may be dangerous and never fail to be damaging. It is the rule in the West for a young man to call on his affianced in the evening, and remain alone with her as long as he can make himself agreeable; very often he remains until long after midnight. The members of the girl's family regard it as a politeness to leave the pair to themselves; and not only the family, but the community, grants a certain license to engaged persons that would be shocking under other circumstances. This license is so generally recognized that once, when I was visiting in a very good family in Omaha, the oldest daughter appeared at the breakfast-table and told as a funny incident that while sitting on her lover's knee the night before, one of the female servants entered the parlor unexpectedly and caught her at it. The incident caused hearty laughter, though I remember that the girl's father was not present. The engagement was finally broken off. Not long ago a society young man called on a young woman in my neighborhood, and when the mother entered the parlor the young man intimated that her presence there was an impertinence.

All this is excused on the favorite American theory that we are

free and able to take care of ourselves. We do not believe that young men can take care of themselves in the presence of temptation and persuasion, but we seem to believe that young women can; therefore our parlors are too often loafing-places for men who use all their arts against the best interests of women and society. We have forgotten that nine-tenths of the unfortunate women of this country have been ruined by men to whom they were engaged to be married, and that a series of engagements under our system inevitably trains a woman downward. In no community in this country is a woman who has been engaged three or four times as highly esteemed as one who has had no such experience. This alone is a sufficient reason why the custom is a bad one; and if we may judge from the kissing jokes in the newspapers, the custom of too much license between engaged persons is not confined to the West. It seems to be an American privilege.

Every engagement of marriage that comes to nothing is a libel on the sacred name of love: it makes every one of us think less of that which lies in our hearts next to hope. An old love affair that comes to nothing injures humanity as a backslider injures the Church. The French carry their system too far one way; we carry ours too far the other. In nearly every newspaper or magazine article written by a woman you will find a sly thrust at the folly I am pointing out. George Eliot pointed it out as a great danger, in the statement that the happiest women are those who have no history. George Eliot meant what I mean: that every woman who has had a lover other than her husband has a history that will cause her trouble. Every mature woman knows that this is true; even a girl says less of her second engagement than of her first. Nature tells her that there is something wrong about it. The proportion of marriages in the West is gradually growing smaller. The notion that there is a scarcity of marriageable women in the West is a mistake. I live five hundred miles west of Chicago, and in my town there are certainly five women willing to marry to one man willing to marry. What is the matter? My opinion is that the men refuse to forgive the follies society says they must forgive. Their own experience has disgusted them with our system of marriages. The men are to blame, of course, but men would willingly be to blame for very much more than they are.

E. W. HOWE.

THE SCANDINAVIANS IN THE NORTHWEST.

EVERY class of immigrants must be judged by its manifest ability to become American speedily, willingly, and thoroughly, in all that that term implies. The more generations there are of ignorance, superstition, thriftlessness, and political passivity stretching out behind him, the more undesirable from every point of view the immigrant becomes. On the other hand, the immigrant whose homeland shows a minimum percentage of illiteracy, whose life has been saturated with ideas of thrift and small economies, who holds himself the slave of neither priest, landlord, nor king, and whose history, past and passing, is a story of sturdy struggling for independence—such an immigrant should find welcome and encouragement instead of barriers to his coming.

While agitating for much-needed additional restriction upon undesirable immigration, we should not forget the obligation we owe the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who in the last forty years have surged across our land, settled in the great West, and brought prosperity to themselves and the state. But not this alone. They are no longer pilgrims and strangers. They are not simply in the better country: they are of it and of its people. It is to the immigrants of this class, and especially to the Scandinavian immigrants from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, that the Northwest is largely indebted for its marvellous development.

While in most of the Eastern States a Norwegian or a Swede is a curiosity, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas have about seven hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants of Scandinavian birth. To this should be added those of the second generation, enumerated as native born, which should raise their numbers nearly to a million. The story of the coming of this great host of peaceful conquerors of prairie and forest, by the side of which the early Teutonic migrations were but small marauding picnics, is an uneventful, but not an unimportant chapter in our history. The first company of Scandinavian immigrants reached New York from Norway in 1825, and made a settlement near Rochester, N. Y. A few hundreds

came in the next ten years; but not until 1836 was the first permanent Western settlement made in Illinois. Later, settlements were made in Wisconsin and Iowa; Swedes and Danes, as well as Norwegians, began to come; and by 1843 the stream was flowing with some regularity. The census of 1850 showed eighteen thousand Scandinavian population. But these were only the vanguard of the host that was to follow. In 1860 there were seventy-two thousand. During the Civil War very few came; but in the later sixties the movement began again with redoubled vigor, and finally reached its climax in 1882, when one hundred and five thousand three hundred and twenty-six Scandinavians were landed at our ports. In the five years ending with 1885, three hundred and fifty-two thousand three hundred and thirty-four arrived; in the next five years, three hundred and four thousand one hundred and sixty.

With a few minor exceptions, the whole movement has been unorganized, though agents of steamship and railway companies, and even some of the States, have systematically worked up immigration sentiment in the Northlands. Famine, burdensome taxation, and overpopulation have been not inconsiderable factors in promoting Scandinavian immigration; religious and political persecution and military service have driven out only a very small fraction. The natural love of adventure, the prospect of ownership of land, which is practically impossible to the great majority in the old home, and the desire for greater personal independence—in a word, material betterment—these have been the motives of Scandinavian immigration. Letters from the New World, winter visits of prosperous immigrants to their old friends, and innumerable low-priced prepaid passage tickets have been the most powerful preachers of the gospel of the New World's advantages. The broad, rich prairies of the Northwest have had from the first an Eden-like attractiveness to these North folk, coming as they have from a land where mountains, marshes, thin soil, and short summers made life a continual struggle for existence. It was the vision of level fields of marvellous fertility that could be had almost for the asking that cheered their tedious way across the Atlantic, up the Erie Canal, and around the Great Lakes in the early days. Minnesota, Iowa, Dakota, are still the watchwords as they come and are household words in almost every cranny from Hammerfest to Gjedser.

The passion for the possession of land and for the independence that goes with it have characterized the Scandinavians from the earliest

times, and it is that which has made them so valuable as citizens of the Northwest. Had they preferred to huddle together in villages or, still worse, to crowd into the large cities, the progress of this section would have been materially slower. Until within the last eight years the towns have claimed only a small percentage, and now probably not more than ten per cent come to settle in towns. Scanty means, a spirit of economy, and a fearlessness for hard work and temporary privation have made them frequently pioneers in settling new territory. With the extension of new railroads into northwestern Minnesota and the Dakotas and the opening up of Government and railroad land, great numbers of Scandinavian immigrants and Scandinavian settlers from older portions of the West have settled there. All of the eighty counties of Minnesota, save possibly two, have representatives of all three Scandinavian peoples; whole townships and almost whole counties are tilled by them. In the newer counties of Minnesota and the Dakotas thirty and even forty per cent are of Scandinavian parentage. In the older portions it is said to be possible to travel three hundred miles across Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota without once leaving Scandinavian-owned land. Though in every large city and town in the Northwest there are Scandinavians engaged in commercial enterprises and the professions with marked success, it yet remains true that the great majority are farmers.

One of the most important indirect results of the love for land-ownership is the hastening of naturalization. To take up homestead claims, one of the first conditions for a foreigner is "a declaration of intention" to become a citizen; so the prospective farmer at once takes out his "first papers," and the first step in naturalization is made. This done, natural inclination leads him to perfect his title to full citizenship. But the Scandinavian immigrant hardly needs any great material incentive to citizenship. In politics he is as much in his element as an Irishman in New York City. His aptitude for politics and his interest in public affairs are natural. Be he Norwegian, Swede, or Dane, he has lived and moved in an atmosphere electric with independence and individualism. The Norwegian celebrates the Fourth of July all the more loyally, because on the seventeenth of May he commemorated in the same way the establishment, in defiance of all Europe, of the Norwegian constitution in 1814. The Dane is fresh from the constitutional struggle begun in 1849; the Swede has had popular representation since 1867: consequently the Scandinavian immigrants have had some considerable political educa-

tion when they arrive. The ballot and independence are not meaningless terms to them; the exercise of them is their right, not merely their privilege. Certainly no class makes greater effort than the Scandinavian to become naturalized; none enters upon the rights and duties of American citizenship with more enthusiasm or honest, intelligent appreciation of its high privileges. Statistics from Minnesota show some interesting facts bearing upon this question, comparison being made with the Germans, who rank among our best immigrants. By the census of 1885 the Scandinavian population was 43.2 per cent and the German 30.1 per cent of the total foreign-born population. Of the increase of foreign-born population for five years ending with 1885, the Scandinavian was 48.2 per cent, the German 30.9 per cent. For the same period, of the total naturalizations (first papers) the Scandinavians took out 56.3 per cent and the Germans 23.2 per cent. Or, looking at the matter in another way, for the same half-decade the Scandinavians who were naturalized were 35.4 per cent of the increase of Scandinavian population for the same time, the Germans 22.9 per cent. Similar statistics for other half-decades give approximately the same results.

The political affiliations of the Scandinavian voters till about 1886 were almost invariably with the Republican party. The opposition to slavery rallied every son of the Northland, and no soldiers were braver or more patriotic than the Scandinavian Fifteenth Wisconsin regiment and Scandinavian companies in other Wisconsin and Iowa regiments. The suppression of the Rebellion, the abolition of slavery, the passage of the homestead law to which they owed so much—all appealed powerfully to their political senses. New-comers found their predecessors in the Republican party; they found it the party in power in the State and generally in the Nation; its principles were acceptable, and so they too became Republicans. Since 1886, however, less reliance can be placed upon a solid Scandinavian vote, though this element has never been the ready tool of "bosses." It has ever been a ruling rather than a ruled element. The immigration of the last eight years has had a larger percentage from the cities, and a larger percentage has settled in the cities, so that "labor questions" have affected them; local political issues have, to their credit, sometimes shaken their old allegiance more or less, as, for example, prohibition in Iowa and North Dakota, high license in Minnesota; the Bennett law in Wisconsin temporarily drove them out of the Republican party; the Farmers' Alliance, People's party, etc., have drawn

Scandinavian recruits from both of the old parties; the tariff and other National questions have divided them as well as other thinking men in both great political parties. However, the majority of them are still and will continue to be Republicans, though no party can mortgage their vote for any election.

Each of the great parties in Minnesota and the Dakotas usually "recognizes" the value of the Scandinavian vote by placing one or two candidates of Scandinavian birth upon its State ticket, though the vote for such candidates does not differ much from the vote for the rest of the ticket. In Minnesota the present secretary of state (a Republican and recently nominated) and the auditor (a Democrat and Alliance candidate) are Norwegians, while the preceding secretary was a Swede, serving for a third term. In the same State the last three legislatures had respectively twenty-six, twenty-one, and twenty-six Scandinavian members out of one hundred and sixty-eight; of the elective county officers throughout the State other than county commissioners, more than one hundred and fifty are of Scandinavian parentage. It is not as Scandinavians laboring for any class or nationality, but as American citizens, that these men are elected, and their administration is no less honest, no less efficient, than that of native-born citizens. Several have served in diplomatic missions and in Congress; in the past Congress there were four Scandinavian members. The highly honorable careers of such men, among others, as the Hon. Hans Mattson, colonel of the Third Minnesota, editor, consul-general to India, and three times secretary of state in Minnesota; the Hon. R. B. Anderwon, a writer of some note and Mr. Cleveland's minister to Denmark; the Hon. Knute Nelson, soldier, attorney, member of the legislatures of Wisconsin and Minnesota, member of Congress from 1883 to 1889, being seated the third time by the largest majority of any member of that House, and recently nominated by acclamation by the Republicans for governor of Minnesota—all would do credit to any men. Who asks if John Ericsson was born in Sweden or H. H. Boyesen in Norway? These men are none the less American because born in Norway or Sweden or of Scandinavian parentage.

Society has little to fear from Scandinavian immigrants; certainly not from illiteracy, for Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are among the five states of Europe "nearly free from illiteracy." By the most conservative estimate, the percentage of illiteracy in Russia is eighty, in Hungary fifty, in Italy forty-eight, while "among the Swedish recruits of 1888 only one per cent were unlettered." In addition to this uni-

versally fair education, many of the immigrants are highly educated. Because of the similarity of structure of the English and Scandinavian languages and an aptitude for acquiring languages, they readily learn English. The use of newspapers and books, both in their tongues and in English, is large; in Minnesota alone thirty-seven Scandinavian newspapers are published.

Coupled with the love for politics among them is the love for religion and the Church. The vast majority are Lutherans of one branch or another. At any rate, they are Protestant enough to satisfy the most fastidious Catholic-hater, for a Catholic in Norway or Sweden is a rare, suspicious object. The dissenting movement among the Scandinavian Lutherans in America is comparatively strong. At one time there were six divisions of the Norwegians alone, though recently three of them united. The rigid adherence to the forms and practices of the mother-state Church is weakened, while, on the other hand, the liberal and atheistic movements have made slow progress, even among the dissenters. The churches, with a few exceptions, have not maintained regular elementary schools. Poverty, isolation of the families of the great farming class, and the desire to conform to American customs have all led to a very general patronage of the common schools. The church school is usually open during public-school vacations, if at all, and instruction confined to religious teaching and the use of the mother-tongue. All this has contributed to the rapid Americanization of the second generation. For higher education, the church maintains numerous and well-patronized seminaries and colleges, while the high-schools and the State universities throughout the Northwest have a large Scandinavian attendance, auguring well for the future. In the University of Minnesota, for example, located in the same city with two Scandinavian colleges, during the past year one hundred and seventy-five students, out of thirteen hundred and seventy-four, were of Scandinavian parentage.

The statistics for crime, pauperism, etc., show a percentage for the Scandinavian below the average of foreign population, while for insanity the percentage is higher. Minnesota, again, will serve as a fair example. In 1885 the Scandinavians were 16.5 per cent of the population, the Germans 11.5 per cent. In 1886, of those confined in prisons 8.7 per cent were Scandinavians, 7.4 per cent Germans. In 1890 7.1 per cent were Scandinavians, though the Scandinavian population had increased nearly twice as fast as the native. For insanity the figures are quite the reverse. The completely changed aspect of nature,

the isolation of the farmers, and the severity of the struggle for all at the first, together with the ordinary causes, produce an unusually large number of cases of insanity. In 1886, of the inmates of the insane hospitals 28.3 per cent were Scandinavians; in 1890, 30.7 per cent. Statistics for illegitimacy are not easily obtainable or reliable, but an inspection of the crimes for which criminals in the State prisons have been sentenced suggests the conclusion that so large an immigration from a country showing annually ten per cent of illegitimate births, as in the case of Sweden (for the city of Stockholm for 1884 it was twenty-nine per cent), must have some effect in lowering the standard of morals in the community.

The Scandinavians, with all their virtues, are not without faults. They are often narrow-minded, in the city sometimes clannish and given to making demands, political and social, as Scandinavian-Americans. The Swede is frequently jealous of the Norwegian, and *vice versa*. But as a class they are sober, earnest, industrious, and frugal. They are not driven here; they come of their own accord and come to stay, not to get a few hundred dollars and return to a life of idleness. They come not to destroy our institutions, but to build them up by adopting them. They come from countries not potent or glorious in European affairs, and therefore the more readily denationalize themselves, that they may become entirely American. The most of them are plain, common people, strong, sturdy, and independent, required to unlearn little, ready and able to learn much and learn it well. They have the same still powers of adaptability and assimilation that made Rollo and his Northmen such good Frenchmen and Guthrun and his Danes such excellent Englishmen; and using these powers among us to-day, they are, or are rapidly becoming, irreproachably and unimpeachably American.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

THE MINE LABORERS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

AT the present time the public prints are filled with statistics of immigration and of the area of unsettled lands and with discussions of the laws relating thereto. The Government printing-presses are furnishing the results of work performed by agents who were sent abroad to inquire into the condition at home of the prospective emigrant. All these articles are interesting and important; but the public demands better and more detailed information. The American people have a right to know what are the results upon the communities wherein large numbers of Southern Europeans settle: how they live, the wages they earn, the money they spend, their proportion of crime, their superstitions, and the prospect of having them assimilated among the native population.

It is taken for granted that the public accepts one fact in advance: that east of the Mississippi we have to fear, at present, immigration only from Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Sicily. But the laws of immigration are fixed. The transfer of population from the Old World to the New moves from west to east. Our first immigrants naturally came from countries bordering the Atlantic coast; but if proper laws are not administered, there is no possible doubt that in the future hordes of immigrants from India will enter our ports. Religious beliefs do much to hold back these people now, but little is needed to break this check. In fact, while in 1890 we received 4,448 immigrants from Asia, in 1891 this number rose to 7,678.

Already the stream of immigration from Southern Europe is sweeping toward the Northwest and the South; but it began to pour into the mining regions of Pennsylvania over a dozen years ago. It is a matter of great importance, therefore, that the Nation know how this stream has become a deluge in one decade, and what are its results even in so short a time. One who desires to study the vital phase of the immigration problem should go to the anthracite fields of the Keystone State. There he will find one of the richest regions of the earth overrun with a horde of Hungarians, Slavs, Poles, Bohemians, Arabs, Italians, Sicilians, Russians, and Tyrolese of the

lowest class; a section almost denationalized by the scum of the Continent, where women hesitate to drive about the country roads by day, where unarmed men are not safe after the sinking of the sun. There he will see prosperous little cities like Hazleton, Mahanoy, Ashland, Shenandoah, with fine business houses and educated people of fortune, and surrounding these towns great wastes of the Commonwealth diseased by thousands and tens of thousands of foreigners who have no desire to become Americans, who emigrate to the United States for a few years to make money, who have driven to the cities and to the West the great army of English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Germans, and Americans who once gave stability to the coal regions; in short, a condition of affairs which, if equalled elsewhere, may become more than a National problem—a National peril.

Though the Federal Government has done good work in sending special consular agents abroad to gather statistics, and also in making a cursory investigation in certain American cities, a letter from the Commissioner of Labor, in January, 1892, said that up to that date no examination had been made in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania, and to those regions the swarms first were brought. In Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, Lehigh, and Northumberland counties they are working out their destiny, and incidentally are building there a section of Southern Europe. Until the year 1875 the mines of Pennsylvania were worked almost exclusively by Americans, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Germans, and English. But shortly after the date mentioned were heard ominous rumblings of a great labor trouble, and finally it came. The operators had been in the habit of treating their miners just as they chose. The men were compelled to purchase food, clothing, in fact nearly all the necessities and luxuries of life, at company stores, paying excessive prices. The paymaster retained from each man's wages seventy-five cents per month for the company doctor, no matter whether the miner's family were ill or in good health. In most cases twenty-five cents were taken in the same way for the company priest. The rent of the company house wherein the miner lived was likewise deducted, and after reserving more for coal and oil and powder, the paymaster handed the miner whatever money—if any—were remaining. Sometimes the men were paid every month; sometimes thrice a year. Those were the days when a miner could make as much as one hundred dollars per month. But wages were cut; one screw after another was tightened; and suddenly the operators awoke to find themselves confronted with a great strike.

Then did one of the greatest capitalists declare that never again would he have a strike. Agents were sent to Southern Europe, and they brought back hundreds of Hungarians, Polanders, Slavs, and Bohemians, who had been receiving from ten cents to sixty cents per day for their work. It must not be supposed that all the "coal barons" were cruel, cold-blooded taskmasters. But those were who brought here the Hun and the Slav. The Irish and Welsh and Scotch were beginning to assert themselves. The operators knew but a short time remained when compulsion in connection with the company store and the company doctor would be a thing of the past. They realized that before long they would have to treat the miners as workmen elsewhere were treated. But the Slav and the Polander—ah, here were desirable people. They had been ground down and crushed for generations. They could be handled like so many domestic cattle. They were strong as oxen, lived on almost nothing, would work for a bare pittance. So they were brought to the mines.

Since the stream was turned on in full a decade has elapsed. Of those who came here during the first few years many possessed ordinary intelligence. But year by year the immigrants have been decreasing steadily in the scale of humanity, especially those from Italy. It is true that there are exceptions: mechanics, physicians even, are found who have emigrated from Austria-Hungary, Poland, Sicily, or Italy. But these exceptions only prove the tremendously overwhelming rule. In 1891 more than half a million immigrants landed in the United States. Of those, Italy and Sicily sent over one hundred thousand; Bohemia, Austria-Hungary, Poland, and Russia over one hundred and ten thousand. It is safe to say that fully one-half of these two hundred and ten thousand are the very worst class of immigrants, utterly unfit for residence or citizenship in the United States.

There are two great causes that sent from Europe to this country in 1891 these half-million souls. One is compulsory military service; the other, greed for gold. The majority of Hungarians, Slavs, Italians, and Polanders who come here leave wives and families behind them. They settle down to work in the mining regions for wages running from sixty cents to one dollar and ten cents per day. During some of the months the mines are idle half-time or more, and of course for the time being the wages cease. In the anthracite regions ten, twenty, thirty of the men club together and establish a sort of cooperative housekeeping. The man who rents the company house

is called the "boarding-boss," and his wife (if he have one) or some other woman cooks and washes for "the gang." The Hungarians and Slavs consume good bread, poor salt pork, great quantities of coffee, and a soup in which there are noodles. They seldom eat fried food and roasts never. The Italian's bill of fare consists of bread, beer, bologna, sometimes green peppers or cabbage or maccaroni, and Roman cheese made from the milk of goats and sheep. The Italians delight in other vegetables than those named, and consume much olive oil and Italian wines. In some cases the boarding-boss purchases the food; in others, one of the boarders is empowered to do so. At the end of the month the store bill is presented and the men pay in equal proportions. If the Slav or the Italian finds his share to be more than five dollars there is likely to be a disturbance. Besides the store bill, the boarders each pay from one to two dollars per month to the boarding-boss for house-rent. It is safe to say that the Slavs and Italians live on twenty to twenty-five cents per day. They purchase little clothing, and the principal luxury indulged in is either beer in kegs or a miserable white whiskey termed *polenka*.

As may be imagined, at such an expense these people do not live in palatial magnificence. They are huddled together in small rooms containing rude wooden bunks, ideal breeding-places for loathsome disease. Chief Polgrean, of the Hazleton police, recently had occasion to raid an Italian boarding-house on the outskirts of that city. The building was large enough to accommodate an American family of six or eight. The police found in it fifty Italians massed together, occupying the attic and the ground-floor. In the cellar were twenty others lying naked in the straw, sleeping head to feet like so many hogs. The company houses are often decent buildings, though extremely plain, and rent for from four to six dollars per month; but frequently the foreigners will not pay that amount. So they gather a few boards and erect a rickety, miserable shanty unfit for a well-bred dog to live in. Usually there is no ventilation; the earth may serve for a floor; drainage facilities would constitute a curiosity. Such are the houses wherein thousands of people are content to reside as long as they remain in America.

If a man makes twenty-five or thirty dollars a month and expends but eight or ten dollars, he naturally would deposit the surplus in a bank. Not so with the vast majority of these foreigners. There are some who bring their families here, intending to remain; but they are few. It would be safe to estimate that a large percentage of the

immigrants who have come from Southern Europe since 1884 had no idea of making this country their place of permanent residence. They came here as New Englanders went to California in '49, to make a fortune in a few years and then go home to enjoy it. They leave their families abroad and send to them sums of money that seem enormous when the fact is considered that they belong to the laboring class. The little city of Hazleton is said to send each month to Southern Europe from seventy-five thousand to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. Such immigrants, as a rule, make no attempt to become Americans. They care naught for our country but as a place where they can accumulate enough money to make them independent when they return home.

Of course these people, as a rule, do not try to learn the English language. There is no necessity for it. Many thousands of them live together; they have local newspapers printed in their own tongue; their priests conduct religious services in it; they enjoy their own entertainments. This is one reason why mine superintendents keep all accounts by number instead of by name. When employed each man is given a brass check with a figure stamped upon it, and thereafter he is known as "596" or "211" instead of by his real name—Stanislaus Androschowski, for instance.

One deplorable circumstance is that except in rare instances the Slavs and Italians never send their children to the public schools. The boys are early set to work among their own people, and the girls can seldom make acquaintance with those of other nationalities. This clannish habit prohibits the acquisition of the English language and prevents the fostering of American patriotism in the coming generation. But it cannot be helped. Americans will have nothing to do in common with the low-class foreigners. In fact, so excessively repulsive are the latter that decent people hesitate about waiting in railroad stations near mining towns, for fear of being overrun with vermin or of contracting disease.

When a stranger visits the anthracite regions he is filled with sympathy for the poor Italian and the Slav. He considers the American residents heartless in the extreme. He is amazed at the way the foreigners are regarded. But a single year spent in that land will show him the truth, no matter how tender-hearted he is. He will then know that disgust should take the place of surprise. He sees a thousand idle Americans and a like number of foreigners slaving for eighty or ninety cents per day. He sees the Americans sending

their children to school, supporting churches, living in decent houses, trying to be cleanly and to wear presentable clothing. He also sees the scum of Europe taking the place of the former, content to swarm in shanties like hogs, to contract scurvy by a steady diet of the cheapest salt pork, to suffer sore eyes and bodies rather than buy a towel and a wash-tub, to endure typhoid fever rather than undergo the expense of the most primitive sanitary apparatus. He hears day after day earnest but unschooled Americans, Irishmen, Welshmen, discuss the immigration question, and either curse Congress or pray that it may realize what will happen to the Nation if these swarms are allowed to fester and breed misery in the land.

It may be argued that the Americans, Irish, Germans, Welsh, and English would not do the work that is performed by the immigrant from Southern Europe. Certainly the former would not accept six or seven dollars per week if it could be avoided. But bear in mind that a few years ago miners could and did earn as high wages as twenty-five dollars per week. One result of this great reduction in wages is the enormously increased output of anthracite, which is made cheaper to the consumer and thus reduces the price of certain manufactured goods. That, of course, is a good feature.

If the immigrants with whom we are dealing saved money to buy homes here and became good citizens, we might be able to excuse their present squalor. If they desired to learn our language and customs, to become law-abiding, there might be some excuse for allowing them to enter our ports. But we know that such is not the case with the great majority. There are many intelligent men in the anthracite regions who are disposed to allow matters to drift on, content in the belief that the very freedom of American institutions will somehow civilize the foreigners. Even if this pleasant view proves to be no mirage, it is dangerous to allow entrance to such armies as we receive month after month. Mr. Beecher was right when he dreaded the oncoming of this questionable food from abroad which this country is swallowing and unsuccessfully attempting to assimilate. Statisticians tell us that there is incalculable room in the United States for prospective immigrants. To my mind, that is the great trouble; our country is too sparsely settled to allow hosts of ignorant foreigners to enter unrestricted. If the American residents of the anthracite fields, for example, could swallow the vast numbers now entering, the latter would necessarily become Americanized. But the reverse is true; they drive out the former residents and Europeanize the country.

Take the superstitions of the foreigners, for example. One would suppose that ten years' residence in a community five hours distant from New York City would remove belief in witches from a majority of the people. But so great are their numbers that this has proved impossible. Nearly all of them believe in "signs" and ghosts, and the superstitions cannot be shaken. But with all their superstitions, the foreigners have little reverence or even respect for things sacred. They are fond of attending church services; but once outside the walls the priest has little influence over them. I once stood at the altar of a Polish church by the side of uniformed police to protect the priest, Rev. Father Maszotas, who had been assaulted in the church and who feared further violence from some of the nine hundred of his fellow-countrymen who crowded the building to the vestibule. During the autumn of 1891, Rt. Rev. William O'Hara, Bishop of Scranton, sent a Sicilian priest, Father Rosario Nasca, to Hazleton to take charge of a mission. Six months later Father Nasca called upon me and said that he had been threatened with assassination by some of his parishioners and that he never went out of the house after dark unless accompanied by a body-guard.

It is but natural to suppose 'from these immigrants' manner of living that their code of morals is low. The police will tell you that the Slav, Bohemian, Italian, and the baser Polanders are guilty of nameless crimes and horrid vices. If you desire to see a collection of curious weapons, go to police headquarters in any anthracite town. Part of the first money a Hungarian or a Slav earns in America is expended in purchasing a revolver. The Italians carry knives and stilettos. If too poor to indulge in such articles, the immigrant carries in his pocket a stone weighing from three to five pounds. Numbers of them are taken by the police from prisoners. If an Italian cannot afford a stiletto he buys, begs, or steals a file and grinds it down to the proper proportions.

What would residents of a Massachusetts town think of such an occurrence as is described in the following article from the "Pottsville Chronicle" of April 13, 1892? The affair was forgotten in twenty-four hours:

"All last Sunday the residents of Heckschersville Valley were in an excited state of mind caused by a free-for-all fight among forty or fifty Hungarians who have recently settled in the 'Ireland of America' and who got into a quarrel over several kegs of bock beer. Clubs, knives, stones, pick handles, and 'billies' were freely used, knock-downs were numerous, and cut heads were countless.

They fought like demons, and the valley resounded with their shrieks and fearful oaths. The peaceful citizens of the valley stood in groups on the hillside and watched the terrible fight. . . . Soon the women joined and the fight went on. In some cases three would pounce upon one, in others half a dozen would belabor two of them until they weren't able to move, and immediately leave them to join in the fight at another point. Of course the outcome of the affray was a lawsuit."

As may be readily supposed, the people in the anthracite regions have to possess an especial means of protection against the lawless foreigners. In well-governed cities like Hazleton, Mahanoy, Shenandoah, and Ashland, there is no such necessity; but within a few miles of each of the large towns are a dozen mining camps wherein the danger is realized. So the coal-operators support forces of hard-riding, swift-striking, well-loved, and better hated "coal and iron" police. Those in the Hazleton region have headquarters in that city and are under the control of Chief Hampton. Each man goes fully armed day and night, and each is provided with a fast horse. On account of the danger of their calling, these men are paid large salaries, and not one of them have I found who does not possess unusual intelligence and extraordinary knowledge of character. There may be exceptions, but those with whom I am acquainted are men absolutely fearless, of instant decision and splendid physical development. Nearly all have acquired sufficient knowledge of Italian, Slav, Polish, and Bohemian to be able to converse with the foreigners; and their rule is, when making an arrest, never to give up the struggle until knocked senseless or completely overpowered. If such a thing happens, a detail of re-enforcements is ordered to the ground, and then begins a search for the criminals that is supposed to be utterly relentless, no matter if months or years are consumed.

But even with this splendid safeguard justice is a farce. The foreigners either have no idea of the responsibility forced upon them by the judicial oath or they care not for perjury. The criminal dockets are so overcrowded that in at least one county the courts have directed justices of the peace to allow settlements of all cases possible, for which they hold preliminary hearings. But it is not right hastily to condemn either the courts or the magistrates for this proceeding. A magistrate in a mining town has a hard road to travel. In a large proportion of cases he hears where foreigners are involved an interpreter is required. Frequently the questions and answers are misconstrued through the change of meaning conveyed while trans-

lating idiom or phrase from one language to the other. Then the interpreter sometimes fancies he is doing the justice of the peace a favor by helping to convict the defendant, or *vice versa*. It is generally believed, also, that an interpreter who is often called upon will take sides with the person who pays him the most. Frequently two interpreters are required. One translates from English into Italian, for example, and the second from the pure Italian into that special dialect which the witness understands.

When pay-day comes the police and the justices of the peace get ready for a rush of work. The night following a pay-day, or in fact almost any Saturday night, the foreigners indulge in a drunken orgie which is kept up throughout Sunday. It is a queer sight, that of a rickety Slav boarding-house on such a night. Early in the evening a dozen of the boarders will begin to drink *polenka*, a bucket of which may be placed in the middle of the floor. They continue to tell stories, smoke, and chat until the fumes of the miserable liquor go to their heads. Then half a dozen or more will form a circle about the bucket of *polenka*, while another, seated in a corner, plays a weird, monotonous air upon an accordion or some reed instrument. As he plays the Slavs begin to dance and sing, solemnly at first, holding one foot off the floor and hopping around on the other, clapping their hands, and swinging their heads from side to side. By the time they get intoxicated a quarrel may ensue, ending in bloodshed, perhaps in homicide. The feasts following marriages and christenings are usually productive of fights.

When a score of Italians congregate with a few kegs of beer upon Saturday night, a fight is to be expected. But suppose arrests follow? It is most difficult to convict the criminal. A few years ago an Italian murderer was arrested in Schuylkill County. Proof against him was positive, and he would have been sent to prison for life had not the Italian authorities at Washington intervened in his behalf. An *attaché* was sent to the coal regions, who promised the authorities that if they would give up the man he would be taken out of the country. For all I know, this was done; and yet in November, 1891, Captain Simpson was sure he saw the fellow hanging about not far from the scene of the crime. It may be added that the Italian government more than any other takes active interest in such cases; but, for reasons set forth, few of the foreigners who commit crime receive their just deserts. Take murderers, for instance: except where arrests and trial follow, it would be exceedingly difficult to procure a list of such

occurrences. Dr. J. W. Cole, of Hazleton, says he has testified as an expert in seventeen murder cases, and in not one of them was the criminal convicted. The most amazing feature of all this is that the American residents of such communities think nothing of crime which would create weeks of excitement in places where these foreigners do not live. The people of the coal regions expect fights and murders.

After studying these immigrants and their relation to crime for some little time, I was surprised to find that when arrested for larceny, drunken brawls, stabbing affrays, or other minor offences, the Slavs, Pólanders, Arabs, and Russians often served terms in the local jail, being unable to pay the fine imposed; but that in ninety per cent of the cases where Italians were thus arrested the fines were paid and imprisonment avoided. The Italians, as a rule, earned less wages than workingmen of any other nationality. The thought occurred, Can there exist in America a society of Italians whose object is to help the members when in trouble with the police? Under promise of secrecy I obtained from an Italian priest (who does not reside in or near Hazleton) an emphatic opinion that such a society existed, and that it had ramifications in different parts of the United States where Italians colonize. The priest said also that the leader of the Pennsylvania branch was a man who has served nineteen years in the galleys for murder. He told where this man lived, but only on condition that the information should be withheld from the public.¹

I had been studying these people so intently and had received such an unfavorable impression of them that I hesitated to proceed in the investigation, lest injustice might be done. So I wrote to Mr. A. E. Watrous, of the "New York Herald" staff, stating the case and asking him to come to Hazleton and make a thorough examination of the matter throughout the surrounding country. Mr. Watrous is a man of mature years and of experience. He came to Hazleton, and while the existence of such a society could not be absolutely proved during the limited time he could spare for the work, he yet unearthed facts that would lead one to believe that such an organization was active. His report was voluminous, and a few facts from it will serve the present purpose.

In the first place, he found that some of the "coal and iron" police firmly believed in that society, while others were non-committal, declining to have their views expressed in print. Mayor Gavitt, of

¹ It is only proper to add that this priest's reputation for truthfulness is doubted by many who have come in contact with him.

Hazleton, has had experience with criminals as chief of police and as head of the municipal government. His docket for six months, ending in November, 1891, shows scores of cases where Italians were arrested, and in each case the fine was paid. A curious circumstance is that one or two men paid the great majority of fines. "When an Italian is arrested," says Mayor Gavitt, "we almost always find half a dozen of his countrymen at the police courts, and one of them invariably pays the fine, no matter whether it is five dollars or twenty. I should not think such a society as you mention at all improbable." The man who hears more police cases than any other in that section of the country is James P. Gorman, city clerk of Hazleton and a justice of the peace. From experience in hundreds of criminal cases where Italians have been involved, Mr. Gorman considers the existence of such a society not merely possible, but highly probable. As for Captain Simpson of the "coal and iron" police, he does not doubt its existence at all. Most of the justices of the peace, the "coal and iron" police, the constables, and the city police bear witness to one serious fact: if an Italian wishes to prove an *alibi* he has merely to express such a desire, and he can have a dozen men to swear to that effect. This is true, in some degree, of other nationalities, but it is so marked in the case of the Italians as to give rise to special comment.

The question naturally arises, Why are these people so lawless here in America? When I asked that of a brother of Rev. Eugene Volkay, pastor of a Greek church in Luzerne County, he replied:

"In the villages whence the emigrants come the *gendarme* oversees their every act as a mother looks after her child. There is no laxity, no trifling with the police, especially in Austria-Hungary. Resistance with them does not mean, as here, the tapping of a club on your head or a shaking. It means death on the spot. I am an immigrant, but I realize that not even America can assimilate these enormous crowds, especially as they are the very worst classes of Europe. Over there they are ruled with an iron hand, absolutely inflexible."

Mr. Volkay has crossed the ocean a number of times, and says he never yet made a voyage toward America without having pointed out to him one or more passengers reputed to be criminals. Indeed, I should be surprised if it could be proved that the coal fields of Pennsylvania are free of *banditti* who fled from justice in their own lands.

Before dismissing the subject of societies, it is only just to state that the various nationalities support one or more whose avowed objects are to instil American patriotism, to aid the members when ill,

and to care for the helpless. The leaders of such movements I believe to be earnest and sincere in their work; but so far as can be ascertained, the great majority of foreigners are not reached by them. There exist also in the anthracite regions newspapers published in foreign languages which are devoted to the great work of making good citizens of their readers. The editors of such journals cannot be commended too highly, for in the present serious condition of affairs the Americans must depend upon them to a great extent. If such a thing were lawful, it would be a wise expenditure to aid these men from the governmental purse. And at least they should have the moral support of every good American.

Do many of these foreigners become citizens? They take out naturalization papers and vote, helping to make our laws. In fact, the foreign vote not infrequently turns a municipal or a county election; and in a State contest the utmost endeavors are made to control it by both parties. Owing to the low price at which many thousands of the foreigners hold their votes, a dollar per head will often make a big difference in the returns. These lower-class immigrants are here for just one purpose—to hoard every dollar they can lay their hands on. The most intelligent American residents of the anthracite regions are fully aroused to the situation. They have these people among them, and more are coming daily from Castle Garden. The churches are doing good work. Missions are being established here and there. In at least one town Christian young men and young women have given up most forms of social diversion and spend their evenings, month after month, in teaching free night-schools. But in the presence of overwhelming numbers the work seems hopeless.

However, the foreigners are in the country and there is but one method of civilizing them. Yet, with certain nationalities, even this will not avail with the present generation. The churches and the schools must make a tremendous effort. Naught will lift these people to civilization but the Bible and the primer. American clergymen and teachers will not answer. Men like the converted Sicilian soldier are the only ones who can accomplish this great foreign missionary work here in America. Realizing the down-trodden condition of these people, I know that America is to them a dream of paradise. I have a profound pity for the poverty-stricken multitudes of Italy's thirty million population who never can better themselves except by coming to America for a time. And yet, what will be the result to our country if the gates are left open?

I am satisfied that Congress has no adequate information in regard to the subject of immigration. What must be done is to create a permanent commission on immigration, to be appointed by the President. This should consist of three members, to serve ten years. All question of political ideas must be disregarded in appointing these men. The problem with which they are to grapple is too great to allow petty party interference. They must be the best men to be obtained, and such men will not devote their entire time to the work without adequate compensation for their services and the payment of travelling expenses. The commission should have an office in Washington and should personally study the immigrants in every section of the United States. Furthermore, their study should extend abroad to the lands whence these people come, so that we might know positively just what to expect from Europe. The commission should report at every session of Congress.

HENRY ROOD.

POPULAR EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

FROM the time of Plato to the present the theory of education entertained by a people has been said to reflect their current ideal of life, and the development of schools and of the other means of learning has been accepted as the mirror of a nation's progress. It was this thought which induced me to describe the University of Michigan. The success of the university has indeed been remarkable. Founded on the grant of land for higher education contained in the ordinance of 1787, it seems from the outset to have been guided by a spirit of liberality and confidence in the people which in theory ought to characterize a public institution. Its history and influence and the quickness with which it has responded to the changing needs of the people are accepted as enduring arguments for higher education by the state. It is indeed fitting that on the wall over the platform where eight thousand four hundred and sixteen men and women have, during the past twenty-one years, received from him who still presides over the institution their diplomas of graduation, these words of Thomas Jefferson, quoted from the ordinance of 1787, should be inscribed: "Religion, Morality, and Knowledge being Necessary to Good Government and the Happiness of Mankind, Schools and the Means of Education shall forever be encouraged."

As an idea the history of the university goes back to 1817, although the idea did not assume definite form until some years later. In 1841 the doors of the institution were first opened for instruction, and nine students availed themselves of its advantages; during the academic year just closed, twenty-six hundred and ninety-two students were in attendance on the university. The first class, numbering twelve, was graduated in 1845; on the last commencement day six hundred and ninety names were added to the roll of *alumni*. Thus within the span of an ordinary life the university has grown from nothing to become the largest institution of learning in the United States. It is certainly pertinent to inquire what may be the secret of this phenomenal development. Is it merely the result of good for-

tune? Is it because the interests of the university have been intrusted to exceptionally wise men? Or is it due to some peculiarity of organization? In the place of a formal history, I will notice what is peculiar to the university or characteristic of its organization, since in this manner the real meaning of its history will be more perfectly appreciated.

The first and most important feature is that the University of Michigan is a State institution, and as such it has been obliged to sit quietly by and see its rivals, resting on private foundations, sweep in the stakes of private benevolence. This has been frequently deplored by the friends of the university, but there are some reasons for believing that it is the secret of its rapid growth and of the marked influence which it has exerted on the development of education. In the transition from the narrow and rigid to the broad and liberal curriculum of studies which every student of the history of pedagogy recognizes to have taken place during the last thirty years, the University of Michigan has been the pioneer. It has constantly offered new features of education in response to the new demands of a progressive civilization.

A considerable portion of the land now occupied by the city of Toledo was once the property of the university. It would doubtless be pressing the argument too far to urge that the loss of this property was a blessing in disguise; but it is true, as attested by the facts in the case, that the dissipation of the Federal grant until all that now remains is a permanent annuity of thirty thousand dollars has compelled the university to rely more and more on the good will of the people of Michigan, and this has necessitated the constant exercise of a keen and discriminating appreciation of the needs of the State. The ideas welcomed in such an institution cannot be the sort which, as Bagehot remarks, "find their home in academies and out of their dignified windows pooh-pooh new things," for it is the idea of new things to which a university resting on popular approval must throw open its doors.

Another fact should be noted in this connection which strengthens the thought thus presented. The governing body of the University of Michigan is elected by popular suffrage and is regarded as an independent branch of the government co-ordinate with the legislature. This is indeed a unique feature. As a form of organization it meets the condemnation of theorists, but it has worked admirably. Certain precautions have been taken to guard the university from the ordinary political influences. Thus the election of regents takes

place, together with the election of judges of the Supreme Court, in an "off" year, and both parties have for the most part refrained from degrading their offices to political ends. The office of regent is regarded as one of the most honorable in the gift of the people, as is attested by the presence on the existing board of a gentleman who declined a nomination to Congress in a sure district, accepting by preference the place he now holds. It would be impossible to bring the university into closer organic relation with the people than to intrust its government to an elected board, and to oblige this board to come for supplies to an elected legislature. Such an organization evinces a confidence in popular suffrage which gives the institution a truly democratic character and makes it the most perfect educational counterpart of American life. Thus what in theory ought to have resulted in the confusion of the university has proven to be a vital principle of its life, and what, according to Tory ideas, should have obstructed the growth of an institution of learning, has in fact given impulse and direction to its development. This is attested by the history of the university from the beginning to the present.

Not only is the university by virtue of its organization in sympathy with the State—it is an organic part of the general system of public instruction, realizing in this particular also the ideal of education entertained by Thomas Jefferson. The honor of having given definite form to the educational system of Michigan belongs to the Rev. John D. Pierce, the first superintendent of public instruction. Shortly after having come to the Territory, in 1831, a copy of Cousin's famous "Report on Education in Prussia" fell into his hands. His imagination was fired with the thought of the possibility afforded by an application of such a system to the new and undeveloped State; and when he was called upon to frame a law for the organization of education in Michigan, it was not the New England college with its private academies which furnished him the ideal, but the simple, harmonious, and complete system of state education most perfectly realized in Prussia.

It would be impossible to overestimate the far-reaching influence of this law; not only did it give permanent character to education in Michigan, but the entire Northwest has felt its influence; for in matters of education the States of the Northwest have largely followed the lead of Michigan. The ideal of the university which found expression in this law was that of a German university. The first steps were indeed ridiculous when compared with the fulness of

the model which was accepted, but the ideal has never been lost to view. As expressed by Prof. Calvin Thomas:

“A university in the German sense is an institution crowning the educational system of a State, treating its students as free adults engaged in a *bona-fide* pursuit of knowledge, offering its advantages at the lowest possible price, sending down its roots into the life of the people, to take thence the sap of its own vitality, and paying back the debt by raising the level of intelligence and adding to the value and dignity of life throughout the entire Commonwealth.”

But how, it may be asked, does the University of Michigan “crown the educational system of the State”? What relation has it to the common schools? The relation that exists is a very simple one. The graduates of high-schools and of a few selected private schools are permitted to enter the university without examination, provided the schools from which they come have been examined and approved by a committee of the faculty. In this manner the university exercises a direct influence on the schools: poor teachers are weeded out, improper text-books are excluded, and uniform courses of study are introduced. This arrangement is as familiar now with the universities of the West as it is simple and efficient, but it was seriously criticised when it was first made by the University of Michigan. Much of the efficiency, however, of education in the State is traceable to it.

It is natural that an institution brought into such intimate relations with the common people should feel almost instantly the appearance of new forces tending to intensify or to modify their civilization. The year 1840 marked the beginning of a new era in American life. Ten years of experiment with railways had shown that distance need no longer be a barrier to commerce, and that the best lands, rather than navigable streams, might for the future direct the migrations of the people. A new impulse was given to inventions and a new line of activity opened up to men trained in science and in the commercial arts. The pedagogical question presented by this state of affairs was whether the universities should provide this training or whether it should be obtained in a loose, haphazard, unscientific manner. It is to the enduring honor of the University of Michigan that forty years before most institutions of learning in this country acknowledged the existence of the question, the necessity for scientific training was clearly recognized and a course was laid out leading to the new degree of “Bachelor of Science,” which quickly came to be recognized as equal to the time-honored “Bachelor of Arts.” The important point, however, is that scientific training was from the beginning cordially

admitted to full fellowship in the university. That this was the case is due largely to the wisdom and foresight of that truly great educator, Dr. Henry P. Tappan, the first president.

The spirit of liberality evinced in 1852 by the establishment of the scientific course has manifested itself in many ways during the years which followed. It was accepted as a principle that whenever a demand for a peculiar kind of education showed itself the demand should be met, a principle which led to the establishment of the degree of "Bachelor of Philosophy" for those having no opportunity to prepare in Greek, and of the degree of "Bachelor of Letters" for those who preferred modern to ancient languages. The degree of "Bachelor of Science" also has been differentiated to allow of specialization in the various branches of science; so that at present this degree may be taken with specific mention on the diploma showing whether the student has specialized in civil engineering, mining engineering, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, chemistry, or biology. It is by no means certain that the policy which recognizes differentiation in courses of study by different degrees is the correct one; the facts are not here brought to notice for the purpose of calling attention to the pedagogical question involved, but to show how the university, following its avowed policy of intrusting the direction of its development to the choice of the people, has succeeded in providing for the many and varied needs of its constituency. The educational system is complicated because of the complexity of the civilization it serves. The application of the policy just mentioned is further observed if we notice the departments of instruction offered in the university. All the degrees above referred to are conferred by the faculty of the Departments of Literature, Science, and the Arts. But besides these, appropriate courses are offered in the Department of Medicine, which was opened in 1850; in the Department of Law, which was opened in 1859; in the Department of Pharmacy, which was established in 1868; in the Homœopathic Department, which was established in 1875; and in the Department of Dental Surgery, which also was established in 1875. These several departments taken together make up the University of Michigan.

All departments of the university are domiciled on the same campus; thus the university exists in reality, and not merely in a catalogue or in an announcement. This being the case, it is gratifying to the friends of liberal education to notice the steady growth of the Literary Department, for it shows, contrary to the fears of the

timid, that the presence of professional schools is not detrimental to academic training; on the contrary, a close examination of the question discloses the fact that the proximity of the various departments is mutually advantageous. The old lines which separated culture from science and professional learning from them both are fast being effaced. Instruction in liberal arts conforms more and more to scientific requirements; instruction in the sciences cannot disregard the claims either of true culture or of professional needs; while instruction in the professional schools is brought to an unusually high standard by its contact with the arts and sciences. And all this is accomplished through the unconscious coercion of the student body, whose members mingle freely with each other. It is the natural consequence of the organization of the university rather than the result of foresight on the part of those who have administered it. There is not yet, perhaps, that complete formal interchange of courtesies between the various departments which the ideal university demands, but the necessity for this is becoming more and more apparent to the governing body, and its accomplishment will doubtless be the next important step in the development of the institution. The university spirit exists, and it cannot be long before that spirit finds adequate formal expression.

The general principle underlying the elective system was recognized by the university in 1852, when scientific studies were accorded equal rank with classical studies; but the policy was not formally promulgated until 1878, when the requirement of four years' residence for graduation was abolished, and in its place was substituted the requirement that a certain number of courses should be completed, each student being free to elect such courses as seemed to him most profitable. The adoption of the elective system marks the beginning of a new era for the university, since by means of it specialization on the part of both instructor and student has been encouraged, and a wonderfully rich and varied course of instruction has been the result. In the Departments of Literature, Science, and the Arts there were in 1878 one hundred and forty-three courses offered, as against four hundred and eighty courses in 1892. It is not a matter of accident that the number of students in the Literary Department increased during this period from four hundred and forty-one to thirteen hundred and thirty, nor in the university as a whole from thirteen hundred and seventy-two to twenty-six hundred and ninety-two. The influence of this liberality of elections upon the courses of study may be the most

vividly shown by indicating its results in a single department of instruction. In 1887 political economy might claim the attention of students for two hours a week throughout the year. The announcement for the next academic year shows four instructors in political economy alone, and a sufficient number of courses to furnish work for a student who should elect them all with five hours a week for two full years. Thus in addition to the purely undergraduate courses, which include the study of elementary principles, of the history of industrial society, and a cursory examination of certain practical problems, intermediate and graduate courses are given covering the whole range of economic, financial, and social discussion. This is but typical of what has occurred in other departments of instruction. It is fair to refer to it as a legitimate result of the elective system and of the spirit of liberality on which the elective system rests.

There are many other features of the university as worthy of mention as those which find place in this article, but they all point in the same direction: they all show the wisdom of education under the direction of the State. It is commonly argued against this system, by those who base their reasoning on the philosophy of individualism, that governmental control must hinder free development in methods of instruction. The history of the University of Michigan does not support this argument. On the contrary, the conclusion at which one must arrive who reads its history is that an organic connection between the state and education is decidedly advantageous to education. One thing at least is certain: an educational system which is part of state machinery, provided the state be democratic in form, can never come to mean the education of a class, nor can a university which appeals to the people for pecuniary support become a centre from which aristocratic ideas or a plutocratic industrial philosophy are disseminated. State education must be democratic in the highest sense of that word, for its continued existence depends upon its being in harmony with the ideal of the people and upon the quickness with which it responds to public needs.

Looking at the past, there is every reason for the indulgence of a confident hope respecting the future of the University of Michigan, and it is perhaps a want of faith not warranted by the past which causes the friends of the university to regard with some solicitude the last step which it has taken in its purpose to become an ideal university. The State has shown perfect willingness to support with liberality a system of instruction which attracts large numbers of

pupils. Will she be equally willing to support a technical, specialized education of which comparatively few may avail themselves? This is the question which confronts the university. Or, put in another way, will the State encourage research and investigation? If answered affirmatively, there is no assignable limit to the possible development of State universities; if negatively, State universities have had their day. The present situation is nothing less than a crisis in the life of popular education.

The faculty of the University of Michigan, recognizing fully the seriousness of the situation, have decided to put this question to the test by establishing a graduate school. The phrase is perhaps an unfortunate one, and, in my opinion, cannot maintain itself; but the important thing is that the step has been taken, and that technical, special, and high-grade professional studies have been provided for. By this step Michigan again becomes the standard-bearer of popular education, knowing well that if State universities cannot furnish what is best in every particular, their influence as distinctive aggressive forces in American life will be lost.

It is not, therefore, merely a matter of pride which has induced those who control the policy of the university to enter as competitors in the field of the highest education, although, as custodians of a successful part, such a pride might be justified: it is rather because of their belief in the principle of public education, because they feel the spirit which controls a State institution cannot be narrow or unsympathetic, and especially because they know that a graduate school supported by the people will react upon their life and character. This is the explanation of that enthusiasm and loyalty which is so marked a feature of the University of Michigan. It is the ground for confidence that this last step will be as completely successful as all previous steps which mark the course of its growth from an idea to an institution easily recognized as worthy a place among the best of the great institutions of learning which this country supports.

HENRY C. ADAMS.

WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE SEPTEMBER FORUM.

JOHN J. MCCOOK (*The Alarming Proportion of Venal Voters*), born in Ohio in 1843, was graduated at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. After service as a volunteer in the Civil War he studied law, medicine, and theology, entered the Episcopal ministry, and spent over a year in foreign travel. For ten years he has taught modern languages in Trinity, where he is still a professor. Since 1890 he has given considerable study to the questions of pauperism, drunkenness, and crime in this country and in Europe.

CHAUNCEY F. BLACK (*The Lesson of Homestead: A Remedy for Labor Troubles*), born in Somerset County, Pa., in 1839, was educated at Hiram College, Ohio, and at Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa. He was admitted to the bar, but has practised little, devoting most of his time to journalistic and literary work, chiefly of a political character. He was elected lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania in 1882, and was a candidate for the governorship in 1886. In 1888 he was elected president of the "National Association of Democratic Clubs" by the Baltimore Convention, and since that year has been annually elected president of the "Democratic Society of Pennsylvania."

HERBERT WELSH (*Campaign Committees: Publicity as a Cure for Corruption*), born in Philadelphia in 1851, was graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1871 and studied art in Paris, but abandoned the pursuit of art to devote himself to the defence of the rights of the Indians. He is secretary of the Indian Rights Association. During the past few years he has been active as an Independent in movements for political reform.

MICHAEL D. HARTER (*Campaign Committees: A Plan for More Effective Management*), born at Canton, Ohio, in 1846, is a resident of Mansfield, Ohio, and a Democratic member of Congress. Mr. Harter has had long experience as a private banker and manufacturer. He is a vigorous opponent of the free coinage of silver and did much to defeat the Bland Bill.

ROBERT H. THURSTON (*The Next Great Problems of Science*) was born in Providence, R. I., in 1839, and was graduated at Brown University in 1859. After two years' experience of practical engineering he entered the United States Navy as engineer, and won rapid promotion for his services during the Civil War. In 1865 he was made assistant professor and lecturer on chemistry in Annapolis. In 1878 he became professor of mechanical engineering at the Stevens Institute of Technology, where he remained for fourteen years, resigning from the navy in 1872. In 1885 he became director of the Sibley College of Cornell University. He has made several inventions and has published more than a dozen books.

DAVID A. WELLS (*"A Tariff for Revenue": What it Really Means*), born in Springfield, Mass., in 1828, was graduated at Williams College in 1847. After a brief experience on the editorial staff of the "Springfield Republican" he took the scientific course at Harvard as a special pupil of Louis Agassiz. He was an assistant at Harvard and a teacher of science at Groton until 1857. During the next few years he compiled several scientific works which won for him a wide reputation. In 1864 he published a political essay entitled "Our Burden and Our Strength," which created much discussion both in America and Europe. In 1867, after investigations in

Europe as a member of a Governmental commission sent there to study industrial conditions, he became a free-trader. He has since been a member of several Governmental commissions, has assisted as an expert in the management of railroads, and has written voluminously on economic subjects.

DAVID SWING (*The Enlarged Church*), born in Cincinnati in 1830, was graduated at Miami University in 1852. He was professor of languages in this university for twelve years. In 1866 he became pastor of a Presbyterian church in Chicago. He was tried for heresy in 1874, was acquitted, and then withdrew from the Presbyterian Church. He is now independent of denominational relations.

HENRY K. CARROLL (*Religious Progress of the Negro*) was born in Den-
nisville, N. J., 1848. He was the founder and editor of the "Havre Republican," at Havre-de-Grâce, Md., in 1868; assistant editor of "The Methodist," 1869; assistant editor of "Hearth and Home," 1870; and religious editor of "The Independent" in 1876, of which he is now the religious and political editor. He was appointed special agent of the Eleventh Census in 1889. He received the degree of LL.D. from Syracuse University in 1885.

YUNG KIUNG YEN (*A Chinaman on Our Treatment of China*) is a resident of Shanghai. He was educated in this country and entered the Episcopal ministry. Since his return to China he has devoted himself to the Christianizing of his people and to the study of their social and economic condition. He has not broken from his American affiliations and he has maintained his interest in American affairs. He is one of the few persons who possess a thorough knowledge of both sides of the Chinese question.

E. W. HOWE (*Provincial Peculiarities of Western Life*), born in Wabash County, Ind., was trained as a printer. After his eighteenth year he devoted himself to newspaper work. In 1873 he became proprietor and editor of the "Athenian Globe," which he still conducts. In 1884 he published his first novel, "A Story of a Country Town," which was highly praised. He has since written "The Mystery of the Locks," "A Moonlight Boy," and "A Man Story."

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK (*The Scandinavians in the Northwest*), born in South Brookfield, N. Y., 1864, moved to Minnesota in 1885, and was graduated at the University of Minnesota in 1889. In 1889-90 he was fellow in history, and since 1890 he has been instructor in history, in that university. He has travelled through the Northwest and through Norway and Sweden, and has made a special study of the Scandinavian settlement in this country.

HENRY ROOD (*The Mine Laborers in Pennsylvania*) was born in Philadelphia in 1867. After pursuing a special course at Dartmouth he became news editor of the "New York Mail and Express." Since then he has devoted much time to studying immigrants from the Canadian border through New England and the Middle States. For the past year he has been living with the immigrants in the anthracite regions, and his present paper is the result of his observations there.

HENRY C. ADAMS (*Popular Education at the University of Michigan*) was graduated at Iowa College in 1874, and four years later received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Johns Hopkins University. He was lecturer in Cornell and Johns Hopkins universities in 1880, and also in the University of Michigan in 1881. From 1882 to 1887 he directed the department of political economy in Cornell as well as at the University of Michigan. In 1887 he became professor of political economy and finance at the University of Michigan.

The Forum.

OCTOBER, 1892.

CHOLERA: THE LESSON OF PRECEDING EPIDEMICS.

CHOLERA, the scourge of Asia, which has been prevailing for some months past as an epidemic in Northern and Western Europe and threatening our own shores, is a disease with which I had considerable experience when it appeared here in 1866. I proved conclusively then that it could be checked and controlled at quarantine. The people therefore need have no apprehension of the disease if they will take rigorous precautions, and, as it is important to allay the fears of a panic, which of itself is provocative of disease, I have thought it my duty to explain the results of my observations and to make such suggestions as may be of benefit to the country.

The most important fact about cholera, a fact to bear in mind and to emphasize, is that it is a disease which is never generated on this continent and can come here only by importation. It has never travelled faster than it could be conveyed by sea or by land, and it has always followed the track of human migrations or of commerce. After every visitation in America or in Europe, it has been completely stamped out in both these continents. When it has come again it has always been brought from its home and breeding-place—Asia.

The portability of cholera as distinguished from diffusion in some mysterious way through the atmosphere has now been so plainly and so frequently demonstrated that there is no longer any controversy about it. But so late as 1866 there lingered a belief in its mysterious and uncontrollable propagation. This belief lingered not only among the unlearned, but in the medical profession, and it not only lingered but was stubbornly maintained. When in the winter of 1865-66,

while I was Resident Physician, cholera was brought into the harbor of New York and successfully kept from coming ashore, its portability was denied. I was even ridiculed for maintaining that it was necessary to prevent persons and baggage from the infected ship from coming ashore. As a curious instance of the stubbornness of a theory in the face of facts, I recall the action of the Consulting Physicians in Boston, who on November 11, 1865 (City Document No. 95 of the City of Boston), "under a deep sense of their responsibility in expressing their opinion," declared "unequivocally their convictions that the disease is neither contagious nor infectious; that it cannot be propagated by being near the sick nor by handling the secretions or excretions from bodies of the sick or of the dead." They declared that "the disease is epidemic and cannot be restrained or controlled in its progress by quarantines or cordons of any kind." This remarkable document went on:

"The Consulting Physicians, being of the opinion that neither quarantines by sea nor sanitary cordons by land have ever been found or can be made effectual in protecting cities or communities from the visitation of cholera, recommend that no such restrictions be made; but in order to produce tranquillity in the public mind, and from respect to the opinions of those who think differently, they think it might be well that vessels coming from places in which the disease exists should be made subject to the visitation of the Port Physician, but that none of the passengers or crew should be in any way restrained from freely communicating with their friends on shore or with the city, or from landing at any time with their personal baggage and effects; and no vessel should be detained in quarantine longer than is absolutely necessary to put her in a cleanly condition."

It is proper to say that soon after this official document was published, Dr. William Read, who was then City Physician of Boston, changed his opinion and frankly declared himself in favor of rigid quarantine.¹

¹ In City Document No. 21 (city of Boston) Dr. Read wrote in 1866: "Since then (November 11, 1865), evidence has been accumulating so direct in its bearing upon this point and from sources so reliable that I have been compelled to change my opinion. The vital importance to this community of thoroughly appreciating and clearly understanding the modes by which cholera is propagated from one locality to another, as noticed abroad, and the deep feeling of my own responsibility in the matter, have induced me to lay before your honorable body, somewhat at length, the evidence upon which this change of opinion has been based. The sources of this evidence are the medical journals of this country and Europe, especially the London 'Medical Times' and 'Gazette' and the '*Archives de Générale de Médecine*' of Paris, in which are to be found reports and papers upon this disease and its progress from the earliest history to the present epidemic; many of them written on the spot where the epidemic was raging, and accepted by the profession at large as entirely credible authority."

This contention of nearly thirty years ago is recalled now chiefly as a curiosity; for since that time proofs have accumulated that leave no doubt in any mind of the habit of the disease in extending its deadly area. But there is no other fact so important as the fact that it never spreads mysteriously but is always transported, because its portability points the way to a sure method and the only sure method of prevention. But before dismissing the subject of the portability of the disease, it may be interesting to cite instances of its transmission.¹

In November, 1848, the disease manifested itself at sea, on board of two emigrant vessels, bound the one for New York and the other for New Orleans. At the time of its appearance on these vessels they had been out, one sixteen days and the other twenty-seven days from Havre, which was unaffected at the time of their departure. The infection that came on the vessel bound for New York did not extend beyond the limits of the Staten Island Hospital after the arrival of the infected ship there; but at New Orleans it spread rapidly, not only in the hospital, but in the city, although it did not exist at the time in any other part of the United States. It appeared at Memphis toward the end of December; at St. Louis in the first week in January, 1849; and at several places on the upper Mississippi in March; Chicago and other towns situated on the great lakes were affected in May. It was not till then that New York was visited by the epidemic, notwithstanding the importation of the disease at Staten Island and the occurrence of several cases in the hospital there nearly six months before. At about the same time it appeared in Philadelphia and other seaboard cities.

At this visitation, therefore, cholera was kept from entering New York from an infected ship, but it succeeded in making its way overland, following the track of commerce, six months later. A detailed statement of the appearance of the disease on board the ship that was bound to New York was made by Dr. Marsden. The vessel was the ship "New York," which sailed from Havre on November 9, 1848. When it reached the North Atlantic waters the weather became cold, and one of the German emigrants, who had come from a place where the cholera prevailed, opened a chest of clothing which belonged to a person who had died of the disease. This was on November 22, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon a child was taken ill and died at 8

¹ See my report as Resident Physician of New York for the year 1865, presented to the Board of Commissioners of Health January 4, 1866. These instances, mentioned therein, are as convincing now as they were then.

o'clock. A day or two later four men were stricken, two of whom died, and others took the disease before the ship arrived at Staten Island. The reason, therefore, why cholera did not appear on board the vessel until a much longer period than the usual period of incubation was that the disease was carried in the packed-up clothing, and persons did not come in contact with the clothing until the trunks or boxes were opened. Just as the passengers on this ship opened their boxes to get warmer clothing because the weather had become colder, so on the ship bound for New Orleans trunks and boxes were opened to get lighter clothing as they came into warmer weather on their journey southward. If this clothing had never been touched the disease would never have appeared on either ship.

Still earlier, namely, in 1832, the date of the first visitation of the disease to this country, it was developed first in the locality where the first vessel with cholera on board landed her passengers. It followed the arrival of the brig "Amelia," which in a stranded condition put in at Folly Island, on the coast of South Carolina, and the only cases there occurred among those who had been employed about the wreck. At Detroit the first cases made their appearance after the arrival of the steamer "Henry Clay," in July, which had cholera on board. It broke out at St. Michaels, a previously healthy village on the eastern shore of Maryland, just after the landing of Captain Dodson, who died the morning after his arrival. It was brought to Illinois by Captain Blakeman, who had been to St. Louis, where the disease had spread, and who had died of it on his return. It was not seen at Key West until the arrival of the "Ajax," in a distressed condition, which had sailed from New Orleans, where the disease was prevailing, and which had the cholera on board at the time.¹

In 1831 the British Government sent two physicians, Dr. Russell and Dr. Barry, to Russia to investigate cholera, and the official report based on their investigations contained the following information, which has since then been many times confirmed:

"The extension of the disease from Hindostan has been gradual, never too rapid to have been carried by man; it has been in all directions and in continued lines; it has been in opposition to the course of the winds as well as in accordance with that course; it has been very little influenced either by climate or the season of the year; and it has continued for many years under all varieties of weather."

¹ The foregoing instances were reported by Dr. Mulig, physician to the Russian Embassy at Constantinople.

Another instance is quoted:

"In one instance the clothes, mattresses, etc., of the sick were washed at a fountain, and unfortunately, the waste-pipe being broken, the foul water communicated with the clean; and in one day sixty people died at Tatavola, a small portion of the city which was supplied by this infected stream."

Dr. Felix Niemeyer, Professor of Medicine in the University of Tübingen, cites these facts¹ from the Magdeburg epidemic of 1859: The cholera was brought into Magdeburg by a transport filled with recruits from Stettin, which was at that time visited by the disease; and during the first week after their arrival cases occurred only in the street in which the sick recruits had their quarters for the night. In Greifswald, a small and thinly built place, during a little epidemic which he had an opportunity to observe, Dr. Niemeyer proved in every instance that the individuals attacked with the disease had used the privies of the houses in which there were cholera patients or into which cholera discharges had been emptied.

Dr. Henry E. Bartlett, who was Health Officer of the port of New York in 1854, has left on record the following conclusions from his observations, which he advanced "with entire certainty":

"First, that with thorough cleansing and disinfecting (by chlorine or otherwise) of the baggage, clothing, or other effects that have been in contact with the secretions or excretions (or emanations from them) of cholera patients, the further development of the disease may be prevented.

"Second, that unless the most entire isolation of all passengers in vessels from ports where the cholera prevails is enforced while this is being done, the disease is sure to manifest itself in the vicinity sooner or later."

Among other confirmatory facts relating to the spread of the disease I will recall the case of John Wilson, a celebrated vocalist, who died of Asiatic cholera on the 9th of July, 1849, in St. George's Hotel, in Quebec, as it was reported to me by Dr. Marsden, of Quebec. The hotel was kept by a Mr. Russel. On the death of the patient Dr. Marsden advised Russel to destroy the clothing of the dead man, as well as the mattress, which was saturated with the secretions. The clothing was destroyed. The rooms were then disinfected. The mattress, however, being of some value was not destroyed, but removed to the roof of another hotel in Palace Street (also kept by Russel), contrary to the physician's orders and without his knowledge, where it remained for some weeks exposed to the weather, until the uphol-

¹ Translated for the "Medical and Surgical Journal" of Buffalo (December, 1865) by Dr. Theo. A. McGraw.

sterer who carried it there told Russel what he had done, and asked to be permitted to tear out the hair and wash it and to remake the mattress. On Russel's refusing to comply with his request, the upholsterer said that he was not afraid of cholera, and if Russel would permit him he would take it home and clean and disinfect it for himself. Although again ordered to destroy it, he nevertheless took it home to his lodgings, No. 19 St. Stanislaus Street, and began tearing out the hair. Before he had done more than one-half he was attacked with cholera, died in a few hours, and was buried the same day. His wife caused the mattress to be destroyed, and she was not stricken with the disease.

Another case reported by Dr. Marsden is as follows: A sailor died in some port in Europe, of Asiatic cholera, in 1832. A chest containing his personal effects, clothing, etc., was sent home to his family, who lived at a small village in Maine. It reached the village about Christmas, 1832, and was opened. The inmates of the house were all immediately and suddenly seized with a disease resembling Asiatic cholera in all its malignity and died.

Early in December, 1853,¹ an emigrant ship from Europe, bound to New Orleans, appeared in distress off the northwest end of St. Thomas Island, W. I., opposite Estate Hull. She was boarded by negroes from the estate, who for services rendered received the clothing of some passengers who had died during the voyage. Under their direction the ship came round to the south side and entered the port of St. Thomas. There was no apparent sickness on board, and during the two weeks that the vessel remained in harbor the emigrants repeatedly came ashore and mingled freely with the inhabitants. On the 16th of December five deaths occurred suddenly on Estate Hull, and the attending physicians pronounced the disease Asiatic cholera. The island of St. Thomas is three miles in width by twelve miles long, consisting of a range of hills from 1,400 to 1,700 feet elevation and running due east and west. Estate Hull lies on the northwest end of the island, and from this point, passing over the hills and against the trade-winds, the cholera travelled, touching upon intervening estates, until, on the 23d of December, it reached the west end of the town, still passing eastward until the whole island was invaded. It raged forty-five days, and out of a population of 13,666 over one-ninth, or 1,681, died, mostly negroes. The mortality seemed to be confined to certain localities. The town is built on four hills. Through the in-

¹ This instance was reported to me by Dr. James S. Knox.

tervening valleys ran gullies, which were the common receptacle of all excrement and garbage. But few of the houses had sinks or privies, and in the ravines the filth was thrown nightly. The whites occupied the hills, the negroes densely populated the valleys. The whites were seldom attacked, the negroes perished by hundreds.

It was the cumulative evidence of such facts that convinced the scientific students of the disease of its nature; and it is such cumulative evidence, I conceive, that at a time like this will most strongly impress upon the people the most important fact for the public safety that it is necessary to bear in mind and to act on, viz., that the disease is always carried from place to place, and does not spread in any mysterious way.

It follows, then, that its spread can always and everywhere—in Europe and America at least—be absolutely prevented by quarantine. This has been proved time and again. An interesting demonstration made by Dr. Rich at the Cholera Lazaretto in the Balearic Islands and at Malta in 1834 is on record. He observed that the persons who had charge of the privies and the dejections of the patients were most likely to be attacked by the disease, and suspected that this was the principal source of its propagation. Having observed in Sicily that the choicest wines were preserved from evaporation by being placed in jars and covered with an inch of olive oil in place of a cork, he conceived the idea of constructing receptacles for all the dejections to be covered with oil in the same way, and thus prevent the escape of noxious gases. He made for the purpose large vessels partially filled with water, and poured on it one inch of common fish oil. Into these vessels all the excretions and soiled clothing were placed, and a jet of chlorine gas forced into them to saturation before they were permitted to be handled by the assistants. After the adoption of this plan not a case occurred among the assistants who had charge of this department of the hospital, whereas previous to its adoption they had died at the rate of from two to five a day.

Another instance: In 1832 the town of Three Rivers, equidistant from Quebec and Montreal, where steamers were in the habit of touching and landing and embarking passengers daily, established an *impromptu* system of quarantine, founded on non-intercourse, preventing any person from landing there during the prevalence of cholera; and not one case occurred there, while Quebec and Montreal numbered the dead by thousands.

A British soldier, Capt. E. C. F. Montague, who had served in India, where cholera is endemic, and who had seen thousands upon thousands of cases, told me the following experience: He said that it was a military custom to place any village or town where cholera appeared under military cordon and prohibit any ingress or egress; and in no instance had the disease escaped the cordon where the picket duty had been rigidly enforced. He had personally picketed towns where the disease was epidemic. Here, as I pointed out in my report, referred to above, is the personal observation of an individual who for eight years witnessed the disease.

On the coming of the disease to the United States in 1873 its course, in confirmation of the foregoing views, was as follows: In December, 1872, and in January, 1873, there arrived at New Orleans immigrants from the cholera-infected districts of Europe, and on February 9 the first death occurred at New Orleans. It was carried thereafter as follows: the first case at Vicksburg, April 8; the first case at Memphis, April 15; the first case at St. Louis, May 11; the first case at Paducah, Ky., May 21; the first case at Chicago, May 24; the first death at Cincinnati, June 15; the first case at Little Rock, June 30 (where it was prevented from spreading); and during this time the disease appeared in about two hundred cities and towns in the Mississippi valley. During the same visitation there were two conspicuous instances of the success of isolation. At Atlanta, Ga., where there was then a population of 22,000 people, an authenticated case of cholera (a refugee from Chattanooga) occurred on July 2, and the patient died; but by prompt and energetic action of the physicians who had the case in charge the disease was confined to this single individual, and the health of the other residents of the house and of the community was successfully guarded. About the same time there was a similar experience at Dalton, Ga., which had a population then of 5,000 people, where a well-authenticated fatal case of cholera appeared on July 3. In this case, as in the case at Atlanta, the patient had come from Chattanooga. By proper isolation and disinfection no other case appeared in Dalton.¹

In 1866 a vessel arrived in our bay with cases of cholera on board. All the sick were in one end of the boat, all being steerage passengers. Dr. Swinburne was then Health Officer, and as Resident

¹ For this *résumé* and other historical facts about the epidemics in the United States I am indebted to the Tennessee "State Board of Health Bulletin," reprinted in the "Journal of the American Medical Association" for Sept. 3, 1892.

Physician I had occasion to render aid. I had a space cleared between the part of the vessel occupied by the sick and the other part, and in this space were placed vessels containing carbolic acid. The dividing line was rigidly watched, the guards having been armed and instructed to shoot any person that tried to pass. Not a person outside the part of the vessel where the sick were confined was stricken. Any city or community or continent, therefore, may keep itself free from cholera by a rigid system of quarantine. In fact, if routes of commerce and of travel from Asia were properly guarded the disease could never come into Europe.

At this time, at the request of the mayor of New York and the Commissioners of Health, I went to Washington and had an interview with General Delafield, to secure authority to make a quarantine station at Sandy Hook, which is the best location about New York harbor for such a purpose. Permission was granted, and we selected a beautiful spot, with the Shrewsbury River on one side and the ocean on the other, so located that but a small space needed to be guarded. Immediately the State authorities of New Jersey made a protest, asserting that the grant of title to Sandy Hook by the State of New Jersey to the National Government was such that the property would revert to the State if it were used for other than military purposes, since the grant had been made to the National Government for military purposes only. It was satisfactorily shown in the controversy that followed that this contention on the part of the State of New Jersey was based on error, and that the National Government's title to Sandy Hook was clear. We were, however, at that time prevented from making a hospital there for the cholera patients, and we were obliged to use the boat "Florence Nightingale" for this purpose. It is interesting to note that this ideal location for such a hospital has at last been made use of by authority of the War Department.

If quarantine be a successful method of prevention by communities and by continents, the same method is applicable (to a great degree) to personal prevention of the disease when it has invaded a community. As Dr. Niemeyer, whom I quoted above, pointed out, cholera is not communicated directly from one person to another, even under circumstances of the greatest intimacy; yet it is spread only by patients afflicted with the disease. By means of one infected person in whom the disease has manifested itself by only an apparently insignificant diarrhoea, cholera can be conveyed to a whole locality. This person may travel without further development of the disorder,

but he may leave behind him matter which may give rise to the most deadly epidemic. It is thus no longer inexplicable how the cholera in its wanderings takes no defined course, but spreads indifferently, now from west to east, now from east to west; now with the wind and now against it; in cold weather as in warm weather; how it always follows the routes of travel; how it does not go from place to place in a shorter time than is required for men to travel the same distance, and how, since the building of railways, it has been able to spread more quickly than before. Sometimes it has made great leaps. In the localities visited by the disease, the houses and streets in which those infected reside are of course the places of the greatest danger. It has happened that a single house or street has for a long time been the only infected locality. But while those buildings or neighborhoods first visited by the cholera are being depopulated, the infection sooner or later is easily communicated to other houses and streets, partly by means of common privies and partly by other ways, surely by water if by any means the water supply has been affected. Especially is it necessary vigilantly to guard the water supply. A recent issue of the "British Medical Journal" cites this instructive experience:¹

When the cholera was epidemic in England in 1866 Mr. Ernest Hart was convinced that its spread had been caused by the pollution of the water. He sent a competent inspector, Mr. J. Netten Radcliffe, to make an investigation. Mr. Radcliffe discovered that in the water-works of the East London Company certain changes had been made in the filtering apparatus, and that for a brief period unfiltered or imperfectly filtered water had been allowed to pass into the pipes and reservoirs from which the population were supplied. This supply came direct from the River Lea. After a thorough investigation it was ascertained that just at the time of the defect in the filtering apparatus the river had been infected with the discharges from cholera patients in a cottage from which the sewers entered directly into the river. In this cottage there had been a family suffering from the disease. No doubt was left by this thorough investigation but that the infection of the waters of the river from this source spread the disease. There were sixteen thousand victims of it from this single source of contagion.

As long ago as 1866 I endeavored to arouse sentiment at Washington to a realization of the necessity of the management of quaran-

¹ Summarized from the "Journal" in the London "Times" of August 26, 1892.

tine along our whole coast by the National Government. While the cholera was then in the port of New York I wrote:

"We therefore see the necessity for Congress or the General Government taking possession of this matter and enforcing a uniformity of quarantine regulations at every port of entry. The Government establishes a port of entry, collects a revenue, and has the right to close the port of entry, and should, therefore, perform the duties connected with a port of entry, one of which is a proper quarantine establishment, kept under military regulation, by which it may be rendered uniform and efficient. It sometimes happens that the port of entry, as in our own city, lies upon a river bordering on two States, and the port may be in one State and the most advantageous place for a quarantine under the jurisdiction of another. This conflict of jurisdiction renders it essential that it should be placed under the control of the General Government. The General Government would not hesitate to take possession of any place where it could best protect the country from an invasion by a foreign foe, irrespective of State boundaries or State jurisdiction, were it to come in the form of an armed fleet. How much more necessary, then, that the same precautions should be taken against a secret foe of pestilence and poison vastly more destructive to human life than a fleet equipped with Armstrong guns. As there are also many ports of entry, it is necessary that the General Government should assume this control in order that their action should be uniform."

This is the lesson that should be learned from the present danger. Whether or not the recent proclamation ordering a twenty-days' quarantine of all vessels bringing emigrants did violence to the Executive authority, it was a patriotic act that all who realize the danger of the scourge will applaud, and it points in the right direction. That the General Government has not the authority to police our whole coastline at such a time is proof of the slow pace with which our laws follow scientific advancement. So long as this frightful disease may by negligence or ignorance enter any small port and thence spread over the whole country, the lives of our citizens and our whole commerce are at the mercy of local ignorance or negligence. And times of danger, with the constantly increasing facilities for travel, come with greater and greater frequency.

The first visitation of cholera to America was at Quebec, in June, 1832. Two days afterward it appeared in Montreal. On June 24 New York was attacked, then Albany, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. The disease reached its height in New York on July 21. It lingered in America for four years, and in the four largest cities, viz., Quebec, Montreal, New York, and Philadelphia, there were 8,000 deaths out of 18,000 cases. It did not come again to the United States until 1848, when it was brought into the bay of

New York by a ship from Havre, but it did not then get ashore. The next year, however, it was brought into New York City and spread over the greater part of the Eastern and Middle States, and it did not disappear wholly until 1855. In 1865 it was brought into New York harbor again, but as has already been explained it did not reach the city. But the next year, about the beginning of May, it occurred in the city and again spread over the country, following the lines of travel. It kept its hold in the United States during 1867. Its next appearance here was in 1873. Although since 1873 it has frequently spread in Europe (in 1884 in France, in 1885 in Spain and in Sicily, in 1886 in Italy, and from 1884 to 1887 an epidemic which had a total of 250,000 victims in all European countries), and although in 1887 the steamship "Alesia" arrived at New York from Marseilles with cholera on board, proper precautions prevented its reaching the United States during this great scourge of 1884-87. The present epidemic did not appear in Europe till June, and its progress has been unusually rapid.

The rapidity with which the disease is now conveyed from continent to continent has brought a new element of peril. But our National laws have not in this respect kept pace with the increased dangers caused by modern modes of travel nor with the prodigious advance of scientific prevention in dealing with epidemics. In the United States we shall never be safe till the National Government is awakened to proper action—and not our Government only, but all the other Governments on the American continent as well—Canada, Mexico, and the Central and South American States. It was through Canada that the disease first came to this continent. Nor has South America been exempt. Cholera was introduced into Buenos Ayres in November, 1886, by a ship from Genoa—an instance that the State "Board of Health Bulletin" of Tennessee calls a "conspicuous instance of official pride and stupidity." It became epidemic and was carried to the inland provinces. In January of the next year it was carried to Montevideo, and the city of Santiago suffered greatly. If all the American Governments were to unite in making a scientific effort to prevent the landing of the disease in the territory of any of them, they would be acting each in self-defence, and cholera need not appear anywhere on the whole American continent.

LEWIS A. SAYRE.

Septemoer 16, 1892.

OUR PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM: EVILS IN BALTIMORE.

DURING a recent journey extending over a period of more than five months made for the purpose of studying our public schools, I collected a large amount of material, the essential features of which will be published in this and in a number of succeeding articles in the FORUM, under the auspices of which magazine the travels were made.

In undertaking this work my aim was not only to find what methods of instruction were followed in our public schools, but also to discover the reasons why the schools of some localities were so far inferior to those of others. I hoped in this manner to learn something concerning the causes underlying certain educational evils, fully conscious of the fact that the first logical step in permanently raising the standard of the schools must necessarily be the eradication of the causes of their inferiority. This necessitated two distinct series of observations: one for the purpose of learning the actual condition of the schools of any given locality, and the other for the purpose of studying the general management of the schools of that locality, in order that the connection between the manner in which the schools were conducted and their general degree of excellence might be discovered.

In studying the condition of the schools, I relied upon one thing only, namely, personal observation of the instruction as carried on in the class-room. I placed no reliance whatever upon reports printed by school officials regarding the condition of their schools, for the reason that experience had taught me that many of these officers displayed a wonderful talent for praising the institutions in their charge. I endeavored, therefore, to witness as much actual teaching as possible, in consequence of which I passed, with few exceptions, all the school hours of every school day during the entire trip, which lasted continuously from January 7 to June 25 (of this year), in class-rooms. I was thus enabled to observe upward of twelve hundred teachers at their work. In all, the schools of thirty-six cities and some twenty institutions for the training of teachers were visited.

In the investigations made concerning the general management of the schools, the study of the by-laws of the various boards of educa-

tion proved of some value. For the rest, I was necessarily compelled to rely, in great part, upon information received from superintendents, principals, teachers, and others in position to know how the schools of their own locality were conducted. And, when possible, I attended board and teachers' meetings, as well as teachers' institutes.

The length of time devoted to the study of the schools of any particular locality varied considerably. It depended upon whether the conditions were comparatively simple or complicated, upon the number of schools in that locality, and, to a great extent, upon the special information which I sought there. In some cities nearly two weeks were spent in collecting the required data, while in others these were comfortably obtained in one day, or even less. The tour was made under exceptionally favorable circumstances, as I was limited neither in regard to time nor to the territory to be covered. I consequently selected my own route, changing it whenever I thought it advisable to do so, and continued my researches until the number of observations made justified my drawing certain definite conclusions. The following places were visited: Boston, Quincy, Lowell, Worcester, Springfield, and Holyoke, Mass.; Hartford, Conn.; New York City, Brooklyn, Yonkers, and Buffalo, N.Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Washington, D. C.; Detroit, Ann Arbor, Lansing, Jackson, Howell, and Ionia, Mich.; Toledo, Cleveland, and Cincinnati, Ohio; Indianapolis and La Porte, Ind.; Chicago, Peoria, and Moline, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Davenport, Des Moines, and State Centre, Iowa; St. Louis, Mo.; and St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn. Besides these the schools of Toronto, Canada, a number of State normal schools, and a few country district schools were visited. It may not be inopportune to remark here that before undertaking the study of our own school system, I spent a large part of my time during a stay of nearly two years abroad devoted to the study of educational questions in visiting the schools of various European countries.

As to the criticisms which will be found in these articles, I beg that they be accepted in the spirit in which they are written, for it is far from my purpose to inflict injury upon any one. It is to be hoped, however, that the reader will bear in mind one thing which is too frequently forgotten, but which I never forgot, for the reason that it is the foundation upon which these articles rest, namely, that the school exists for the benefit of the child and not for the benefit of boards of education, superintendents, and teachers. In these articles the child's side will be presented, and the spirit in which they are written

is the same as that in which an advocate pleads for his client. Once having taken this stand, I deem it my duty to present the child's case fairly and squarely, frankly and freely, and without fear or favor, just as it appears to me.

Before beginning the detailed description of *particular* schools, a brief *general* survey of the American school system will be in place:

The characteristic feature of our school system may perhaps be best defined by the single word "chaos," as it lies in the fact that each city, each county, and in some States each country district, has practically the privilege of conducting its schools in accordance with any whim upon which it may decide, being restricted only by certain State laws of secondary importance. Consequently, unless chaos be preferable to law and order, there is no foundation for the opinion held by so many that our public schools are the best in the world. That the schools of different localities should vary greatly in regard to their degree of excellence, owing to the peculiarity of the American system, is but natural.

But what is the educational standard by means of which the degree of excellence of a school may be measured? Upon this point opinions differ. Many believe that there is no science of education, that school is a place where children must be put through certain definitely fixed mechanical processes, that there can be no deviation from these, and that any attempt to vary them must emanate from a brain that verges on the border of insanity. And even to-day there may be found such persons as those of whom Rousseau speaks in his "*Emile*," and who are of the opinion that because it is essential for some persons in adult life to pass along roads not strewn with roses, it is right purposely to thrust burdens upon the young, purposely to rob childhood of its happiness, so that if troubles and sorrows come in later life, the child will have become accustomed to bear them. On the other hand, there are those who believe in the preservation of the happiness of childhood, and who think that the means with which to gladden the early years of life are at hand. They believe in the science of education. They recognize that certain definite natural laws of mental development have, during the courses of centuries, been discovered, that certain educational principles and methods have been founded upon these, and that such men as Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart have not lived in vain.

Owing to the fact that the matter has never been carefully investigated, it cannot be stated upon direct evidence that natural methods

ultimately produce better and wiser men and women than the mechanical. But there is an abundance of evidence to prove that the life of the child is rendered happy by natural methods, while the mechanical render it burdensome and miserable. The reason for this is that natural instruction aims at giving the child his mental food in a digestible and palatable form, in the form in which he craves for it, while mechanical instruction is simply a stuffing process, its aim being to force a certain quantity of mental food upon the child in a given period of time, utterly regardless of his tastes or digestive powers.

It must, however, not be supposed that one can teach naturally, instead of mechanically, simply because he is ordered to do so, in the same manner that he can prepare to order a steak instead of a chop. For between mechanical and natural instruction lies the science of education, a road unlimited in extent and abounding in difficult passes, a considerable portion of which must be traversed before one learns to apply, in an intelligent manner, the principles of psychology to teaching, and to use the energies of the child to the best possible advantage. In regard to the methods in vogue in our own country, I found that while the schools of some cities have not risen perceptibly above the purely mechanical stage, those of others are striving toward naturalness, a few having already advanced considerably. Yet, owing to the fact that the science of teaching has not yet taken deep root in the United States, thorough philosophical teaching is but seldom found here.

Another thing remains to be considered before the discussion of class-room work can be profitably begun. As the character of the instruction which the child receives represents but the result of the general management of the schools—the resultant, as it were, of the action of a number of forces—to observe the teacher at her work without a knowledge of the whole school machinery would be observing with but half an eye. A brief sketch of the formation and action of the various elements which enter into the management of a school system will therefore be given at the outset. With this knowledge the reader will the more readily perceive that the description of ludicrous teaching found from time to time in my articles is not given for the purpose of ridiculing the teacher, but for the purpose of showing the results of unscientific—yes, at times pitifully poor—management. Besides, this sketch will be the means of showing clearly why the schools of different localities vary so much and where the roots of all educational evils must be sought.

The elements which exert an influence upon the schools of each locality are four in number: the public at large, the board of education, the superintendent and his staff, and the teachers.

First. *The public at large.* As to the attitude of the public toward the schools, little need be said for the reason that in the large majority of instances it is entirely negative. I do not here refer to that form of interest which is found nearly everywhere in abundance, and which manifests itself among the citizens of most localities in a certain pride in their own particular schools, which they consider the best in the country, but which pride is founded neither upon a knowledge of what is going on in other schools, or even in their own schools, nor upon the slightest knowledge of the science of education; but I refer to an intelligent interest, an interest sufficiently deep to lead one to follow closely the actions of the board of education, superintendent, and teachers, and to seek some knowledge of the scientific development of children. If but one in a hundred would be interested to this extent, I believe that most of our flagrant educational evils would disappear. It is indeed incomprehensible that so many loving mothers whose greatest care appears to be the welfare of their children, will so thoughtlessly resign the fate of their little ones to the tender mercies of the ward politicians, who control the schools of a large number of cities, and many of whom have no scruples in placing the children into class-rooms the atmosphere of which is not fit for human beings to breathe, and in charge of teachers whose demeanor toward them is rather that of stern officers of the law than that of friend and guide.

Secondly. *The boards of education.* These boards are selected according to whims. Some are elected by the people, others are appointed, the appointing power lying in the hands of mayors, judges, or councilmen; or a board of education (as at Buffalo) may be simply a committee of the common council. In some cities the board of education is formed by two or three distinct bodies, each of which is so constituted that while it has enough independent power to create a considerable amount of mischief on its own account, it is sufficiently dependent upon the others to prove that the latter are at fault when anything goes amiss. As to the attitude of the board toward the schools, this varies greatly in different localities, the actions of some being governed, to a considerable extent, by selfish motives, whether political or otherwise, while those of others are, in the main, unselfish.

Thirdly. *The superintendent and his staff.* The office of superin-

tendent is, in my opinion, one the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. Indeed, in the study of the educational conditions in any given locality, the superintendent may be regarded as the central figure, as a careful consideration of what he is, what he does, as well as the circumstances under which he labors, will scarcely fail to point out the reasons why the schools of that locality are upon a comparatively high or low level. When he is a thorough educator (that is, when he has made a profound study of the science of education), spares no pains in instructing his teachers in both the theory and practice of teaching, and is fully sustained in his actions by the board of education, the schools in his charge, if there be not too many, improve rapidly and ever continue to advance. But a modification of any one of these conditions impedes the progress of the schools. However thorough and enthusiastic a superintendent may be, if the board be not in sympathy with his movements he is hampered and cannot do his best. If he be ever so diligent a worker, but not sufficiently conversant with the science of education, the teaching will be liable to retain a mechanical stamp. Should he possess the necessary qualifications, but fail to devote a sufficient amount of time and energy to the instruction of his teachers, the schools will not be sufficiently benefited by his knowledge. And if he is the right man and does all in his power to raise the standard of his teachers, the extent to which his good influence will be felt will depend both upon the qualifications of the latter and the number of teachers in his charge.

But even when the superintendent labors under very unfavorable circumstances he seldom fails to stamp the schools with his individual pedagogical ideas, thus giving the education in his schools at least a tendency in a certain direction, provided he remains long enough—say four or five years—in any one city. Superintendents do not, however, as a rule remain long in any one place. They frequently, for political or other reasons, fail to be reappointed, or they accept other positions by reason of higher salaries. Superintendents of small cities not uncommonly go from one locality to another for a consideration of one or two hundred dollars per annum. By reason of these changes the schools of many cities are always in a transitional stage, never reaching any distinctive character.

One of the above points—that relating to the number of teachers in any given locality—requires special consideration. As the number of teachers which a single individual can supervise is limited, in the larger cities the superintendent is furnished with one or more assist-

ants, whose duties are, to a great extent, similar to those of the superior officer. Without entering into the details of the matter here, the general statement may be made that in large cities the duty of raising the standard of the teachers devolves mainly upon the assistant-superintendents. Consequently an assistant-superintendent, as well as a superintendent, should be a thorough educator, a fact which is unfortunately but too frequently forgotten.

Lastly. *The teachers.* This is, after all, the greatest problem. If all teachers were perfect, how little need there would be for troubling with political corruption and superintendents. But, as has already been intimated, this is far from the case. Indeed, the professional weakness of the American teacher is the greatest sore spot of the American schools. We find earnestness, conscientiousness, and enthusiasm in abundance, but these characteristics, favorable as they are, no more constitute expert pedagogical qualifications than they do expert medical or legal qualifications. The truth is that, as a rule, our teachers are too weak to stand alone, and consequently need constantly to be propped up by the supervisory staff. It is for this reason that the quality of the schools of any given locality depends to so great an extent upon the ability of a single, or at most a few, individuals. The weakness of the American teachers can be well observed in those cities where only the best obtainable are employed.

The graduate of a good city training-school represents, generally speaking, the best which this country produces in the way of teachers. When the training received at one of these institutions is compared with that received at a normal school of Germany, the limited extent of the former becomes apparent. The State normal schools are conducted upon broader bases, it is true, but then their requirements for admission are in most instances much lower. But the true professional incompetency of our teachers, taken all in all, does not become fully apparent until we consider that not more than a small percentage of persons engaged in teaching in the public schools of this country are normal-school graduates. Of those teaching (besides the normal-school graduates) some are high-school graduates, others have simply attended a normal school, high school, or academy for one or more terms, while a very large number of licenses to teach are granted to those whose education does not extend beyond that received at a grammar school, with or without a little extra coaching.

Then, again, each city is, to a great extent, free to make its own regulations regarding the qualifications required for granting teachers'

licenses, and entirely free to place the power of appointing its teachers in the hands of any individual or individuals whom it may select for the purpose. And once a teacher is appointed, her position is, in many cities, secure. The office of teacher in the average American school is perhaps the only one in the world which can be retained indefinitely in spite of the grossest negligence and incompetency. And it is in the appointment and discharge of superintendents and teachers that politics plays the greatest mischief in the American schools.

It is not my purpose to decry the good done by our training-schools. It is nevertheless true that the professional knowledge received at these institutions does little more than open the book to the student, and that unless the studies be continued after graduation the value of the scientific pedagogical training soon becomes lost, and the trained teacher soon falls to the level of the one who has had no training. And it is upon the superintendent that the duty of continuing this training will devolve until we enact laws to the effect that no teacher shall be employed in a public school of this country who has not had a thorough professional training.

We may now enter upon the discussion of class-room work. In this discussion I shall begin with the schools of those cities where, in my opinion, the nature of the instruction is least scientific, and gradually ascend the scale, describing, as far as possible, in groups, those schools which most resemble each other. But for the reason that so much space has been devoted to the introductory remarks, I shall consider in the remainder of this article the schools of only one city. I have selected for the opening the schools of Baltimore, because they were the first of a group of schools of a certain order that came under my observation. My first illustration will be that of an arithmetic lesson which I witnessed in an "advanced first grade" (actually the second school year) in one of Baltimore's schools. This lesson will indicate, to a great extent, in what a soul-inspiring manner from one-fourth to one-third of the time is spent in the average primary school of that city during the first two years of school life.

On entering this class-room a large blackboard entirely covered with problems in addition, in endless variety, struck my eye. First there were such columns as—

$$1 + 1 =$$

$$2 + 1 =$$

$$3 + 1 =$$

$$1 + 2 =$$

$$2 + 2 =$$

$$3 + 2 =$$

running down to $10 + 1 =$ and $10 + 2 =$, respectively.

Then there were columns with mixed figures, four lines deep, five lines deep, and ten lines deep; next, examples in horizontal lines, such as $3 + 6 + 8 + 4 =$, and columns where each succeeding figure was 5 greater than the one before: thus, 1, 6, 11, 16; 2, 7, 12, 17; and so on.

"We are just adding," the teacher said to me. "I am very particular with their adding. I devote from one and a half to one and three-quarter hours a day to this subject, and I will tell you," she continued, growing quite enthusiastic, "my pupils can add."

Then she faced the class and said, "Start that column over again."

A little boy (apparently the leader of the orchestra) then began to tap on the blackboard with a stick, beating time upon the figures, while the class sang in perfect rhythm: "1 and 1 are 2; 2 and 1 are 3; 3 and 1 are 4," and so on, until the column was completed; next they began with 2 and 1, 2 and 2, etc. (When later they came to 5 and 8 are 13, 5 and 9 are 14, the rhythm was retained, but the effect was changed.) Next came a column of 2s, the children adding "2 and 2 are 4; 4 and 2 are 6," and so on.

The teacher here said to me, "Now I shall let them add that column mentally." Upon receiving such an order, the children cried out, "2, 4, 6, 8, 10."

I discovered, therefore, that this teacher's idea of the difference between written and mental arithmetic consisted in nothing further than that in mental arithmetic the "and (2) are" is left out. Thus 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 is mental arithmetic, while 2 and 2 are 4, 4 and 2 are 6 is the other kind.

When the children had reached the bottom of the last column in sight I thought that they had finished. But here I was mistaken. The board had two faces and turned on pivots. In an instant it was swung around, and then I discovered that the other side of the board was likewise completely covered with columns in addition.

When this exercise was finished the children had some reading. The reading was fully as mechanical as the arithmetic. It amounted simply to calling off words. Not only was there no expression, but there was not even an inflection, or a pause at a comma or a period. Nor did the teacher ever correct mispronounced words or make any attempt at teaching them how to read. Before the children began reading the lesson there was a ludicrously mechanical introduction, including the calling off of the words placed at the top of the page, thus:

"Page 56, Lesson XVIII., The Dog and the Rat. Dog, Rat, Catch, Room, Run, Smell, Wag, Jump." And then came the story.

Besides reading and arithmetic, there is in this grade oral spelling, a subject which is by no means neglected. This exercise is carried on both individually and in concert. The children also have instruction in penmanship. The remainder of the time is occupied as follows: Drawing twenty minutes twice a week, an object-lesson of thirty minutes once a week, and music fifteen minutes daily.

Now, as to the modifications of the above methods in the various schools, I found but few. In arithmetic this was mainly confined to the skill with which the children at the board wielded the baton while pointing to the figures and beating time. In some cases this procedure was extremely complicated and still more ludicrous. Reading-lessons, such as the one described above, I found in abundance, and the results were, as might be expected, miserable. In one class I found that the children did use inflections while reading. They religiously raised their voices two tones at commas and dropped them four tones at periods.

I asked one of the primary principals whether she believed in the professional training of teachers.

"I do *not*," she answered emphatically. "I speak from experience. A graduate of the Maryland Normal School once taught under me, and she wasn't as good a teacher as those who came from the High School."

One of the primary teachers said to me: "I formerly taught in the higher grades, but I had an attack of nervous prostration some time ago, and the doctor recommended rest. So I now teach in the primary, because teaching primary children does not tax the mind."

I had occasion to attend a number of geography lessons. Such a thing as teaching geography from pictures, from the molding-board and the like, is, as far as I was able to discover, unknown in Baltimore. It is all text-book work, and the words in the book are studied *verbatim*. In the upper primary grade, where geography is begun, the children learn how to rattle off definitions quite marvellously. I heard in one class the recitation of geographical definitions and of the boundaries of States in concert. In the grammar schools text-books are used in studying geography. The teacher opened her text-book to the page which contained the subject of the day's lesson and asked—or rather read aloud—the questions which were printed upon the page; and in reply the children endeavored to recite, word for word, the text-book answers to these questions. I met one principal who was quite enthusiastic, but as she was hampered in her work by lack

of professional training, the teaching throughout her school did not differ much from that of other schools. She informed me, while speaking of natural-science work, that physics was studied quite thoroughly in the schools of Baltimore.

"Do the children experiment for themselves," I asked, "or do the teachers perform the experiments?"

"Oh, we have no experiments," she said. "We learn our physics from books. The city supplies us with no apparatus. We are at liberty to experiment if we desire. A friend of mine, a principal, informed me that she tried an experiment once, but it was a failure, and she vowed that she would never dream of making another one."

In one class, where they were having some physiology, in answer to the question, "What is the effect of alcohol on the system?" I heard a ten-year-old cry out at the top of his voice and at the rate of a hundred miles an hour, "It—dwarfs—the—body,—mind,—and—soul,—weakens—the—heart,—and—enfeebles—the—memory."

"And what are the effects of tobacco?" asked the teacher.

In answer to this, one boy called off, in rapid succession, a longer list of diseases than most physicians are acquainted with.

"What brings on these diseases, excessive or moderate smoking?"

"Moderate smoking," was the prompt reply.

Now, what do these illustrations mean? Simply that I did not succeed in discovering any evidence that the science of education had as yet found its way into the public schools of Baltimore. Is the pedagogical law requiring that the time and energies of the child be used to the best possible advantage taken into account when an hour and a half are devoted daily for two years to addition, and perhaps to a little subtraction; or when in teaching children to read two years or more are required to attain results which (as the schools of a number of cities prove) might be attained in six months or less? Or is the law that the study of things must precede the study of words regarded when objective work is almost entirely neglected and the sciences of physics and physiology are learned practically from books alone? What is there of a scientific nature in the teaching of geography—that study which can be made the means of opening channels of interest in so many directions—when the instruction dwindles down to little, if any, more than hearing the children recite the words which they have learned *verbatim* from a text-book? Is the fundamental law of pedagogy not absolutely ignored when all interest is crushed out of the process of learning, and what can be less interesting to little children than the computation of

abstract numbers by the hour, or the calling off of words in a meaningless way from a reading-book? Or is there anything less interesting and more burdensome than learning text-books by heart, and especially when the words convey little meaning to the learner? And, finally, what is there in the teaching above described which could not be undertaken by any one who is able to read, write, and cipher?

Now, the causes of this deplorable condition of affairs in Baltimore are not difficult to discover.

First. *The citizens* of Baltimore glory in the fact that their schools are among the best in the country; or, as the more modest claim, second to none but those of Boston. And if things are perfect or nearly so, why interfere?

Secondly. *The Board of Education* of Baltimore is a purely political organization, its members being elected, one for each ward, by the members of the Common Council. But while each member of the School Board is officially elected by a majority vote of the Common Council, he is—so far as I have been able to learn—practically appointed by the member of the Common Council from his own ward, that is, he is nominated by him and the nomination rarely fails to receive the official confirmation. The Board of Education of the city of Baltimore is, therefore, a product of the ward politicians.

Thirdly. *The supervision is by far too meagre.* While the city has some twelve hundred public-school teachers, the supervisory staff consists of only two members. That of Boston consists of seven members, although the number of teachers in that city does not exceed thirteen hundred. Besides, the schools of Baltimore have not even supervising principals, each principal having charge of a class of his own which he teaches during the entire school period.

Fourthly. *The schools of Baltimore are almost entirely in the hands of untrained teachers.* Of those now in the system some are high-school graduates, others have had no high-school education, and but comparatively few have ever received any professional training whatever. Further, political influence appears to play a much greater part in their appointment than merit. Although they are officially appointed by a majority vote of the Board of Education, the power to appoint teachers lies practically in the hands of local committees, consisting of two members, who have special charge of the schools of the two wards which they represent. These members nominate the teachers for the schools in their own wards, and the Board of Education confirms their nomination. Now, as each member of the School Board depends for

his appointment upon the councilman from his ward, it may readily be perceived to what extent the appointment of Baltimore's teachers lies in the hands of its ward politicians. The teacher is at first appointed on probation, the probational period being ninety days. Should her services during this time prove satisfactory she receives a permanent license, which entitles her to teach for ten years. But, unfortunately, the supervisory staff is so small that each school can be visited but seldom by its members, and the ninety days' probation may elapse before either one of them gets a single chance to see the teacher at work in her class-room. This does not, however, deprive her of the right of receiving her permanent license as soon as the probational period has expired. The discharge of teachers for negligence or incompetency is an almost unheard-of affair. There is one teacher who remains at home every time it rains, and yet she is not removed.

In consideration of these conditions—the schools practically in the hands of ward politicians, the teachers untrained, and the supervision far too scanty—is it surprising that the schools of Baltimore should be as they are?

As for the remedies? These are simple enough after the causes of the evils are discovered. They consist in taking the schools out of the domain of politics, in employing only professionally trained teachers, and in enlarging the supervisory staff.

But, alas! things are more easily said than done. Patronage is not frequently voluntarily resigned, and unless there is some one to take it away by force, it is liable to be retained indefinitely. But who is to wage war for the children, unless it be their natural protectors—the parents? And can that body of people, so utterly indifferent to the affairs of the schools, be relied upon to do anything toward their improvement?

It is true that it is not easy to change matters when acts of legislature are involved. Therefore to emancipate schools from politics is not a simple affair. Yet there is a way in which the schools of Baltimore might be markedly improved without drawing in the legislature. It lies in increasing the size of the supervisory staff to such an extent that the teachers may receive proper aid from its members. As such aid is needed even under the most favorable circumstances, it is doubly essential when the general conditions are unfavorable. In fact, in my opinion, strong supervision is the best counteracting influence to the evils arising from poor general management, and particularly from those due to carelessness in the selection of teachers.

Efficient supervision requires that each teacher stand in as close relationship to the superintendent or one of his assistants as a book-keeper or cashier does to his proprietor; that the superintendent meet his assistants frequently for consultation, and that the members of the supervisory staff see the teachers individually in their class-rooms at frequent intervals, in order to give them practical hints on teaching, and in bodies, to instruct them in their grade work, in the principles of education, and in the theory of teaching. (Professor Just, Superintendent of Schools at Altenburg, in Saxony, who is one of Germany's leading educators, once said to me that in his opinion, in order that a superintendent might do good work, the number of teachers in his charge should not exceed sixty. In Baltimore this number is six hundred.)

Under a management of this nature—allowing even, say, one hundred and fifty teachers to a supervisor—the schools of Baltimore would undoubtedly, within a very few years, present an entirely different aspect. Until a material change is effected, those attending the schools of that city will be doomed to a miserable childhood.

J. M. RICE.

VENAL VOTING: METHODS AND REMEDIES.¹

IN a previous paper the proportion of venal voters according to race, habits, and police record was given in tabular form for two Connecticut towns and one city ward. And upon these, together with less specific, but quite reliable, reports from a number of other towns and from one of the larger cities an estimate was made for the entire State. It was also shown that venality followed the laws of infectious disease in the phenomena of its distribution.

We now inquire: Of what sort are the venal? We have seen what their habits are. What is their method of life? In one town their occupations were as follows: boatmen, six; mechanics, nine; mechanics and farmers, three; mill hands, six; owners of farms worth three thousand dollars or more, six; owners of good farms, not mortgaged, worth one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars, four; owners of poor farms, sometimes mortgaged, worth four hundred to seven hundred and fifty dollars, eleven; pensioner, one; teamster, one; renters of poor farms, ten. The remainder and by far the largest class are farm laborers, unskilled laborers, wood-choppers and doers of odd jobs, and there is one man who is retired on what for the locality is a comfortable little property. A few have large families. All can read and write, though the majority may be somewhat below the general standard of popular education in the place. I can give no such accurate census of the city purchasables. But in many instances, as I am credibly informed, men who earn good wages or salaries expect pay regularly from their own side, and "hold off" until they get it; and one case has been given where the man had property worth seventy-five thousand dollars. But as may be easily divined from the facts as to drinking-habits already given, the great majority are more or less of the out-at-the-elbow and down-at-the-heel class. A few are marked "thrifty" with emphasis. "What that man gets goes right into the savings bank every time, you may be sure!" was related of one. But to the greater part, probably more than three-quarters, the election

¹This article is supplementary to the article on "The Alarming Proportion of Venal Voters" which Professor McCook contributed to the September FORUM.

earnings mean only a payment on account at the favorite doggerly, an immediate and immoderate indulgence in the pet tippie; and for no mean proportion, a brawl and a speedy renewal of acquaintance with the station-house turnkey.

I could hardly be forgiven if, having the means, I were not to gratify curiosity as to the political complexion of the purchasable element. Here it is for two country towns and one city voting district. It may be relied upon:

PERCENTAGES OF PARTY VOTE.

	Precinct I. Country.	Precinct II. Country.	Precinct III. City.	Three Precincts.
Democrat.....	15.7	19.7	10.5	13.0
Prohibition.....	0.0	0.0	7.1	5.0
Republican.....	1.6	21.9	7.3	8.9
Other party.....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Doubtful and unknown.....	19.4	40.0	19.4	20.9
Totals.....	9.8	20.9	9.3	11.3

This seems to show that if Prohibitionists be, as is commonly claimed, in natural sympathy with the Republicans, the two great political camps will be found to be not far from evenly infected—which is what I have heretofore surmised. Otherwise there are about fifty per cent more venal Democrats than Republicans. The largest percentage of disease appears among those of doubtful and unknown political preference. If these two terms were synonymous with Independent, the fact would be of ominous significance.

But it is perhaps more prudent to leave comment upon this set of figures to professional statesmen. The general public may rest assured that the raiding in one another's territory is not confined to any one side, but is limited on either side only by the ordinary conditions of active campaigning—combativeness, energy, skill, money, exigency, and opportunity. And as matters now stand it is perhaps not wholly unfortunate that such is the case; for in each of the two rural towns and in the two city wards tabulated in detail, the actual venal vote is considerably in excess of any party majority, and with no disturbing element it readily carries the election. The same is true of the entire city. As for the State, it frequently shows no majority on the popular vote, and even its pluralities are small. But for the nearly equal energy and financial strength of the two parties, therefore, there is no reason why towns, cities, and the State

should not be completely at the mercy of the unhappy beings who offer their political virtue in open market to the highest bidder.

How is the bribery accomplished? Where the ballot is open the process is simple enough. The person is handed a ticket, accompanied to the polls, watched with hawk-like sharpness until the ballot is in the box; he then goes to the cashier and draws his pay, takes a fistful of tickets and poses as a ticket-peddler for half an hour or so—then quietly drops off and disappears. This is very common in cities. In the country, and not infrequently in cities, the ticket-peddling is omitted as being a useless and too public farce; otherwise the method is the same. While treating of the disease aspect of the offence I have said that the seller usually seeks the purchaser. This is not always the case. There are in both country and city certain men, who have been dubbed in my hearing “a sort of gang-contractors.” These in one town were three in number. Two of them, of the informant’s own party, were ready to work for either side, the third only for his own. These persons receive from twenty-five to fifty dollars in elections “when there is any money up,” arm themselves with jugs of whiskey, and start for the habitat of the commercial coterie which they specially affect. What cannot be done through the inspiration of the jug is done by the persuasiveness of money; and what can be economized in money stays in the contractor’s pocket.

The contractor in the city is likely to be a liquor dealer. If he can get himself chosen to the chairmanship of a ward committee, so much the greater his chance of perquisites. He may, indeed, have been helped to this position by money of his own or of the opposite party. In this case he draws double pay. His own party intrusts funds to him to use, and the other party goes far beyond in their bid. He is not simple enough to return his party’s money, and to use it would be idiocy; for his pay from the other side is to be proportioned to the reduction he can effect in the vote of his own people. He therefore pockets both the campaign fund and the bribe, and accounts for the falling off in his party vote by the “big pile of money the others were using.” This is not invariably done, nor perhaps frequently; but it is sometimes done, I am assured by those who ought to know. Sometimes, however, certainly not. I have even heard of one instance in which a liquor dealer returned nearly half of the money intrusted to him as not having been spent. My “practical” friends will most of them smile incredulously at this, but it is true.

This suggests the inquiry, How is liquor used on election occa-

sions? Its most impressive use, perhaps, is when the candidate goes down into the ward and talks pleasantly with "the boys" and "asks them all in for a drink." But this is hardly its most efficient employment. The "boys" would be very unusually unintelligent indeed and not at all usually thirsty if they were to refuse liquid refreshments thus tendered, from whatever source. But the most telling work is put in by the dealer himself. He receives a liberal donation to be employed for refreshment purposes. This he deals out in the most judicious manner, discriminating of course in favor of those who are "going in with the rest of the boys to elect A. or B." In many instances the patron is in debt for previous libations. His credit is now stopped until he "falls into line." "You may clear out! We don't want nothing to do with you if you're not going to be friendly!" The power of such an edict to a man devoured by a thirst which probably surpasses that of the fever patient, or of the wounded soldier under a July sun on the battle-field, can be appreciated only by those who have studied this curious disease face to face with its victims. As a check upon fraud and for the increase of personal influence, bunches of drink-tickets are sometimes prepared—to be issued only on the day of election. I have heard of several instances of this kind. In one the orders were forged to a serious extent. But the bill was meekly paid. Such accounts are not likely to be disputed. The tickets are given out with but little show of concealment at the very polling-place, and are honored instantly. To this end the drinking-place must of course be open, though that is contrary to law.

What sets the bribery machinery in motion? The initiative of the candidate and of local managers, in local elections. In general elections, word from the State Central Committee, with or without previous consultation with the local managers, but always followed by such consultation, that such a town "must be got." The towns chosen will naturally be those where there is the best fighting chance; that is, where the majority of the other, or the minority of one's own, side is smallest. Who the most available local candidate is to be, how much he will give, how much must be thrown in from the outside, and all such obvious details are then arranged with more or less care. Sometimes, when for any reason the financial integrity of a smart local manager is suspected—and men in this business, I am assured, cannot be relied upon to keep straight for more than two or three years—he is permitted to "make the contracts" and all that sort of thing, receiving a lump sum for personal compensation; but the money passes

through the hands of another. In order to divide responsibility in the forum of conscience and of the State, one man will sometimes "contract," direct a second to see that the person votes straight, and on his certificate a third pays.

The mention of contracts recalls a previous statement of mine which was perhaps as much doubted as any other. This was that men had sometimes contracted for a term of years to deliver their votes as desired. I have since conversed with a professional man of high standing, who informs me that he has handled and accepted such a list where the term was three years. "If we had not taken them the other side would," was his naïve and sufficient explanation. In this whole process each party to the transaction tricks the other. That happens in all trade. Why not in this? Stories in illustration constitute a veritable embarrassment of riches, and they are from both sides. But they might not prove to be altogether edifying reading and the space will be saved for other uses.

"But the secret ballot has done away with all this!" Not at all, in Connecticut at least. The first year it seriously interfered with it. But ways of evading it have already been discovered. Ballots have begun to be successfully marked. The famous printer's specks are not the only marks possible. A paster applied to a certain name in a certain way, or an agreed-upon fictitious name written in, may be an effectual mark. A manager may sacrifice his own vote in the morning, carry away the stamped official envelope, inclose a vote in it, securely seal it, place it in the hands of a "worker" and condition payment upon the delivery of a new and unbroken envelope; and this may be kept going all the day. The booth-tender or some one else may be hired to open the door "by accident" to see whether a ticket in the vest pocket is substituted for the ticket in hand on entering. It may be made a condition precedent that the door be left slightly ajar so that the booth-tender, previously signalled, may see whether the ticket carried in is put into the envelope. I mention only methods which I am credibly informed have already been used. Therefore I run the risk of "corrupting" no one, but may warn many. Even the Australian system may be evaded by the use of a stencil of the exact spacing of the ballot. And for every such system there remains the easy, though twice as expensive plan of paying men to stay away, which has probably been used in a certain, though not great degree, but which is sure to be used when all else fails.

And how much does it all cost, and where does the money come

from? I can speak only of Connecticut with any particularity, though I have items from three other States. A veteran tells me that in his opinion a presidential campaign here costs each party four hundred thousand dollars, all told, of which his party gets about one-tenth from the National Committee, and he supposes the other side gets at least as much from theirs. There is a multitude of expenses constantly rising—headquarters, music, fireworks, uniforms, speakers, “literature,” getting men naturalized, etc. For all these vouchers can be given. And then there is the item, which for years has been still more rapidly rising, the appropriation for election day, for which no vouchers are given or expected. This is the fateful item. I know of one country town in which over six hundred dollars, probably not far from eight hundred, was used in this way—a considerable part of it coming from the outside. The total expenses there of one party were probably not quite double that sum. In another, twelve hundred dollars is mentioned as the aggregate outlay of one party. In each case the testimony is concerning the informant’s own party. In a third instance the opposite party was said to have had thirteen hundred dollars to dispose of, and so “we couldn’t get anywhere near them.” How near they actually got, or whether they simply gave it up—which often happens in the presence of overwhelming financial opposition—was not stated. But the party vote dropped in one precinct ninety per cent! Another gentleman tells me that it cost him on one occasion just eleven dollars to get into the legislature; on another seventeen dollars. He is now informed, and he has ample opportunity to know, that the same seat costs the candidate eight hundred dollars. And he mentioned a second town, where the cost is from eight hundred dollars to one thousand dollars. One municipal election is said to have cost the successful candidate six thousand dollars in direct expenditure, and much more is thought to have been expended in the manner previously described upon the managers of the hostile party.

Ward expenses are not commonly so heavy as those of the country towns, owing to the greater importance of the towns than of any single fraction of a city, which, however large, counts only as part of a town in much of the voting. When it is remembered how slight the legitimate expenses of an election are, it will be seen how much must be spent on direct action upon voters. One hears a good deal of talk about the cost of ticket-peddlers, printing, carriage-hire and the like, from those who count upon your ignorance or who are juggling with

their own consciences. The cost of printing four hundred and ninety-two thousand four hundred tickets, certainly an ample supply for one party, in a recent State election was only three hundred and ninety-four dollars, with five per cent off. Six ticket-peddlers are all that can be really used and as many as any manager would employ if it were a mere matter of business. So one of them frankly admitted. When, therefore, I asked him how many he actually hired, and he replied, "Perhaps fifty, and the others as many more," both he and I saw a sudden light. As for hack-hire: there are about eighty-three hacks in the city of Hartford. If they were all hired at the all-day price, they would cost less than seven hundred dollars, or eighty-eight dollars per ward. But in the very greatest election only about one-fifth of them are used all day, and one-half of them for the afternoon, at an aggregate cost of not more than five hundred and thirty-six dollars, or sixty-seven dollars per ward—thirty-four dollars each side. So the actual legitimate expense in a city ward is from twenty-five dollars to fifty dollars a side. In a country town more and further hauling may have to be done, and refreshments are more required for the real workers and for voters from a distance. But one hundred and twenty-five dollars a side would be a generous estimate for everything. How much of the vastly greater sum often used goes for bribery can be approximately estimated from these figures. The cost on this score has indeed been growing so serious that in more than one town the local managers have agreed to divide the legislative delegation and to elect one member each without opposition. But on other issues there is the old liability.

Where does this money come from? In general elections, where interest is universal and excitement tense, a paper is circulated among all solid citizens known to be earnest partisans. In general, however, the money comes from the candidates. These are assessed on a scale graduated according to office or salary. Thus: councilman, twenty-five dollars; alderman, fifty dollars; first selectman, two hundred dollars; mayor, whatever can be got. Ten per cent of the annual value of the office would not be far wrong. Even offices which bring no salary, but only expense, are assessed. I know of one instance in which a presidential elector was assessed five hundred dollars, and the bill repeatedly presented, though payment in this case was refused. The civil-service-reform rules have doubtless done something toward diminishing these levies. But they can reach only a fraction of the offices. States and localities are still untrammelled. New York has a

law limiting candidates in their expenses and requiring them to divulge these items under oath, and an act to the same effect has been considerably discussed in other States, showing a movement in this direction. But it must be said that practical politicians are skeptical as to the effectiveness of the law. They do not question that it has already been evaded and that it will be. Applicants may ask for contributions to churches, or schools, or hospitals in their neighborhood, and apply the checks to political purposes—this was the suggestion of one veteran; or they may contrive to make their statement before the heaviest bills have come in, was the suggestion of another; or they may have rich sisters, or relatives, or friends who will put up the money without their direct knowledge, was still another suggestion. New York politicians may take that law seriously. I think it only raises an incredulous smile in Connecticut. It is possible that a law of the kind might be so framed as to prove effectual, though I doubt it. And I have similar doubts concerning the possibility of enforcing the well-meaning laws lately introduced in two or three of our States requiring committees to publish their campaign accounts.

The committees, then, are the money-raisers. First the national; next the State; next the town; next the ward or district. The candidates, speaking broadly, are the victims. Beside the orderly levies, they are liable to be plundered, more especially when green, by every local pot-house and "bum." And what between the pecuniary drain and the annoyance, it is, or is said to be, becoming more and more difficult to get men of mere fitness to stand. On account of the first, poor men cannot; and on account of the second, most rich men will not. There are compensations in this latter. If wealth were not for the most part repelled from personal engagement in these conflicts, I see no limit to the corruption which might exist. When a rich man goes into politics on his own account, he is very apt to leave a wide swath of corruption along his track. And it generally comes to stay.

How do the briber and the bribed look upon their rôles respectively? I have already remarked, concerning the latter, that they are largely persons in whom self-respect has been deadened or extinguished by habitual intemperance. Their course is explicable enough. For the rest of the class, there is but one thing that explains it—greed of gain. They have often not a particle of interest in politics. Somebody else has and is willing to pay for their help. But the oath—why does not the oath restrain them? Partly because most of them have

taken none. Out of thirty-six States the attorney-generals¹ of which have been good enough to answer my questions, only the following require an oath on registration: Alabama, Idaho, Louisiana that the individual is qualified under the constitution; Maryland, to answer truly the questions of the registration officer; Minnesota, that he has resided in the State the required time; Montana, as to name and residence and that he has not voted before; Virginia, that he is not disqualified under the State constitution; Wyoming, as to residence and qualifications; California does not specify. Only Connecticut, Mississippi, and North Carolina seem to have any moral element in their oath, and this goes but little beyond the vague promise of allegiance to the constitution of the State and to the United States. Connecticut adds an excellent clause as to voting, always "touching any matter that concerns this State or the United States—as you shall judge will conduce to the best good of the same without respect of persons or favor of any man." But though I myself have taken that oath three times, I may say that I came away every time with this thought uppermost in my mind: "that was a pretty stiff dose of State rights," and little else. Partly the oath does not bind because oaths in general are administered without much decorum and taken without much seriousness. I own a number of farms in a Western State. In one instance two reputable men swore to fifteen hundred dollars' worth of house and fence, when subsequent inquiry showed there had never been a sign of either; and in seventeen or eighteen other cases it was in like manner bravely sworn that the value was from three to five times the loan, when inquiry established the fact that it could never have been, or have been thought to be, more than the loan, and was actually in few, if any, cases equal to it. In many such ways it becomes plain that where gain is concerned judgment and conscience are easily warped. So let us not too severely condemn this aggregation of drunkards, jail-birds, poor men with large families, and thrifty fellows "on the make" for doing much the kind of thing that is known to be done all around them under the dignified name of business.

Of the go-betweens, nothing need be said. They will be comprehended. Of their employers it may, and it must, if the truth is told,

¹The principal facts bearing upon this question of qualification of voters, disfranchisement, etc., for their respective States, were kindly supplied for this article by the attorney-generals of thirty-three of the States, by the Secretary of State of one, and by the recorder of the Supreme Court of another. The blank for Connecticut was filled by myself. The States not included are Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Missouri, Nevada, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

be said that they are in general excellent people, of fully average morality and piety, who are carried off their feet by excitement or by the quiet determination to win. We call it a campaign and they act up to the name. Moreover, we virtually require them to win, and should not pardon them if they were to neglect measures adapted to winning. They, however, keep themselves frequently aloof from the "dirty work." They give their money or their directions, virtually saying, "Do it, but tell me not when it is done, or how."

Two stories will illustrate this; the first was related to me by an actor in it; the second is not direct, but is probably true. It was Sunday and the eve of an election. Word came to the management that a certain gang could be had for five hundred dollars. The candidate was rich and he was at prayer-meeting. He was called out and the situation explained. He looked uncomfortable, faltered, finally replied: "Well, gentlemen, I don't know much about such things; but if you say it's all right, I suppose it is." So he gave his check—and was elected. Again: A well-known and most exemplary man was governor. A local magnate visited him with the usual story. He coldly replied, "I am sorry, sir, but I never have anything to do with such methods of procedure." The visitor grew red, arose, and was leaving in a high state of surprise and indignation, for he had understood that his visit would be appreciated. But just as his hand was on the door-knob he heard a placid voice remark, "Perhaps you'd better call on Col. —, a member of my staff, before you go." He called and was satisfied. Meanwhile the governor turned to his secretary and remarked, with a gentle smile, "You know one must exercise Christian guile sometimes." This was a war governor, and no doubt anybody would have said that the outcome of the political might have been expected to have a real influence upon the success of the military campaign. And the military leader notoriously employs money and deception and corruption of every kind as freely as powder and ball. I am not excusing, I am only explaining the incident.

Bribery is often resorted to in defence of party or individual or in punishment of a supposed affront. Thus from two independent sources comes the story of the revenge a politician, now long dead, sought to take upon a newspaper man, then a candidate for office. Both informants were of the politician's own party. This man took five thousand dollars in bills out of the bank and flung it into the campaign, having ascertained on careful inquiry that that amount would certainly beat his enemy. "Dirty dog!" he exclaimed; "he accused

me in his paper of corrupt practices and refused to acknowledge his error!" And one of the commonest explanations, I find, of admitted connection with the business is, "We have to do it, you know, to defend ourselves." Whether for defence or offence, it is resorted to, I am bound to say, in many instances from the profound conviction that the good of the country requires it. The bribers are earnest men often, and often patriotic. And in some instances I know they have not gone into politics from improper motives.

Still, whatever our respect for their possible sincerity or sympathy with the contemptuous estimate which they set upon their tools, and whatever our pity for the latter, we are bound to condemn the practices of both parties to the transaction and to ask whether there may not be some remedy. The disease is bad enough in itself, but it shows signs of not stopping within its former bounds. The secret ballot in this State has perhaps done some good. But the very legislature which gave us that law was doubtless the most corrupt legislature the State ever had. What wonder that men who had graduated from such a school in home politics should show their proficiency on the larger field! I have it from most competent sources that not far from one-half of the members of that body received compensation direct or indirect for their vote on the occasion of the "great railroad war," as it has been called. The stories told are all but unbelievable but for the detail of the evidence and the authority of the witnesses. One man actually carried back the money given by one side on accepting a higher bid from the other. In the lobby of the House the managers of both sides were circulating money all but literally in hand. "We will give as much as anybody," says one. "But I've been offered fifteen hundred dollars by the others," objects a member. "We'll give you fifteen hundred dollars, too," is the reply. "Well, wait a moment till I speak to ——," of the other side. A few moments' parley in the open vestibule, then back, and, with a "There's no use in you people trying; —— tells me he'll give me eighteen hundred dollars," the incident closes. One member of the Senate, then and since notoriously venal, was "working like a dog to get the bill through the House, and fairly cried his eyes out because it was defeated there and he failed to get a bite out of it." Another had prepared a grand *coup* for the side that thought he was with them by accepting in private a promise of several thousand dollars from the other for his vote at the last. And the money was actually drawn from the bank and was on the spot ready for use. Imagine his feel-

ings when with the adverse vote of the House his hold upon the big bribe fell off!

Nor is Connecticut the only sufferer. There are, it is true, causes operative here which may be less powerfully felt elsewhere. One of these is the unusual closeness of the State. The other is the apparent extravagance and carelessness of many of its town republics in almsgiving. In one of the most venal towns the venality was formerly far worse than it is now. And I find the improvement came simultaneously with root-and-branch reformation of the alms system, whether in consequence of it I cannot say; my informant thought not. Another town still worse in venality has been and continues to be very reckless in such expenditures. In a third town there were thirty-five persons who had been convicted before the police court three or more times in 1890, once at least for drunkenness, or else had been adjudged common drunkards and punished accordingly. All but three of these were paupers; and I now find that with but one single exception all of them who have votes are also venal. In another list of seventy-two persons convicted at least twice during the same year, out of fifty-nine males there were thirty-eight who were recognized by my informant; and of these thirty were known to be venal and just one was pronounced "straight." These facts may, it is true, not prove the mutual dependence of crime, pauperism, and venality; but they at least show that the relations of good neighborhood heretofore shown to exist between venality and crime are not disturbed when pauperism is superadded. But Connecticut is not the only close State, nor does she enjoy the monopoly of crime, pauperism, and reckless almsgiving. Similar causes operate in other States. This has been demonstrated for Rhode Island by Mr. Howland,¹ of the "Providence Journal." An old friend, recently candidate for Congress in New Jersey, sends me evidence of it from that State;² and a most interesting letter from a New York gentleman,³ formerly but not now an office-holder, and who

¹ He has kindly sent me a letter confirmatory of the well-known statements made in his paper.

² A precinct usually carried by the other party by a majority of one hundred was formally offered him for fifty dollars.

³ The chief points in his statement are as follows: In New York City there is but little direct buying of votes and not much indirect, the Democrats being too sure of success on the general ticket. The indirect method pays men five dollars a day for "working." The details of the campaign, including local disbursements, are left by the Republicans chiefly to captains of districts, who have about four hundred voters to look after and from fifty dollars to one hundred dollars to do it with. Their direct action upon voters is more through

has enjoyed unusual opportunities for securing an inside view of State and national politics, admits it for the Empire State. It is true the attorney-general of South Carolina says, "We are all too honest or too poor to spend anything in elections. No vote can be bought in South Carolina"; and the attorney-general of Texas declares, "We never had any venal voting to speak of. We are pure, honest patriots and good Democrats and vote for our country—not for money"; and the attorney-general of Washington states, "There is no venal voting to diminish here." But human nature is much the same everywhere; and since our Connecticut laws are better than most laws, I know not why many other States may not be nearly or quite as bad as my own. And therefore the question, What should be done to reform these abuses? ought to be of more than local interest.

1. Insist upon fair education and a good moral character before admitting men to vote. A wild raid upon the foreign element and immigration is not here in place; in some of our States the foreign element distinctly raises the average of education among

"treating." They are too shrewd to keep written lists of the purchasable. There are about one thousand tramps who, however, register and vote often. They receive from three to five dollars a day. Eighty detectives were successfully employed in their exclusion in 1888. In the county (this by hearsay) many are squarely bought—they treat the fee as a *per diem* for "work lost." A hundred dollars is sometimes paid for a vote there. The proportion of purchasables in one rural town goes beyond ten per cent. Colored voters are more venal than the whites, though the venal among them have decided preferences and will follow these even at some pecuniary sacrifice. Presidential elections are not greatly influenced by bribery, but local ones, more particularly congressional, are. One candidate for Congress spent twenty thousand dollars. Owing to the great cost local managers frequently agree to run only certain candidates on each ticket in earnest. The majority of the bribed belong to the so-called respectable class. When bribery is once introduced it stays. It is like leprosy. The Republican National Committee had a million and a half dollars to spend in 1888. The New York State Committee has more often under than over one hundred thousand dollars. It makes grants to senatorial, rarely to assembly districts, for the most part only where there is a fair prospect of success. A Republican candidate for mayor in New York City seldom contributes over twenty-five hundred dollars. Democratic candidates go as high as twenty-five thousand dollars. Candidates for judgeships on the latter ticket have been known to pay one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. Of late ten thousand dollars and fifteen thousand dollars are the usual amounts. The law requiring candidates to divulge expenses is a failure. Candidates swear as required; but how they reconcile their consciences to it my informant does not understand. The law might have been so cast as to more nearly accomplish its purpose. The new ballot law has diminished venality. More votes are influenced by employers of labor than by bribers.

whites. In Alabama, 25 per cent of the native whites over ten years of age are unable to write, against 7.7 per cent foreign; in Mississippi, 16.6 per cent native against 6 per cent foreign; in North Carolina, 31.7 per cent native against 3.3 per cent foreign; in South Carolina and Virginia, respectively, 22.4 per cent and 18.5 per cent native against 4.9 per cent and 5.4 per cent foreign. And the tables given from Connecticut show the importance of the contribution to venality made by voters of American stock. What is needed is rather a fair educational qualification rigidly insisted upon. Connecticut has long had such a requirement, but it has been loosely administered. The law makes the constitution or statutes the text-book for reading. This has often been made void by collusion of examining officials, themselves interested. A poor fellow had, as was supposed, learned thoroughly his lesson. It was Art. I., Sec. 17, one line and one word long: "Every citizen has a right to bear arms in defence of himself and the State." "Read that," said the selectman, pointing at the place. The scholar hesitated, blushed, perspired, and then blurted out: "Every man shall have a right to carry a goon!" The constitution specifies no particular language. Accordingly I find that seven or eight voters in one town have been admitted on an examination in a Hebrew version of a clause in the constitution, translated by a rabbi and read in his presence! Not so striking philologically, but more droll, is the following: Under a former selectman great numbers of men "presented Irish," as college examiners would now say. A local leader who was dubbed "King" M— acted as interpreter, and for a score of years numbers of the sons of Erin were admitted to the privileges of freemen on the "King's" translation and his oath. One day the selectman broke out: "'King,' I don't believe you know Irish yourself!" and thereupon he sent for a man whom he thought surely "up" in Irish; and the verdict of this judge was that if the "King" knew Irish he didn't—which was of doubtful decisiveness, but sufficed nevertheless to banish one king, if it did not set up another. From whatever cause, it is said to be a fact that there are one thousand voters to-day in the city of Hartford who cannot read. Connecticut's case is an example of what a law might have been and has not been made.

The same is true of her moral qualification. The first selectman in Hartford, whose official memory goes back ten years, tells me he never knew of a man being refused on that score. And yet many voters must have been made whose record would not have borne examination. "That is not what people are thinking about when they

make voters," he dryly remarked. But they ought to be. It is to my notion an infamy second only to that of similar laxness in religious associations that political commonwealths should let in and keep in all that any political clique may want to see in, without regard to moral qualification. While speaking of education preliminary to voting, attention should be called to the office of the school-teacher in this respect. Even with our present manuals, silent for the most part it is to be feared on the subject, if the teachers of the United States were to use thoroughly their opportunity, a better understanding of the duties and responsibilities of the voter might presently come to prevail. I refer here to teachers of all kinds, in Sunday and in day schools, and to those teachers *par excellence*—the clergy and the editors. Thus far the last named, whatever their shortcomings, have had a virtual monopoly of the work.

Naturally, sanity should be insisted upon as a qualification of the voter. This is done in fourteen States—California, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming—but not in Connecticut. In the three towns already tabulated one idiot votes; and one man who for habitual drunkenness is under a conservator, and one crazy man, who, however, has not voted for years, are on the list. The superintendents of the Hartford and Middletown insane-hospitals inform me that only one each of their respective charges has been known to vote. But the law ought to be clear. There ought also to be an oath, and it ought to have some direct relation to the matter in hand and be administered in a distinct voice and a decorous manner. If it in terms pledged the candidate to vote always according to conscience and never to give or take a bribe of any kind, some good might be accomplished and no harm.

2. Make continuance of the enjoyment of the suffrage dependent upon the sustaining of a good moral character. The facts above related will show how far this is from being the present status of things even in Connecticut. What it is in the numerous States where nothing of the kind is thought of at any stage in the history of the voter may be divined. I am aware that there are many States, including Connecticut, which disfranchise for certain crimes. But the curious thing is that the line is drawn where it is. In one town in Connecticut there have been two recent disfranchisements—for stealing a rooster and a pair of reins. Yet the one hundred and five persons in the two lists already referred to who are not of the female sex, with

four exceptions disfranchised for theft, go on voting year after year, and will so continue until they are buried in drunkards' graves. They know every doggery and brothel by heart; they have been through every mire of filth and degradation; they are never in possession of their faculties except when unwillingly forced to temporary sobriety by the lack of the wretched funds wherewith to purchase cheap drink—and yet they vote. They are utterly lost to self-respect, and their very contact pollutes and degrades—and yet they vote. They are incorrigible criminals and pass half their time in jail; but their offence is formally styled "misdemeanor," and the place of incarceration happens to be called "jail," not "prison." And so they vote and are not disfranchised. Common sense and public policy require that these persons be restrained of their liberty by confinement in some prison where the discipline will be suited to their cases—and that for an indefinite period. The present course gives them no chance for recovery and gives society no respite from the fearful financial and moral burden of their presence and their support. Concerning this class the Hon. Nathaniel Shipman, Judge of the United States Circuit Court, writes to me:

"Reformatory institutions of the character which the large wealth of a State can provide, under the care of officers who have acquired by study and experience some knowledge of the discipline and the means which are adapted to cure rather than to punish, will be in the not far distant future provided for these victims of disease, of heredity, and of crime, and in which the length of confinement shall depend, so far as may be, upon the benefit which has been attained. A second commitment to such an institution should, alike for the sake of the criminal and society, carry with it his disfranchisement, subject to reinstatement by judicial decree."

Judge W. J. McConville, of the Hartford police court, writes in a similar strain, adding that his conclusions are based upon the experiences of his court, most of the business of which grows out of drunkenness. The Hon Elisha Carpenter, of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, has also expressed to me his sympathy, with the suggestion that incorrigible misdemeanants should be disfranchised. Such persons are costing Hartford each not far from five dollars a week year in and year out, in police and almshouse charges alone, and there are more like them there and elsewhere. They are generally self-perpetuating, both physically and morally. To the other counts in the formidable indictment against them is now added that of political debauchery, from which henceforth they can never escape. Hartford has done well in appointing a committee to approach the legislature in behalf

of more reasonable treatment of them and their kind. Good success to it in its labors!

But the proper treatment of common drunkards will reach only a fraction of the cases. There is another class among whom venality has been seen to prevail very largely—the intemperate. The law has not yet taken hold of these because they avoid disorderly conduct while intoxicated. A more judicious treatment of them is called for. They belong to a corrupt and corrupting school, and do not merit the forbearance they commonly receive. They demoralize the young by the exhibition of themselves upon the streets. The police in some communities show them to their homes, in others rarely molest them. They should be arrested and punished, whether disorderly or not. And here, as everywhere, obedience to the law should be made a condition to the exercise of the franchise. A man who cannot or will not keep the law is not the person to make laws for himself or for others. Two arrests, followed by punishment, the same year, or arrest and punishment two successive years, might without injustice be followed by disfranchisement.

And both these considerations call for more rational treatment of the whole drink question. The most available remedy seems to me to be the elimination of personal greed from the business of selling intoxicants. The profits are now so large and certain for the conscienceless that the conscienceless go into the business, and the condition to which they degrade the trade keeps the better class of people out of it. The Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., came very near the remedy in 1878.¹ And the Scandinavians have perhaps come still nearer a remedy. They give the monopoly of the business to corporations of reputable citizens, who bind themselves to retain only a moderate and fixed profit for themselves, turning the balance into the municipal treasuries. Having no incentive to the contrary course, these dealers sell legally and rationally, refusing minors, paupers, and drunkards, and selling only in moderation to any. There seems no doubt that drunkard-making has greatly fallen off there with the growth of this system; and the local communities frequently derive from their share of the profits enough to cover their

¹ His plan was to authorize municipalities to purchase the interests of the rum-sellers and thereafter to conduct the business themselves in lawful and reasonable methods. His bill was offered in Parliament, but not pressed because, as he tells me in a letter recently received, he found that the Teetotalers were going to oppose it. He says that he is, however, more than ever convinced of the soundness of his former views.

entire expenses. What we want is to stop drunkard-making. Temperate men, besides their other uses, are found to be for the most part non-purchasable.

3. When these things have been duly attended to, let us have the best secret-ballot law you can contrive. There are twenty-eight States of the thirty-six from which I have returns that have introduced some kind of a secret-ballot law, seventeen of them the Australian, eight a modification of it, and yet require no reading test; they represent more than forty-four millions out of the fifty-five enumerated. There are seven which are at least consistent. They are Alabama, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Wyoming. Of these, Alabama and North and South Carolina are consistent at the expense of what is perhaps quite as valuable, for they have no secret-ballot law and no reading test, while the other four have both. Curiously enough, those four are the only ones out of the thirty-six which require even a reading test, while Massachusetts stands alone in exacting the meagre qualification of ability to write one's own name! Now, one of the uses of the Australian system may undoubtedly be to weed out illiterate voters. But one would say it might be more direct, at least, to do that by an efficient education clause honestly enforced. Otherwise the system is, from this standpoint, not much more than a trick; not essentially different from the "eight-ballot-box system" of my correspondent the attorney-general of South Carolina, who thus describes that system:

"The eight-box law requires considerable mental attainment, and is really an educational qualification, nothing more, nothing less; and we find it absolutely necessary to preserve our civilization in the presence of the horde of ignorant slaves turned loose upon us by our conquerors."

This Australian system and its modifications have hardly been tried here long enough to show what the scheme is really capable of doing in the way of stopping bribery. Ten of the twenty-five States which have introduced it discreetly fail to answer the question on this point. Virginia thinks it has not diminished venality and California and Massachusetts say it has had no effect. Including other secret-ballot systems with it; a majority of the evidence is in favor of the utility of a secret-ballot law for preventing corruption. But since all secret-ballot laws can be defeated by bribing people to stay at home, it might become necessary to disfranchise people who do not actually vote. And if thereupon the pleasant fiction of the representative character of the voter should be abandoned and political power,

whether of towns or States, graduated according to the actual number qualified to vote, permitted to vote, and voting, some of our present troubles and dangers might possibly be averted.

4. There should be absolute frankness and plain dealing with ourselves and others. Open the windows! Let in light and air! We need to learn the exact facts before a remedy can be devised. And as long as local vanity and Commonwealth pride deter people from seeing and admitting the truth concerning their own States we shall be and continue to be irreformable. The truest friend of any locality is the man who in a proper spirit tells the truth to that locality. Similarly, this is no occasion for Pharisaism. "Let every man sweep before his own door."

When these stages of improvement have been successively made, then, and not till then, as I venture to believe, will bribery be practically punishable, for much of it will have been abolished, and public opinion would sustain, as it will not now sustain, serious attempts at enforcement of the laws against that part of it which remains. It might then, as now it would not, be fair and safe to punish the briber with disfranchisement or imprisonment, leaving the bribed to go free in consideration of his testimony, or to adopt any other drastic measure. At present bribery is in the peculiar position of being everywhere condemned and nowhere punished. There are only two States, New Hampshire and North Dakota, which have no provision for disfranchisement. Yet who ever heard of the exaction of the penalty?

But I am painfully aware that the cause of the disorder which we have been studying is deep-seated. It is moral, and morality cannot be produced by legislation. Legislation can only make it harder and more unpleasant to do wrong. I have been struck by the remark of a man, himself "not much of a Christian," as he would probably say, that "among the foreign element you will find venality most where the religion of childhood and its restraints have been abandoned." That this is true for both the American and the more recently transplanted stocks, I think this paper shows. Organized goodness is the best remedy against organized badness. But the State, too, can do much. It is high time people should begin to care. The bird of America is not an ostrich. There are some things it cannot keep on digesting forever; and one of these is venal voting.

J. J. McCook.

THE LITERATURE OF THE FUTURE.

AMONG the questions the importance of which no one understands very clearly, there is one, I am told, that is put as often as any, not only to writers and artists, but to every one and by every one: What will be the literature of the future? This suggests to my mind the guessing games we used to play when we were children, and even a long time afterward, if we had the good fortune to remain children for a long time. These are called social games, and as it is good form not to avoid answering the questions asked in them, I do not see why I should not give my answer in my turn. "Come enter the round," says an old popular song. So here I am, and after the circle of literary standard-bearers has formed around me, I shall be able to say exactly whom I like and what I like: that is, what writers and what works I hope will live.

For the past few years the cry has been repeated in every key, "Naturalism is dead." But did it ever really live? The school has undoubtedly created a stir, and it has been very much talked about. But has it ever found real friends? We paid altogether too dear for the amount of truth it had to offer when we obtained it at the price of accepting the works in which it gloried. If some writers of this school have by their merits and in spite of all obstacles acquired great repute, it is because they have possessed qualities almost in contradiction to the principles that the school professed. As for the crowd of poor little disciples that applied conscientiously the theories their masters preached, I do not believe there ever were writers that produced weariness and disgust more surely and more speedily. There is hardly a work of theirs that you do not wish to throw aside after reading the first few pages. With the imitators of other schools, if you are bored by their works, too, you at least need not lose your self-respect because you keep their books in your hand and let your eye glance over their pages; if they do not charm you, they certainly will not hurt you, and that is something after all.

Naturalism could not live. It seems that after its first triumph its generals and its soldiers were dispersed, and the most talented of

those that succeeded in the beginning must have been the first to flee from it, or rather must have been the first to be converted to something broader, something more lofty, more inspiring. Now we have surely ceased crossing this lake of troubled and unwholesome waters. Ah, yes, there are in the world plague spots, and slime, and malevolent beasts, and loathsome weeds. But go forward a few steps, and you will find yourself in the wide, sweet-scented plain close by waving forests. Go forward still a little farther, and you will be on the vast shores where the purifying oceans come to die. And if you look at men with pity, you will at once find brothers on every side. There is more life, more nature and truth, in all this than in the scandals in which you have too long taken delight.

You wish to soil with mire the ridiculous yet touching little heaven of blue pasteboard, toward which, you say, the poor faded eyes of aged spinsters have too often been raised. I doubt if this be a laudable task. However, it is done. Let us not restore, if you do not like it, the little heaven with its gilt-paper stars, but let us not go back to the swamps where there has already been too much wallowing in the mud. And would that it could be said with truth, that what has been called naturalism is really dead!

There is no lack of prophets when predictions are made with regard to what will take the place of naturalism, which is already dispossessed of its passing influence. As a general rule, each young writer takes upon himself as his first duty to rally to a well-known formula, or to endeavor to create a formula that he believes to be new; and then he goes about repeating that this is to be the principle of the future. And as a great number of these have done me the honor to send me their little reviews—some of which are very curious and some full of fine promises, and of good pages too—in which they philosophize in this way, I have been successively informed that the literature of the future is to be confined to psychology, to symbolism, to mysticism, to the new naturalism, as well as to scientificism, to magnificism, and even to instrumentalism. I doubtless pass over some of those that consist only of groups in *ism*, baptized with the names of such and such a writer of more or less notoriety. I acknowledge that some of these words seem barbarous to me, and have rather discouraged me from trying to discover what their real meaning may be. I acknowledge, too, that I have not always perceived very clearly, when I have taken pains to seek for it, what connection there could be between the works labeled in such an odd way and the

labels themselves; and I very quickly abandoned the effort to obtain a more satisfactory knowledge of one and all. It would be very difficult for me, then, to discuss them without exposing myself to inexactness—and I shall not undertake the task. I also renounce all claim to knowing which class of writers can have or will have in their turn a vogue of several months or of several years. I dispense with a knowledge of these things the more cheerfully since I really consider all these questions quite useless.

If a man believes that he has some talent for writing, it is indeed strange that he can allow himself to be directed by a master or by the rule of any school, no matter how great the master may be or how skilfully devised the rule may seem. It is all very well not to call one's self a naturalist; but why call one's self anything else? In the first place, is it possible for a writer, no matter how much he may wish to believe it, to belong to any particular school? No, and very fortunately, it seems to me. A human being, whatever his quality may be, is, upon close examination, seen to be a very mysterious and a very complex creature, compared with which even the most subtle ideas are only very slight, very simple, and very elementary products. To allow one's self to be warped, then; to subject one's own nature even to the laws of æsthetics, which are claimed to be the broadest and the most plastic of laws, is equivalent to annihilating part of one's own individuality. Imagine what will happen if these rules are petty, narrow, and uncompromising.

I have said that very fortunately the subjugation of one's self in this way is more difficult and more rare than it is supposed to be. For the very reason that the mind is only a limited and an imperfectly developed force, it is impossible for any one that is at all generously gifted with creative ability to suppress or control the more manifold, profound, and illusive forces that constitute personality. At best, a few second-rate writers have something to gain by making themselves the slaves of a theory in behalf of which they beat the big drum and try to drown the noise of the neighboring booth; if the idlers come up and stop for a moment to listen to the cheap show in their house, you will see them actually applauding these idlers, or perhaps hailing them, and their ambition extends no farther than to see themselves applauded in the same way. But of what advantage is it for writers of ability, who aspire to something higher than any kind of glory, to hamper themselves with bonds, when even these bonds are artificial?

It seems to me that in the olden times, when I was at college—if my recollection of half-heard lectures on literary history serve me—it was not the fashion to make so many distinctions, and writers were classed simply as good or bad authors. Mistakes may sometimes have been made, and no doubt the judgments, too, were often partial; but in the end this classification was the more just, and, indeed, it is the only one that can have a significance of any value. To classify one's self according to a school is equivalent to binding one's self to support all those that claim to fight under the same banner, no matter how insignificant they may be, and, at the same time, to being always exposed to the risk of doing injustice to those that have gone to fight in another camp. Therefore, even if I knew the exact list of all the literary sects appealing to the public, I should not predict success for any of them. Since I must, in spite of myself, make a prophecy here, I am going to say one thing that will perhaps seem to be very ingenuous, but that will be seen by those with a little perspicacity to be not at all ingenuous—the only reply that can be made to the good people tormented by a desire to know what the literature of to-morrow will be. Ah, well, to-morrow the good writers will have their triumphs, just as they have unquestionably done in the past. If it be ingenuous to say that, I have at least not said it ingenuously, for I see very clearly that it now obliges me to offer some explanation with regard to what I understand by the expression, “a good writer.”

To tell the truth, I have never thought much about it, and I do not claim to transcribe in these few pages all the qualities by which the good writer may be known; I will merely offer some of the reflections—and without trying very hard to put them in order, for fear of becoming too entangled—that my thought on the subject has suggested to me. I do not need to add that I should be the first to smile at any one that believed it possible to judge a work of art by relying on such notes as these. Besides, this task would be impossible, even if the most logically arranged course of æsthetics that one could possibly imagine were taken for a guide.

It seems to me that the only way to judge a work of art is spontaneously; by the intensity as well as by the kind of emotion it excites. And I see now that this expression that I have just used, “to judge a work of art,” has perhaps no real meaning, or at least has no general meaning; for as each of us has emotional faculties peculiar to himself, infinitely varied according to his nature, it is only by virtue

of an agreement, of a kind of tacit decision that we have made not to insist upon the shades of difference between us, that any one can say to several people at once, "Such a work moves me, such a work is beautiful." But it is possible to conclude that a work that has found no responsive echo among people capable of feeling strong or tender emotion has no claim to be considered a work of art. If one be disposed to jest, he will say that this is bad, and in this way at least he will always be sure to succeed in being perfectly understood.

It seems to me that to understand another fully is equivalent to making one's self another's equal, that is, to entering into all that constitutes another's life. This is perhaps why all our admiration or our love is often so brief, so imperfect. You have had a thrill of joy or your heart has been torn with pity, and during the instant this has lasted you have truly lived the life of another. You have admired, you have loved; and that is often all. Like two clouds that blend, which a thousand influences rend apart, you harmonize with another, you give yourself up; you have understood another being, you have been the other being for an instant, and then, perhaps, a thousand new influences come and carry you away toward destinies and loves that you yourself could not have foreseen. Too happy the writer if the instinct that has forced him to sing for others the song of his soul, find its justification in the favor that it wins, in the cordiality with which for a moment it is greeted. And too happy the reader if the vague desire of uplifting his mind, which has made him open some book of his choice, be rewarded with anything more than the show of satisfaction, and if he continue to feel after the reading is over and forgotten, any of the inspiration that he has received from the poet whom for one moment he has loved. But the reader, in order to be raised by a work of art into this communion, whether it be fleeting or lasting, after taking a momentary survey of his own life, must have seen passing before him, by the all-powerful effect of art, the very life of another, and the apparent or hidden sympathy—it makes no difference which—between them should then have effected in a second the intimate communion of two beings, while gleamed the vast rent made by the shrivelling thunderbolts of grief or the infinite expanse of those soothing flashes of happiness that the same breath caused to appear and disappear in the summer evening sky.

To give an impression of life, this is the whole secret of art, and this is the secret of the art of the future as it was the secret of the art of the past. But it is a great secret; that is to say, it is a mysteri-

ous, an elusive, an indefinite thing that cannot be formulated, that no explanation can succeed in explaining, that proves its own existence by evidence that overwhelms us in its force, the origin of which we know not and cannot resist. Consequently, we do not resist this inexpressible and terrifying force which a presentiment tells us is the principle of our own life. To give an impression of life, with all the compelling charm which life carries with itself and which makes us throw ourselves with the same passion toward all joys and all sufferings—it is this that constitutes a creative work, and I can very well understand all the bold, and even absurdly arrogant, comparisons among really great artists that have been made, as to what was or is the unfathomable principle from which all things emanate. A poet is for men a kind of god, linked to those that live the life he has created, just as the nameless power that was the origin of all things may itself be linked to the universe. It would be as absurd for us to attempt to explain the life of our own creations as to attempt to explain the life of the universe. But if we do not know what the essence of life is, we can at least study and note its manifestations, and I should like to try now to explain what, briefly it seems to me, cannot fail to be discovered every time a really living work of art is studied.

To excite an emotion, it seems to me, ought to be the object of every work of art. Different arts produce their effects by different means, but sometimes the means are strangely confounded, and this serves admirably to prove the close, the mysterious, the unaccountable kinship that unites creative artists, whatever may be the art of which they are masters. But if you consider for a moment the literary art stripped of all those ingraftments it has had to suffer, if you wish to see it as a tree of natural growth, with all the purity of its essential and primordial perfume, you will, in my opinion, have to conclude that it must reach the common goal of all the arts precisely by the expression of emotion, that is to say, by exciting emotion.

I must at once anticipate an objection here. It will perhaps be said that one need not express anything directly, that it is necessary only to suggest. At bottom this is merely a quarrel of words; for as our feelings can be of infinite diversity, it is evident that not only thousands but an infinity of shades of expression will be sought for all these feelings, from the purely animal cry that suffering can wring from us, to the most elusive and almost indescribable emotions of the soul before the subtle melancholy of life, those vague, inexpressible

emotions that ever tempt to exhaustion the efforts of the most marvellous and delicate of poets.

If we merely try to speak of these finer and more tender feelings, we create the need of less precise expressions, which we form on general lines, which we venture hesitatingly, in the wording of which we take great care, which we polish brilliantly or shade delicately, until they become, so to speak, translucent. And as, after all, we have to go back and sum up all our feelings by the word "happiness" or by the word "sorrow," it will in this case be said that emotion, whether of joy or of sorrow, has not been expressed directly, but has only been suggested; while it will be said that writers who are impressed only by simple ideas, both the cause and effect of which are very marked, express directly what they have felt. I think that it is forcing the sense of words to speak in this way. The word "remote" rather than "suggested" should be used. For if it is the function of music, for example, to be suggestive, I do not think one can say that this is the function of literature, except to the limited degree in which literature shares the nature of music.

As for the use of the symbol, it can be very effective if it be understood; and I know examples of its use in certain sacred books of the old religions. However, I find in these only a figure of speech, maintained for rather long time and in a rather veiled way, that, according to its nature and according to the natural genius of the poet that tries it, can acquire charm and grandeur, or indeed speedily become tiresome, but is, on the whole, only a form, and to me appears in every case useless and meaningless if it serve not to express an emotion that I can feel. As for the vague symbols that symbolize nothing, under the pretence that any part of nature can be used to symbolize anything, and in which I can find only a succession of figures—sometimes beautiful or pleasing in themselves, but incoherent and incapable of moving me—I acknowledge that I consider these useless too, and that my fancies can, of themselves, conjure up before my eyes and mind plenty of pictures that, having this superior merit of being united for me to an intense feeling of life, will lead me much more surely to the realms of pain or ecstasy.

Before insisting on what I think should characterize the literary art or what differentiates it most clearly from other arts, that is to say, upon the fact that it is in the very expression of the emotions that it finds its greatest force, it would perhaps be useful for me to say in what particulars, according to my judgment, those people err

that take a different view from the one I have just presented. As for the theorists that claim it should be a "copy of life," that it should show us "a slice of reality," and a bleeding slice at that, I will say, in the first place, they use expressions that are decidedly not nice, and then, too, I will take pains to ask if they are not condemned by the meaning of these very expressions. When we use the word "copyist" we mean "imitator," and when we speak of a "bleeding slice" we suggest the idea of death—of recent death, if you prefer it—but certainly of a thing or a being that is inert, lifeless. To confine one's self directly to the application of these principles can end only in a waste of words, and this is not art, since there is nothing creative, nothing vital in it. I know that some writers, holding to the most untenable theories, can produce very artistic works, just as some writers can achieve nothing of merit even when they follow the best-established principles. All this proves that there is often very little connection between the mysterious and all-powerful basis of our natures and the poor little uncertain laws our minds try to formulate. And no doubt this is fortunate, and we should be grateful, since we are organized for feeling rather than understanding, and since every time that intelligence meets an obstacle it cannot surmount, the resource still remains to us to go, by the mere force of our sensibility, farther toward the unknowable, to venture deeper into the infinite incomprehensible. I therefore shall pass over the dissimilarity, which is sometimes remarkably complete, existing between certain works and the theories according to which they are written. It is for this reason that, without taking into account the possible worth of the works of each theoretical writer, I shall not hesitate to say that every one of them that undertakes to assign any limited function to the literary art seems to me to be in error.

Ought, then, the function of literature to be, as some writers have maintained, to instruct us with regard to the manners and customs of a particular period? But the historians, the chroniclers, and the archæologists are amply sufficient for this work, and in all probability they will do it with a better method, with more care, and with a greater appreciation of the value of their documents than the *littérateur* can do. Must literature confine itself to depicting the world and its changing aspects? The geographers, naturalists, and the scholars of all kinds will always do this in a far more thorough manner, and if, perchance, some rather picturesque phrases are missed from their books, we shall be fully repaid by the number, the force, and the precision

of their information. Must literature be content to make a minute analysis of the mental condition of the characters it presents? Do we forget that to analyze is to dissect, consequently to destroy, to kill, or at least to work upon dead material? That is the work of a novice, and is good, if at all, in school-days, as it is perhaps good that a composer should have studied and dissected symphonies before giving himself up to his own inspiration; but this is not the work of an artist, of a creator. Is it the function of literature to defend a moral or a religious thesis? This is the work of priests, of directors of the conscience, and of reformers, who cut themselves off from the world in order to devote themselves to pure thought. Have we not plenty of philosophers, metaphysicians, and ideologists of all kinds?

No, none of these things constitutes the function of literature. Let me add, however, that literature can contain them all, for it can contain everything; since everything in our lives and in the lives of other men as well as in nature, in the world of feeling as well as in the world of ideas, can be to us a source of emotion. If the writer, the poet, have not first and foremost an acute perception of life, if his mind be not quick not only to see deeply into everything in his own life, but also to feel all the emotions of humanity, how will he be able to interest me when he describes events that he has experienced or the experiences and passions of others? If he depict for me a bit of nature, an ephemeral or an unchangeable aspect of life, and if he choose to tell me all that has touched his sensibility, taking pains not to omit even the finest shades, shall I not see in his words only a series of enumerations? What does it matter to me if his narratives are presented in harmonious phrases, with well-chosen words or beautiful figures of speech—with what is called “virtuosity in style”? All this remaining cold and lifeless will be incapable of creating in me an impression of life, incapable of moving me. I shall find that it is only a mosaic of words, in which I can see nothing but words. Whereas all my nature will thrill with the great thrill that living beings impart, if something has suddenly revealed to me all the emotion that the spectacle described to me—even every one of its most thrilling details—has excited in the mind of the poet. And if religion, morals, philosophy, or any subject whatsoever is discussed in a work of literature, what feelings of joy or of terror are aroused provided that this is to show me how a mind is moved by such thoughts, and that it is in order to re-create life for me and not merely to exhibit a system.

It is clear that the task of the writer is vast, that it is absolutely without limit, inasmuch as nothing exists in life that cannot move our feelings; and one may be sure that if it is thus understood it will have the infinite diversity of life, since the emotions of every human being can be so varied, so complex, that no matter how great the innate resemblance may be in the ways by which they are manifested in us, they nevertheless always appear different, even among kindred souls, very much as living human beings give us an impression of a personal and different existence, however similar they may be in appearance as well as in their origin and in their end. It is, therefore, the faculties of sensibility that create personality in the artist; and the more numerous, the more profound, the more developed, and at the same time the finer, the keener these faculties are, the stronger personality will be. But when personality is created, or in other words, when the inner life becomes intense enough to penetrate more and more the outer life and to absorb it into itself, how can and how ought this personality to manifest itself?

It seems to me now that the answer obtrudes itself; and although I feel sure it will seem to condemn all the learned treatises that have been devised to show how great works are written, I will not hesitate to express in all simplicity my feeling on this subject. In my opinion it is, after all, very simple; the writer should do what he wishes to do, and do it in his own way, obeying only the all-powerful impulse that he has felt rising from the depths of his nature, without accepting any other judge than the wholly spontaneous impression his own work gives him. What an author has written in this way, whether it be memoir, phantasy, romance, drama, poem, or any other name you please, whether it can or cannot be put into a school catalogue, whether it have or have not success with the mob—all this is immaterial; for all true lovers of artistic work will surely recognize it if they find in it the breath of life, without which nothing can exist for them. I do not claim that in making any work, and in any way, a writer can always produce a real achievement, even if he have the keenest sensibility. It is evident there must be, in addition, a thorough preparation; he must, by the instruction he has had, by the education he has received, perhaps by a thousand fruitless preliminary efforts, have unconsciously accumulated in himself a power of artistic expression equivalent to the power of emotion that is the mainspring of all. But the writer must keep from philosophizing about this, for fear of speedily transforming it into a

system; that is, for fear of introducing into his own work a destructive element that would ruin it, or would, little by little, weaken it, and end by transforming it into the work of a mere hack, which is the same as a dead thing.

But if to throw one's self into one's work heart and soul, and without introspection, each time it is undertaken, is not an infallible method of producing works endowed with all the undying charm of life, it is nevertheless the only way one can succeed, the only chance one has of gaining utterance in perfect harmony with personality. For in this way all the qualities that form the basis of our nature operate and manifest themselves to the exact degree in which we possess them, and nothing produced in this way can seem artificial. Besides, by the same means we shall have preserved all that creates our intellectual individuality, and no matter how great the apparent diversity may be in all that we have aimed at in our works, they will preserve this fundamental unity in which we shall resume our own characters, without which nothing can subsist. To think thus is to deny all success to the clever, to the craftsman, to the acrobats of book and style. I believe that in reality, now more than ever, the future has nothing for them. We can be amused for a time with brilliant feats, but we tire of them quickly, especially when we see that there are no more new ones to be devised.

But mandarin of letters though a man be, as he is above all human, a being alive and with a thirst for life, I am very sure that he must always end by going back to the works which he knows were spontaneous productions, which he sees are profoundly sincere, which send forth an echo of the soul, an echo of life. But this always was true, and I repeat, it will doubtless always be thus. And for this reason new poets will keep coming, who will eternally sing for their brother man the song of their souls, their joys and their fears in the presence of life and death, in the presence of love, in the presence of the enigma of the world. And however old the song may seem, it will nevertheless be new each time, as smiles and tears are always new though they are eternal.

PIERRE LOTI.

THE PRIMARY THE PIVOT OF REFORM.

"AN ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" is a proverb too true and too old to be neglected by our generation. We hear on all sides complaints of misgovernment. Many people utter them every hour of the day; the newspapers repeat them from sheet to sheet. No sooner does Congress or a State legislature close its sessions, annual or biennial, than a sigh of relief is heard from thousands of lips. The constitutions of most of our States have been changed to escape the infliction of annual legislatures. These things are not encouraging to the admirers of our Government. Whether there be a real foundation for the complaints or whether they be the outcome of heated imaginations, or of thoughtless exaggerations, or even fiction, I do not take it upon me to say. What I wish to do is to help stop the complaints by showing that whether unfounded or well founded, they have their causes in ourselves and are not difficult of remedy.

This is a popular government, that is to say, a government of the people; to which our orators add, by the people and for the people. The latter words are included in the former and their only use is to give emphasis to the first. Let us look a little closely into the matter. If it were possible to get all the people together into one assembly and then take their votes, we might have a real government of the people. That, however, is impossible. Such a practice exists nowhere, except perhaps in some of the small cantons of Switzerland. Therefore whatever act of government is done among us must be done directly or indirectly by delegation. A certain number of voters in specified districts meet and choose their delegates. These delegates may choose petty officers for their own districts, or they may meet other delegates from other districts to choose officers with larger functions or new delegates to larger conventions, until at last there is a national convention, composed of delegates from States, themselves delegated through all the gradations from villages or wards of cities to conventions representing the States respectively.

These primary assemblies are naturally called primaries, and their voices pass, like the echoes of the Taj of Agra, from gallery to gallery

upward until they reach the dome. Even thus the arrangement is not perfect, for it may happen that the nominees selected by the last set of delegates represent not a majority of the whole people, but a minority. Even in the representation of the States in Congress great inequalities exist. Nevada sends two members to the United States Senate and one to the House of Representatives, although in 1880 it had a population of only 62,266, while Ward 19 of the city of New York numbered 158,191. I believe that statistics will show that a majority of the New York Assembly has been sometimes elected by a minority of the voters of the State.

Defective, however, as it may be, the plan of delegation is the one that comes nearest to a government of the people possible in this country so far as our political experience has yet brought us. The primary is the pivot on which the whole machinery is made to turn. If this primary is attended and watched, we shall have what I may call primary delegates representing in reality their respective districts. Should bad men be chosen or nominated, the people would be responsible for the failure. They would have no right to complain, except as they might happen to find after an election that the men whom they had chosen, supposing them to be good men, had turned out to be bad ones.

The primaries in the city of New York are to a certain extent now regulated by law. How it is elsewhere I will not stop to inquire, only observing meanwhile that what has been enacted in New York can be enacted elsewhere if need be. By our statute the arm of the law is extended over "every political primary election held by any political party, organization, or association for the purpose of choosing candidates for office, or the election of delegates to conventions, or for the purpose of electing officers of any political party, organization, or association." The primary is thus protected against the intrusion of outsiders and against violence within. Any voter of any party may at will join the primary association of his party. Besides these provisions for the encouragement and protection of the primaries, our Ballot Reform Act permits the nomination of candidates by the certificate of a certain number of voters designating their favorite. The object of all these provisions is of course to concentrate the choice of a certain number of electors, and whenever that concentration is made known, to provide the means, without expense to the voter, of bringing the candidates thus selected before the electors for their votes.

Now see what attention, or rather what inattention, the voter of our city pays to these beneficent provisions of the law. In the Third Assembly District, which I mention because it is the one in which I happen to live, there were cast at the last election, that of November, 1891, 2,005 votes for Mr. Fassett as governor and 4,184 for Mr. Flower, the former being the Republican candidate and the latter the Democratic. There were, therefore, at least 2,005 voters in the district belonging to the Republican party. How many of these attended the Republican primary, which in its capacity of a nominating body nominated the Republican candidate for assembly? From 100 to 150 as I am informed. The rolls of the association contained about 650 names. So that a little over one-fourth of the Republican voters thought it worth their while to join the primary association, and of these less than one-fourth actually took part in the nomination. I have not the means of giving the like particulars respecting the primary of the Democratic party, but we may assume that it would show about the like proportion. Now bear in mind that out of these two primary bodies, and others like them, came forth not only the members of the second branch of the legislature, but all the other dependent nominations and elections through which the great State of New York has been governed in the year of grace 1892.

Let not those complain of misgovernment who thus neglect their civic duties. If these negligent citizens should say that their civic duties were distasteful to them or interfered with their business, let them reflect that their neglect may cost them more than their fidelity to duty. Neglect may indeed be the most expensive thing that can happen in their business. Take for example the Speedway Act, by which a portion of our Central Park was to be converted into a race-course. It was passed in March and repealed in April. The outburst of indignation against it was unmistakable. More than two hundred thousand persons were said to have made themselves heard at the Capitol clamoring for repeal. The cost of this enforced repeal was great and the annoyance greater. Would it not have been cheaper for the citizens of New York to attend to their nominations beforehand? Would it not have been better to lock the stable door before the steed was stolen than to pay for bringing him back and locking the door afterward?

The voters are vehemently solicited at every general election to rush to the polls and save the people from ruin. But if the nominations are bad, how little is the use of votes. The truth is that the voting

plays a secondary part in a New York City election. It is the nomination which turns the scale for good or evil, and the primary makes the nomination. If both parties should nominate good candidates, good men would hold office, whichever party won the election. There may indeed be elections in which great principles are at stake; but the occasions are rare in which the voter is obliged to choose between a good policy with a bad candidate and a bad policy with a good candidate.

The practical politicians jeer at us for our simple folly. This is what one of them said the other day: "*It's great sport to see people go to the polls in hordes and vote like cattle for the ticket we prepare. Reformers don't begin at the right point. They should begin at the point where nominations are made. The people think they make the nominations, but we do that business for them.*" What a boast of profligacy and shame! "*Sport,*" is it, to see one's fellow-citizens led like cattle to slaughter, thinking all the while that they are going to pasture? How long shall we endure this profligacy and hear this boast? *Civis Romanus* was a boast; has *Civis Americanus* become a burden?

There is little new in what is here written. My aim is to reiterate, and by reiteration enforce, if I may be so fortunate, what has been written many times before. For myself, I must say that I would indeed go further, and require a nomination to be made by every voter when he registers his name preparatory to his exercise of the suffrage. Details could easily be arranged to secure the secrecy of such a nomination. It would be useless, however, now to enter upon the discussion of such a scheme. The public is not ready for it. Meanwhile a full attendance of the voters at the primaries as well as the polls would insure, as it seems to me, a real government of the people by the people and for the people. Reform clubs are good in their way. They bring together citizens of like opinions, beget discussion, and conduce to concert of action. But, after all, I venture to affirm that the true reform club is the primary. There is the place to begin the purification of our electoral streams and make the waters clear at the source and the fountain.

They greatly err who think that a state can long prosper in defiance of moral laws. These laws encompass with their commands and their revenges all creatures of the human race, whether they dwell within the gates of cities or in the solitudes of wildernesses. No man can live in defiance of these laws without a worm gnawing at his vitals, and no state can escape decay which acts in contempt of their authority.

What objects can be set before the eyes of American citizens more worthy of pursuit than the good name and the good deeds of their country? To the younger citizens of the nation especially do these objects commend themselves. No glory can come to them like the glory of true statesmanship. They may heap up riches, but cannot tell who shall gather them. They may neglect their civic duties and give up their lives to business or pleasure; they may build palaces upon great estates or on fashionable thoroughfares; they may scour the seas in yachts or ride through the land in their own chariots upon roads of steel; but it is a nobler thing to build or sustain a state. The palaces and the yachts and the chariots will crumble, and the estates may pass into the hands of strangers and aliens. The citizen who helps to build a solid state upon the foundations of public virtue is creating a happy and invincible home for himself and his children and children's children.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

SUNDAY AND THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.¹

THE action of the Congress of the United States in the matter of the opening of the Exposition at Chicago was probably expressive of the sentiment of the majority of those whom Congress represents. People who live in cities, and especially those who live in cities of which the population is largely or considerably foreign, are disposed to believe that of late years a decided change of sentiment has taken place as to the mode of the observance of Sunday and in favor of the relaxation of those legal restrictions by means of which it is supposed to be protected. In cities this is undoubtedly true. Two causes have co-operated, whether in New York, Boston, Chicago, or in other communities of which these are more or less typical, to bring about such a change. One of these has been the large immigration of those from other lands to whom the American idea of Sunday is at once unintelligible and distasteful. The other cause has been the usage and example of people claiming social precedence, who, whether from personal preference or the influence of foreign customs, have chosen to disregard the traditions in which they were nurtured.

But these, after all, are not nearly so representative of the American sentiment concerning Sunday as is commonly supposed. There are, indeed, parts of the country where, as in New Orleans, Sunday usages have always been more nearly European than American; and there are probably no large towns where the stricter laws of earlier

¹PRESENT-DAY PAPERS

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CHARLES W. SHIELDS.	SETH LOW.	FRANCIS G. PEABODY.
HENRY C. POTTER.	RICHARD T. ELY.	WILLIAM F. SLOCUM, JR.
THEODORE T. MUNGER.	HUGH MILLER THOMPSON.	EDWARD J. PHELPS.
WM. CHAUNCY LANGDON.	CHARLES A. BRIGGS.	WILLIAM M. SLOANE.
SAMUEL W. DIKE.	WASHINGTON GLADDEN.	CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.

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days could be re-enacted, or, if unrepealed, could be enforced. There has been, in fact, no more significant illustration of the impotence of legislation, apart from the sustaining power of public sentiment, than in this connection.

But the cities are not the country, nor may we generalize hastily from the former to the latter. Not a great while ago a convention of 30,000 delegates of the Society of Christian Endeavor assembled in New York, which in regard to the closing of the Exposition on Sunday expressed itself with most emphatic unanimity. The convention was a very impressive and a very suggestive assemblage. Anybody who had been bold enough to disparage its character or undervalue its significance would have simply made himself ridiculous. The press, that eager echo of the sentiment of the moment, treated it—and this was true even of the most disreputable newspapers—with scrupulous respect. And the reason was plain enough. Not alone the convention but the constituency which it represented was too large and too potential to be derided or disesteemed. For better or worse, it was distinctly representative of a widespread American enthusiasm, and this, indeed, to any one who stopped long enough to consider its meaning, was the essence of it. It was enthusiasm in the interest of what may be called the working sentiment of Christianity, and it was American enthusiasm. As one met the deputies or read their addresses or noted the drift of their conferences, it was refreshingly evident that they were the product of a spirit indigenous to the soil—without foreign alloy, unshackled by any sub-consciousness of foreign allegiance, profoundly persuaded of the competency of Americans to do their own thinking and give their own *mot d'ordre*. And as such it was undoubtedly, in one sense, the best expression of many of the deepest convictions of some fifty millions of people.

Does it follow, then, that most of these fifty millions of people adhere to that which may be said to be our inherited national idea about Sunday? I do not see how this can be denied; certainly the action of Congress can hardly be construed in any other way. No one seriously believes that the votes in the Senate and House of Representatives represented, as has been amiably insinuated, the "pull" of the Chicago liquor-dealers, eager to close the Exposition on Sunday that they might crowd their bar-rooms and beer saloons with the people turned away from it. But nobody, I imagine, will care, on the other hand, to maintain that the vote in Congress represents the personal conviction or the individual practice of all those

who cast it. It was eminently a case where the representative function of a legislator came into play; and it is easy, without any smallest disrespect to Senators or Representatives, to conceive that any one of them might argue: "To me the Sunday question is as yet indifferent or obscure. In either case, I am not personally prepared to take decided ground with reference to it. But with my constituents it is a matter of profound conviction; and I am bound to respect their convictions and to be influenced by them, unless I have different convictions of my own which are equally profound." It seems very probable that the congressional vote thus pretty accurately represented this popular conviction, reckoned in the large.

But the question still remains: Is that sentiment sound and wise, and are the results of its latest expression likely to conserve the institution which it professes so sacredly to cherish? It would seem to be an opportune moment, especially in the light of the recent action at Washington, to consider such a question.

In doing so, however, it must first be remembered that this institution of Sunday as we have it in America consists of two things—the institution itself and its modern accretions. By these last I mean all that Sunday has taken on of more precise and more austere restriction in connection with the Puritan movement, whether in England or in America. I am not here concerned with the provocation for those restrictions which the Puritans and their successors have from time to time found in that tendency to degrade and secularize the day, whether in England or elsewhere, of which Christendom has seen not a little. That there was such provocation no one who deals fairly with the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can deny; and it is impossible not to admire the heroic zeal of those who, to rescue from profane and unworthy uses a day consecrated to the commemoration of the Supreme Fact of the Christian Faith, bound upon themselves a yoke in the matter of its observance which was neither light nor easy. But the fact still remains that their warrant for what they did, whether we look for it in the pages of the New Testament or in the traditions of Catholic Christendom, was neither substantial nor sufficient. Of course, as we know, they went for that warrant to that older institution of the Sabbath which the First Day of the week, with its larger freedom, was early ordained to supersede. How large that freedom was, the language of that greatest of the apostles to the Gentiles, who wrote to Colossæ, "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon or of the Sab-

bath,"¹ sufficiently indicates. There can be little doubt that while the Christian First Day, or Sunday, took over from the Sabbath its venerable conception of a rest day, with its scarcely less venerable traditions of religious worship, it dismissed on the one hand that earlier strictness that would not on the Sabbath day pull an ox or an ass from the pit into which they had fallen,² nor pluck an ear of corn³ even to satisfy the most urgent demands of hunger, while, on the other, it imported into the day an element of gladness and festivity, which made the Sunday of primitive Christianity in many respects not unlike our own Christmas or Thanksgiving Day. What we who are native to America are most of all familiar with—its asceticism of domestic usage, its absolute prohibition not merely of amusement, but of recreation (the two are very different things) on Sunday, its dreary denial even of innocent occupations, its stern rebuke of the gayety and mirthfulness of children, its hard constriction of the domestic affections and of neighborly courtesies—by none of these characteristics were the Sundays of the first Christian centuries distinguished. A true picture of them may by anticipation be found in the pages of the New Testament itself, where Christ is found on one Sabbath day healing a paralytic, much to the disgust of a ruler of the synagogue, who roundly denounces him; or on another dining with a Pharisee and making this kindly intercourse the means of the loftiest teaching, thus expressively proclaiming that humaner law which was to govern men henceforth in their observance of all holy days, whether Sabbaths or Sundays.

It is difficult to see, looking at that law quite apart from the Being who promulgated it, how it could be improved. In many ways and in strangely different garbs have different communions or societies striven to reintroduce, as the highest type of religion and the finest flower of character, a rule of prohibitive asceticism which Christ, in his own person, once and forever dismissed. Now by seclusion, now by abstinence, and now again by vows of celibacy, of silence, of poverty, or of self-annihilation have men sought to produce those choicer fruits of conduct which have never ripened save as men have faced life and conquered it—have "used the world as not abusing it." And so it will be whether the question concern the observance of a day, the mastery of the appetites, or the enfranchisement of the will. In one word, we shall get a good Sunday in America when men learn

¹ Epistle to the Colossians, ii. 16.

² Gospel of St. Luke, xiv. 5.

³ Ibid., vi. 1.

to recognize its meaning and its uses—not when we have closed all the doors which, if open, might help to teach them that lesson.

It would seem as if the door of a library were one of those doors; the door of a well-arranged and well-equipped museum another; the door of a really worthy picture-gallery still another. And for what do these exist? Is it not for their enlightening, refining, and instructive influence? In all these temples one may read history. And the story of the world and of the races that have lived in it is part of the nobler and worthier education of man. It is a part of that education which is closely allied to the highest education of all, which is his spiritual education. For in one aspect of it one cannot look at the humblest piece of human handiwork without seeing in it how patience and the painstaking study of methods and materials have married themselves in some contrivance in which the happy issue of the perfected whole is nevertheless not so interesting as the courage and ingenuity—the hard fight with manifold obstacles—that produced it. And these qualities, though they are not the finest in human nature, are among them. Courage and patience and the steadfast purpose that will not be beaten; industry, the studious questioning of the forces of nature, or the clever harnessing of them to the harder tasks of life—all these are qualities that need, undoubtedly, still other and nobler qualities to inspire and direct them. But surely it can be no incongruous thing to teach men to think, to observe, to compare—in one word, in any inferior realm of knowledge to *know*; even though they will still need supremely to be taught to know in the highest realm of all.

And this would seem to indicate that, consistently with the scrupulous observance of Sunday as a day of rest, a great assemblage of the achievements of human art and industry might wisely be made a silent school-room of the progress of human civilization. Let the Columbian Exposition proclaim by the hush of all its varied traffic and machinery--no wheel turning, no engine moving, no booth or counter open to buyer or seller, no sign or sound of business through all its long avenues,¹ and better still, by its doors closed till the morning hours of every Sunday are ended—that the American people believe in a day of rest. But if there be those who would later seek its precincts to look, it may be, more closely at the handiwork of man, to study the progress of the race in the story of its artistic and industrial

¹ This, if I am correctly informed, was the rule with the British and American exhibits in the case of the Paris Exposition.

and mechanical achievements, and to recognize thus, it may easily be, in the study of such achievements, with Job, that "there is a spirit in man and that the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding"—that certainly can be no unworthy use of some hours of our America's rest day.

And all this without reference to that alternative which, nevertheless, one cannot quite leave out of sight. There has been a very persistent effort to ridicule the idea that saloon-keepers and their like, and worse, in Chicago, would be friendly to the closing of the Exposition on Sunday, since it would force the crowds of idle strangers into their doors—either front or rear. But such ridicule is very ill-timed in view of facts that are abundantly well known as to the use that people shut out from the Exposition made of their Sunday afternoons in Philadelphia. It may indeed be urged by those who are contending for the closing of the Exposition throughout Sunday that they are not responsible for what people do with themselves so long as they keep them out of the Exposition. But it would seem as if it might with some pertinency be retorted that if they are simply devoting themselves to a work of exclusion, it would be better worth while to shut up some other doors before they troubled themselves to close those of the Exposition.

For after all, as this position of the all-day-Sunday closers implies, it is not a question of doing the best possible thing, but of doing the best practicable thing. And as to what that is there would seem to be very little doubt. The argument is constantly used, and it is one by which I must own that I have myself been greatly influenced in considering the question of particular relaxations of a stricter Sunday usage in a great city—"If you begin to make concessions you never can tell where you will stop." But there would seem to be two answers to such a proposition as that. The first obviously is, "Are the concessions demanded intrinsically reasonable and a just reaction from previous over-strictness?" We may well remember that if to-day there is in certain quarters among Americans too much disregard of Sunday, it is in part at least because once, upon the shoulders of those from whom these very Americans are descended, there was bound a burden which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear; and that the lawlessness of to-day is the logical consequence of the intolerable and unwarranted restraints of other days. A venerable ecclesiastic was once inveighing with much eloquence against what he considered undue relaxations in certain directions, and concluded by saying: "Brethren,

there are some people who are constantly going about unscrewing things. They never can rest without loosening something here, and letting go something there, and easing up something or other wherever they get a chance. Brethren, be afraid of such people! They are of all others the most dangerous!" Said a clever and experienced mechanical engineer who listened to the philippic and who knew a little Latin: "Dear old Bishop! What a pity he did not remember the motto, '*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*'! More mischief is done by screwing things up too tight, sometimes, than was ever done by easing a bearing." And he was wiser than he knew.

And, still further and pre-eminently, it should be considered that what may be called the Christian theory of life as enunciated by Christ himself demands, most of all, as between things tolerable, permissible, and prohibited, what I may call the habit of discrimination. It does not follow, therefore, that where one makes a righteous concession he never can tell where he will stop. To know where to stop is, in one sense, of the very essence of his Christian liberty and responsibility. "I speak as unto wise men," says the apostle, "*judge ye*." A man need not wear a Quaker coat in order to observe a decent simplicity in the matter of dress. A man need not take a monastic vow of celibacy or poverty in order to live a pure and unselfish life. He is to deal with the question of his duty to money, to society, to friendship, in accordance with the dictates of an enlightened judgment and conscience. And so he must do with the Sunday question. He has not suddenly become a godless and profane person because he differs with other equally honest and conscientious people about Sunday, or because he holds that there are inherited views as to the observance of that day which cannot by any process of ingenuity be read into the pages of the New Testament nor into any canon by which Christendom is bound either in its interpretation of that book or of the Lord's Day. Those inherited views, however dear to some of us, have just so much weight as can be gained for them from the study of the history of the origin and institution of the Christian Sunday—and no more. And if such a study makes plain to us the value of a day of rest, of worship, and no less of a cheerful and manly exercise of our Christian liberty in things indifferent in the observance of such a day, we may wisely consider whether a Sunday wisely guarded for such uses is not the best Sunday, alike for Exposition times and for all times.

HENRY C. POTTER.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM: A REVIEW OF TWO ADMINISTRATIONS.

THERE is no radical evil in American government, municipal, State or national, except a wide-spread desire to "make something" out of its operations. There is bred in large classes an appetite for rendering party service solely in the hope of receiving therefor a comfortable place, or the privilege of the ground-floor of the contract system, or some other pecuniary profit. These interest themselves in politics to the extent that they control the action of the machinery of parties. That this is avoidable is true, because England is practically free from it, and yet with a government made by the method of appointments and by its limitations upon the career of any administration more democratic than our own. Our real rulers are in politics for the plunder there is in it. Any measure, like civil-service reform, which takes away the possibility of plunder reduces the evil. In our Federal Government the offices comprise the plunder; the amount at present divided is probably over sixty million dollars a year. The real object of party machines is to control this plunder. The members say little for the public ear, but among themselves this object is never absent from their thoughts and talk; and this desire acts constantly as an irresistible undertow in Federal affairs, tripping progress toward any other object when such progress endangers its realization.

This well-established reputation of the spoils system makes civil-service reform the question which should be uppermost in the American mind. Indeed, all other present questions are but routine matters of government, although occasionally a routine matter, like a question of the currency, may become of transcendent importance, for the consideration of which everything else, for the time, must be laid aside. If there were no spoils there would be party machines, but parties would be held together by other motives. There would be nothing to distract attention from the public question in hand. The full blow of a party could be delivered for or against the principle discussed. The possession of the administration would be of no use to a party except to work out its principles. The management of the

civil service is the one peculiar field of the President. Every other duty is comparatively of minor importance; to him we must look for the cessation of the carnivals of spoil which now disgrace us.

When Mr. Cleveland became President, he seemed to hold the view that the burden of a President's work should be directed to the destruction of the spoils system. It was this that attracted particular attention to him, and his party machine nominated him because it appeared that his views in relation to administrative reform would enable him to draw more Republican votes than any other Democrat. There can be no question about this. There was dissatisfaction with Mr. Blaine among a large class of Republicans, who were at the same time, almost to a man, civil-service reformers. The Democrats took advantage of this by nominating their most pronounced civil-service reformer. In accepting the nomination for President Mr. Cleveland said:

"The selection and retention of subordinates in government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness and the value of their work."

And as if to leave no possible ground for misunderstanding in that campaign, he said in a speech at Bridgeport:

"There should be no mistake about this contest. It is an attempt to break down the barriers of the people of the United States and of those that rule them. The people are bound down by a class of office-holders."

Mr. Cleveland's party organization distinctly maintained him in his view of the real work which was before him. In its national campaign book of 1884 it printed from the New York "*Staats-Zeitung*":

"Let there be an opportunity offered to the people for a change of parties of such a kind that the victors must give up all idea of a general distribution of offices among their adherents, and the people will joyfully agree to it."

There are good authorities, which for lack of space cannot be quoted, particularly the well-known passage in his first annual message doubting if the Government could long survive the onslaught made for a change of officers with every change of administration, that made it clear that President Cleveland expected to overthrow the spoils system in the Federal service. His repeatedly expressed views against that system were honestly held. His first fault was in entering upon a gigantic undertaking without plan. It is to be charged against him that he did not select his Cabinet officers with reference to this particular undertaking, nor did he see to it that heads of important divisions should be in sympathy with his views. Things began to take their course. One of the first encounters was when his assistant postmaster-

general told congressmen that they did not control the offices and that their wishes would have no special weight. Ill health, unfortunately, made room for Mr. Stevenson, the present candidate for Vice-President, who eagerly became a powerful instrument in the defeat of Mr. Cleveland's purpose. That the administration had no fundamental plans for reform, but was simply drifting, soon became apparent; the pressure of which so much has been heard began, and its power from that time was made to cloak a multitude of sins.

There was an attempt at resistance. The Vilas circular providing for the removal of postmasters for offensive partisanship was curious evidence of an endeavor to divide spoil and to stick to reform. It was conclusive evidence of barrenness of resources. It was the entering wedge. An affidavit or newspaper clippings secured the removal of any fourth-class postmaster, and his place was at once given to a partisan as offensive as the displaced official. Congressmen were made superintendents of the operation, and their henchmen were the beneficiaries. By tacit consent the plan spread to other branches of the service, and under it removals got an irresistible headway, and the easy step was soon taken of making them without charges and upon the simple fact that incumbents were Republicans. This did not differ from the ordinary prostitution of the service.

Another imperfect attempt at reform was made by the rule that incumbents should serve a term of four years, and this was widely adhered to. When the terms expired, however, the places were filled on the principle of reward for party service, and the new appointees vacated and distributed the places under them on the same principle. Mr. Pearson was retained as postmaster at New York, Colonel Burt was made naval officer at the same place, and Mr. Graves was put at the head of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The four-years rule, together with these and many other appointments, were instances of improved administration. But they were not fundamental and unshakable foundations for reform. The immense army of claimants for office referred to by Mr. Cleveland in his first annual message laid siege to the patronage of the Government, and Mr. Cleveland slowly yielded to them. He did not invite his partisans to come and receive spoil; he gave it grudgingly. Nevertheless, he gave it, and by the end of his term a clean sweep had very nearly taken place, and it had the usual unhappy accompaniments.

The system of charges led to a greater evil. Naturally the accused wanted to know what the charge was and who made it. To tell him

would put the principle that everything is fair in politics to a violent test in thousands of neighborhoods. The knowledge was refused, and yet the accused was removed. This was one of the most cowardly and disgraceful practices ever introduced into the operations of our Government. Secretary Whitney issued an order that politics should have nothing to do with the navy-yards, but it may be said, on the unimpeachable authority of the "Civil Service Record," edited by Mr. R. H. Dana, that Mr. Whitney, with the true Machiavellian touch, sent an agent to say that the order was not to be taken seriously—and it was not.

When Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated the management of the classified service deserved the utmost care. The civil-service law had never had a real test. Passed by Republicans when in possession of all the offices, it had gone into easy operation, and not enough Democrats to attract attention had obtained places under it. In appointing Democrats as heads of classified offices, it was inexcusable that no attention was paid to the views of the appointees regarding the reform system; and when they found out what it was, many of them became its bitter enemies and nearly all were indifferent to its success. The law was in a few offices faithfully observed, but elsewhere trickery of the law became general, of which Baltimore, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, and the Patent Office afford notorious instances. Mr. Cleveland's Civil-Service Commission acted upon the principle that it could not have contests with politicians, and no aggressive stand for the law was taken. Mr. Roosevelt has since shown what could have been done. In the light of the public discussion which took place and the special complaints which were laid before Mr. Cleveland, he must be held to have been aware that the civil-service law was not being fairly enforced. Its methods were practicable and its enforcement was as easy as the enforcement of the customs law; a few sharp measures would have given the former the same enforcement as the latter. Mr. Cleveland appears to have ignored the matter. During his term he improved the rules of the classified service and added to it nineteen hundred and thirty-one places. After his defeat the railway mail service, comprising something over four thousand places, was transferred to the classified service, to take effect eleven days after the inauguration of his successor.

The bosses did not like Mr. Cleveland, but the difference was not because he wanted to distribute spoil contrary to their wishes, which was the cause of quarrel later between President Harrison and a part of his bosses, but because he all the time made them feel that he

regarded them as engaged in a reprehensible business. Nevertheless he yielded, and the boss system under congressmen and others almost universally prevailed. It has never been carried to a more dangerous extent than it was under Gorman in Maryland. By the use of the Federal and State patronage, he practically deprived his State of free government. No amount of criminality or ignorance was a disqualification for appointment. The best Democrats in Maryland protested; and once Mr. Cleveland answered that if he opposed Mr. Gorman the latter would defeat his nominations in the Senate; and once he suggested that they get up a mass-meeting to protest against nominations which he had made at the request of Gorman. It has been customary for Mr. Cleveland's excusers to confine his shortcomings to Maryland and Indiana. There is no ground for such a stand. The prevalence of the spoils system in all its phases was general throughout the country. The civil service was used in Pennsylvania by Scott to defeat Randall, under such circumstances that it was in effect used by the President himself; and every place had its local boss through whom favors were granted. The species of blackmail by which money is wrung from government employees, either indirectly or in open violation of the law, was nearly universal. The Indianapolis Pension Agency was levied upon for six hundred dollars for the campaign of 1888, in violation of the law.

The railway mail service, which was highly efficient and, in retention but not in appointment of its employees, free from the spoils system, was attacked, and in the four years fully three-fourths of the employees were supplanted by mere party workers; and although with experience they improved, they never brought the service back to the same efficiency. The Patent Office, under a man ignorant of his duties, went the same road; then a new head was put in who checked the headlong course. The Indian service, by the efforts of the Indian Rights Association, had come to have a body of government agents and other efficient employees. There are two hundred and forty thousand wards, including forty thousand children of school age. All but half a dozen of the agents were changed for party workers; and some idea of the general saturnalia which took place may be gained from the fact that in 1887 in five hundred and sixty positions there were eleven hundred and eighty-two incumbents. After repeated protests by the Indian Rights Association, the President finally asked why they did not come to him with something practical, why they did not show him good men who would take the positions at the small sal-

aries, or go themselves and fill them. They replied that they had shown him good men already in those positions, and that he had removed them. Later Mr. Oberly was appointed commissioner, and another check in a headlong course took place.

Mr. Cleveland's orders that office-holders should abstain from interference in politics was a radical stand for reform, but he did not enforce them. The celebrated case of his removal of two district attorneys for this cause, his reinstatement of the Democrat, and his refusal to reinstate the Republican needs no comment. He had no personal interest in the political diligence of his office-holders. Their efforts were exerted almost exclusively for their congressmen. But no use of the influence of office-holders in primaries, conventions, and elections has ever been greater or more effectual than that made by congressmen in Indiana in 1886. When it came to Mr. Cleveland's renomination, the apparent influence of office-holders was not appreciable. It should be said, however, that it is commonly reported by his friends that toward the end of his term he gave to his party a large number of offices not yet taken from Republicans, through fear that unless he did so it would not renominate him. There can be no dispute that from the time of his first tariff message he appeared indifferent toward the undertaking upon which he had voluntarily proposed to enter.

When Mr. Harrison was nominated, the agitation which had taken place under Mr. Cleveland's presidency made all points of contention relating to the civil service well marked. His nomination was accompanied in his party platform by a bold defiance of the spoils system and by a charge of treachery to civil-service reform against those reformers who should refuse to return and stand upon it. The platform promised to destroy the spoils system. The words were as follows:

"The men who abandoned the Republican party in 1884 and continue to adhere to the Democratic party have deserted not only the cause of honest government, of sound finance, of freedom or purity of the ballot, but especially have deserted the cause of reform in the civil service. We will not fail to keep our pledges because they have broken theirs or because their candidate has broken his. We therefore repeat our declaration of 1884, to wit: The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments; and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided."

In his letter of acceptance the candidate approved and accepted this platform, and he otherwise emphasized his position by saying, in answer to a question relating to the management of the civil service, that he would live up to the platform.

By the rules of reasonable expectation, the new administration was bound to enter upon the explicitly promised undertaking. It could have begun by adding all mail-carriers in free-delivery cities, all permanent post-office clerks, the internal-revenue service, the rest of the customs service, the Indian service, the weather service, and all other analogous classes of employees to the classified service. This needed but the party making these promises to give the Civil-Service Commission a few additional clerks. This start could have been followed by the complete establishment under the Civil-Service Commission of the Boston labor-service system, a system at once one of the simplest and one of the most beneficent discoveries in civil government. Postmasters of high grades could have been deprived of their functions as pernicious political centres by putting them upon the plane of officers in the railway mail service and filling vacancies by promotion. The fourth-class postmasters, by some such simple method as is set forth in Mr. Andrew's bill, should have ceased to be watch-dogs for congressmen. Every principle involved in these suggestions is in some form in successful application in Massachusetts or in the Federal service. That President Harrison understands the field of civil-service reform is shown by what he says and by what he does not say. From all that is now known, it is clear that he had the comprehension, the capacity, and the nerve to undertake the performance of his promises in relation to it. The other duties of the platform were peculiar to Congress; but from his powers under the Constitution this duty was peculiarly laid upon the President, and the enforcement of the civil-service law, which by his oath he is bound to enforce, is no performance of it.

That law gives the President power to transfer employees from the unclassified to the classified service. The order made by President Cleveland transferring the railway mail service fixed March 15, 1889, as the date. If the law was to be treated as other laws, this exhausted the presidential power as to those transferred, no matter who recommended otherwise. Mr. Lyman, then the only Civil-Service Commissioner, could not get the eligible lists ready, and recommended that the date be postponed, and President Harrison postponed it to May 1. In the six weeks which elapsed there were more than

twenty-one hundred dismissals from this service without regard to efficiency, and the places were filled as Republican patronage. Various excuses have been given for this lawless treachery, but the god of spoil always appears grinning in the background. The real object of the changes appears in the fact that at the moment when the use of the eligible lists was to begin, and when, under any motive but that which inspires a loot, changes would have ceased, they were made so rapidly that there was not time to deliver the notices. During these six weeks the Civil-Service Commission was not filled up, but the President made hundreds of other appointments.

The "Indianapolis Journal" has doubtless reflected the President's views more correctly than any other paper. There is a close connection in the gift of the London consulship, the President's greatest pecuniary gift, to the "Journal's" chief owner, and in the transfer of its former editor to be his private secretary. The "Journal" at the time stated, in effect, that the appointment of Mr. Clarkson as first assistant postmaster-general was made because he was deemed the fittest man to divide the fourth-class postmasterships among the Republicans. The appointee completely justified the expectation and has permanently earned the title of "Headsman." Working at the rate of one every three minutes, he changed thirty thousand in a single year. He did it exultingly and in the face of public denunciation. During his first months he is said to have answered over one hundred thousand letters and to have had fifteen thousand personal interviews relating to office-seeking. Out of about sixty thousand fourth-class postmasters, nearly all have been changed whose places were desired by Republican office-seekers. In five months there were thirteen thousand changes, while during the same period under President Cleveland there were four thousand. No one has attempted to reconcile this action with the platform or to make any excuse, probably for the reason that the impossible is not expected.

In the mean time, in other directions the President was in the full tide of a clean sweep with all of the unmanly and vicious accompaniments. Presidential postmasters, collectors, marshals, the foreign service, and all other departments received his indefatigable attention. Cabinet officers were so busy making removals and appointments that they had no time to attend to other business. The four-years rule of Mr. Cleveland was swept away. The President's eagerness made him descend to littleness. He wrote to General Manson, an Indiana collector and an efficient and highly esteemed officer, whose

term had not expired, a certain gentleman "informed me that you had said to him that you would address me a letter relieving me of a possible embarrassment connected with a change in the collector's office held by you," and in this manner forced him out of office. His removals of Naval Officer Burt and Collector Saltonstall are only emphatic instances of a multitude of cases in which he mocked at his words that only the interests of the public service should suggest removals. His refusal to retain Pearson, Graves, and General Corse, and his appointment in their places of Republican partisans, were an equally emphatic mockery of his words that fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test of appointments. Although in the Senate he had fitly denounced Mr. Cleveland's system of removals upon secret charges, yet he has the same system in open operation. He divided a valuable block of offices among his relatives by blood or marriage, commencing with his brother as a marshal in Tennessee, an appointment of which the fruit was gath red in the management by this appointee of the Tennessee delegation at the Minneapolis convention. A striking fact is the number and the value of the places given to the delegates who worked for the President's first nomination. The consulship at London, the United States treasurership, the Belgium mission, and the offices of marshal and district attorney of Indiana are instances. It is notorious that Senators Cullom and Farwell, who opposed the nomination, were refused the patronage of Illinois. The subordinates found in office by the appointees of the administration were ruthlessly displaced. The motive was exactly stated by the New Albany postmaster, who said, when dismissing his carriers: "You have done your work well. You are gentlemen, but you know, boys, you are Democrats."

The President appears to have had a carefully planned boss system, and to have been ready to turn the full power of the civil service to accomplish objects desirable to him. The first notorious example was Mahone. In June, 1889, the struggle between Mahone and his opponents for the Virginia patronage was won by Mahone, and its unlimited use was turned over to him, to enable his Republican faction to carry the coming State election, and for that purpose he used it to the fullest extent. In Pennsylvania there was at first a struggle between Quay and certain other congressmen, which resulted in the complete triumph of Quay, Wanamaker declaring for him against Dalzell as early as 1889, and no patronage was granted except through him. Quay's power was shown in the appointment of David Martin;

the President could descend no further. The use for which the patronage was granted Quay is illustrated by his remark that "the Pittsburg post-office embraces about three hundred appointments, which, to put it mildly, I decline to have placed in the hands of my adversaries." Quay is also credited with having discovered Mr. Wanamaker. Cabinet officers have usually been chosen because they were party leaders. Wanamaker was not a party leader. In his case we have the first instance of the gift of a Cabinet office because the donee had raised a large campaign fund; for there is no other way of accounting for this appointment. In that campaign large amounts of money were used to purchase votes, from twenty to thirty thousand being for sale in Indiana alone. The power of Platt as a boss in New York culminated when Mr. Erhardt was forced out of the collector's office, which was rendered untenable by him for refusing to appoint Platt's men.

The Census Bureau was to have some fifty thousand employees, including twelve hundred clerks. The faithfulness required in the work needs no statement; to be accurate, it must be absolutely free from the horde that live upon party spoil. It was practicable to make the appointments competitive and to keep them free from partisan influence; yet the President refused to allow the Civil-Service Commission to apply the merit system to even the twelve hundred clerks, and the whole fifty thousand places were in general distributed according to the worst methods of the spoils system, Superintendent Porter describing himself as "waist-deep in congressmen," with a resulting census in which the confidence of the country is shaken. In these and other ways President Harrison, instead of being a leader in the fulfilment of the promises upon which he was elected, became a leader of the worst elements of his party in a prostitution of the civil service in a manner which has greatly increased instead of diminishing the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage. He did not wait for "pressure." There is nowhere in his career a sign that he has acted with reluctance; but, on the other hand, the evidence is conclusive that he has been a willing leader with a purpose to use the full power of the Federal patronage to accomplish, first, personal, and, secondly, party ends.

One of the first steps in this calculation was the distribution of offices among newspapers. To the "New York Tribune," the "Cincinnati Commercial Gazette," the "Indianapolis Journal," the "New

York Press," the "North American Review," the "Utica Herald," the "Worcester Spy," the "Iowa State Register," the "Detroit Tribune," and a host of other papers, great and small, throughout the country, the President gave a large share of the vast bounty he was distributing, and it was accepted. That it does not take away their independence and bind them to Benjamin Harrison personally can be argued, but no conviction will result. Other Presidents have given offices to newspapers, but never before has a large number of the great journals of the country been in effect subsidized. With this and other like measures, such as the appointment of Elkins to be Secretary of War, with the undoubted object of detaching him from Mr. Blaine, the presidential course is thickly marked.

It cannot be said of President Harrison that he was the sole cause of the last Indian war, but it can be said that with his eyes wide open he laid on the last straw. In the Indian Rights Association he was offered and could have had a safe and disinterested adviser, but he rejected the offer. It urged with all its force that for the sake of the Indians the merit system should be established, and that officials who had learned their duties and were faithful to them should not be removed. The President disregarded the association. He set up the doctrine of home rule, which required the employees to be taken, not from Republican favorites throughout the country, but from Republican favorites in the sparsely settled territory in which a reservation happened to be located, and these appointees turned out to be the most conscienceless type of henchmen. Their real business is briefly shown in the fact that at one agency the agent and all of the employees were at one time absent doing political work for the senator who had secured them their places. And at the Yankton agency, having eighteen hundred persons, in 1891, men, women, and children were lying sick everywhere. For three weeks they were without medical attendance. The wife of a missionary writes: "During this time the medical man sent here by the department has been in Pierre engaged in political work." When the outbreak took place a number of agents at once had to be supplanted by army officers. In one encounter we succeeded in killing eighty-five men, women, and children who had firm ground of complaint against us. Then President Harrison transferred some seven hundred places in the Indian service to the classified service. This did not include clerks and other employees, among whom the peculiar viciousness of the spoils system in this service is most concentrated.

At Mr. Harrison's inauguration the classified service embraced thirty-two thousand places, and the Civil-Service Commission was composed of but one member. The seizure of the twenty-one hundred places in the railway mail service took place as already described, and on May 6, 1889, six days after that was over, he filled up the Civil-Service Commission by the appointment of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Thompson. This commission has at all times thoroughly understood its duty and has performed it with a fearlessness that deserves the admiration of the country. The President paid no attention to securing heads of the classified offices who were friendly to the law, and the first struggle of the commission was to convince appointees that the law must be obeyed. It many times publicly gave notice that the examinations would be impartial, and invited members of all parties to compete. It established confidence in the law in the South, and so far as examinations and appointments are concerned the law is enforced. The dismissals for political reasons have not been widespread, but the law is open to the same trickery that occurred under President Cleveland, and with a weaker commission those who know some of the heads of the classified offices would look in those cases for a repetition of that trickery. The action of Secretary Tracy in applying the Boston labor-service system to the navy-yards is an extensive degree of improved administration of the same nature as the appointment of Mr. Graves by President Cleveland, but it is not fundamental reform. It is reform with a string tied to it. Treatment as spoil may be resumed at any moment. The President, as though he could not bear to put it beyond his reach, has neither taken nor recommended any steps to make this reform permanent.

The enforcement of the law relating to the collection of money from public employees has obviously not had the sympathy of the President. Indirect blackmailing by campaign committees goes on steadily and too publicly not to be known by him. He has not by any expression relieved public employees from fear of the consequences of refusal. He has shown no interest in the punishment of detected offenders. Mahone's committee clearly violated the law. The President knows this, although a jury acquitted them; yet he keeps them in the public employ. One has but to read the testimony taken by Mr. Roosevelt in Baltimore to see that his recommendation that twenty-five employees be dismissed for raising money unlawfully or for other stated reasons was mild. Yet no one was dismissed or punished. Mr. Wanamaker sent a couple of his inspectors, who made a

new investigation and reported that the accused had not told the truth in their answers to Mr. Roosevelt, and therefore were not guilty. Mr. Wanamaker is distinguished from the rest of the world by being satisfied with this report. Federal employees in Kentucky, indicted but not tried for unlawful solicitation of money, have since, it is said, been promoted. A resolution unanimously adopted last April by the Alabama Republican State Convention denounced "the wilful, open, and flagrant violation of the civil-service law and rules by office-holders of this State in the levying of assessments upon mail clerks, mail carriers, route agents, deputies, and employees under the civil-service rules for political and corrupt purposes, in the bribery and attempting to bribe the Republican electors of this State in primaries and conventions, in the forcing and driving of those under them into the support of Dr. Moseley for the chairmanship of the State committee by threats of removal from office." No one has been punished. The Moseleyites afterward appeared at Minneapolis with a Harrison delegation containing twelve Federal office-holders.

For more than two years after his inauguration no additions were made by President Harrison to the classified service; then upon the heels of an Indian war, and after an amount of urging, the necessity of which seems incredible, considering the direct promise to make such extensions, he caused, as stated above, seven hundred places in the Indian service to be classified. Later he caused the employees of the Fish Commission, one hundred and thirty-two in number, to be classified. He has caused an efficiency record to be kept in classified offices, and made the rule that promotions therein shall be based upon merit. The contemptible size of this contribution to the extension of the reform system established by law becomes apparent when it is compared with the many thousands of carriers, clerks, and other employees to whom that system is applicable and whom it does not embrace. The service has many more employees capable of classification, but unclassified, than it had when the President was inaugurated.

No check has been placed by President Harrison upon Federal office-holders making their influence felt in primaries, conventions, and elections. His distribution of the hundred odd thousand places bears all the marks of being directed to the utmost extent to the formation of an army of feudatories, and this army has responded to the President's evident expectation with such efforts as it never under any President put forth before. The marshal of the District of Columbia is an interesting example. He is an intimate friend of the

President, and his appearance at any given point at a critical time in party matters is but the appearance of the President himself.

When, some months before the Minneapolis convention, Mr. Blaine gave notice that he did not desire the nomination, the candidacy of the President was unopposed by any competitor of prominence. There had been, however, all along a smouldering opposition to it, which he watched with care. In Indiana there were places where it was impossible for him to obtain delegates without incessant effort by his official feudatories, and this effort was put forth, beginning with the earliest primaries. It was felt in every party gathering that could possibly have an influence upon the selection of Harrison delegates. To this end forty leading Federal office-holders, to say nothing of the smaller, helped to manage the Indiana State convention in 1890. Paid officials with leisure to gather in their friends can, with rare exceptions, control the action of primaries and conventions. It was so in this case. By unremitted effort kept up through a long series of party meetings of every kind, the Indiana office-holders with some outside help, which in part has already been rewarded with office, secured every delegate for the President.

The same care, but not always with the same final result, was exercised throughout a great part of the United States. In the Republican State convention in Iowa in 1891 more than sixty-two Federal office-holders were delegates. From various causes arising over the division of spoil, Quay, Clarkson, Platt, and a large number of smaller bosses became dissatisfied with the President and determined to defeat his renomination. They induced Mr. Blaine to allow, after all, the use of his name. The Federal office-holding machine had been too carefully constructed, and with the President at the head it proved irresistible. The consul-general at London crossed the ocean to take command in the field. After conferring with the President, members of the Cabinet, and other chief office-holders at Washington, he went to Minneapolis to lead the President's forces there. The land commissioner was his most efficient aid. The President had one hundred and forty-two office-holders voting as delegates in the convention. Several thousand other office-holders were at hand, bearing down opposition. He had two wires connecting him with his managers, and through these he personally directed operations. He was not nominated by the States giving Republican majorities, but by the States whose delegates, in some cases, were in charge of men like the President's brother, the Tennessee marshal, or under the roughly asserted

control of some other Federal office-holder. In the Georgia delegation twenty-two out of the twenty-six were reported to be office-holders. It was a desperate struggle, and the result proved the skill of the President in the effort which he appears to have steadily made since his inauguration to secure renomination by a judicious distribution of spoil. His consummate skill is evident when it is considered that he succeeded in spite of a gigantic rebellion of bosses. The result is also a startling proof of the reasonableness of the fear expressed in the Republican platform of the dangers to free institutions arising from the power of official patronage.

I have endeavored in this investigation not to mitigate the facts, and I believe that from the facts as given the two administrations may be correctly judged. As to the motives controlling the action of the Presidents, the judgment of most readers will be heavily in favor of Mr. Cleveland. Excuses are offered in certain quarters that if Mr. Cleveland had taken a different course he would have disrupted his party. A party that has to be held together by patronage had better be disrupted. I have never heard of any excuse offered for President Harrison. These are not, however, matters for excuse. It was a just and fortunate result of the election of 1888 that punishment followed swiftly upon the heels of unnecessary failure. Whatever may be said to the contrary, by no shaping of issues in that election could a ratification of the management of the civil service, which constituted that failure, have been secured. A like duty to secure the defeat of the re-election of President Harrison is now at hand. The country cannot afford to ratify the acts of those who wilfully bring upon it the dangers to its free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage. Parties and Presidents should understand that sure defeat is in store for such. Mr. Cleveland should not be elected because he is less censurable than President Harrison, but for the reason that the course here indicated is the way to crush the patronage system.

LUCIUS B. SWIFT.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM: A DECADE OF THE MERIT SYSTEM.

It is said that the average American citizen has one month's earnings out of the year taken from him by force for the support of the state. Upon him falls the heaviest burden of waste and misrule. Pure and honest government can be secured only by an efficient and economical public service. The new system for this purpose has been applied within a decade broadly enough, in the State, Federal, and municipal service, fairly to test its merits. In the Federal service there are 175,884 places, and the annual appropriation has exceeded five hundred millions. The municipal service has, probably, as many places as the Federal, and besides there is the service of forty-four States. What constructive and educational utility has the merit system developed? Is it destined ultimately to regulate this entire service?

As early as 1853 and 1855 the patronage system of appointments based on the recommendations of politicians and members of Congress was found to engender intolerable abuses, and examinations which only partisan favorites could take were established for admission into the public service in the departments at Washington. While useful to a degree, they failed to remedy the evils at which they were aimed, as they had before failed in Great Britain. Hon. Thomas A. Jenckes, of Rhode Island, put the reform sentiment into a bill which he introduced into the House of Representatives in 1868. It failed, probably because public sentiment had not been sufficiently awakened for such a measure, and because its provisions were radical and sweeping in their details. In his annual message of 1870, President Grant recommended legislation, and a commission was established in 1871, of which Mr. George William Curtis was chairman. He was shortly succeeded by Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, who continued in that capacity until the establishment of the present commission, in 1883. An appropriation was made by Congress during two years for carrying the law into effect. Competitive examinations were enforced under rules applying to promotions as well as to original admissions. President Grant said, in a

message of April 18, 1874, that the enforcement of the rules had "resulted beneficially, as is shown by the opinions of the members of the Cabinet and their subordinates in the departments." In the same year he recommended that an appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars be made to continue the system. It was refused, competitive examinations were suspended, and patronage again flourished.

In 1877, and again in 1879, President Hayes requested Congress to make the necessary appropriations for the resumption of the work. The request was renewed by President Arthur in 1882. The success of the rules of 1872 led to rules promulgated by President Hayes under which competitive examinations were enforced at the New York custom-house and post-office. In 1880 the President strongly commended them to Congress. The present act "to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States" passed the Senate on December 28, 1882, with only five dissenting votes; and on January 5, 1883, it passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 155 to 47, and became a law on January 16, 1883. The assassination of President Garfield gave impulse to the public sentiment in response to which the action was taken by Congress. Four months after its passage a similar law was passed by a Democratic legislature in New York and, a year afterward, by a Republican legislature in Massachusetts.

The broad aims of the reform are to take out of political contests all inducement to office-seeking, to restore and preserve the independence of the legislative and executive departments, which the Constitution was careful to keep distinct, and to establish a process by which the offices shall be filled upon tests of merit, and not left to the weakness of human virtue subjected to the temptations of power and place. If voters are uninfluenced by the loss or gain of an office or promotion, there will be freedom for the play of conviction, making elections freer from selfish partisan ends. The single idea of the reform is that the offices are trusts for the people. The Federal system, upon which the State and municipal systems are patterned, is lodged in the hands of three commissioners of equal rank and authority appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The commission differs from that under President Grant in that the act of 1883 distinctly creates the offices of the commissioners, defines their duty, and prescribes their salary. The act makes it the duty of the commission to aid the President as the chief appointing officer in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect; to make regulations for and to control the examinations provided for and keep records of them; and to make

investigations and report upon all matters touching the enforcement and effect of the rules and regulations. The law and the rules prohibit the use of "official authority or influence to coerce the political action of any person or body," and the law makes penal the levying of political assessments.

The act provides for "open, competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants . . .," and declares that "such examinations shall be practical in their character, and so far as may be shall relate to those matters which will fairly test the relative capacity and fitness of the persons examined to discharge the duties of the service into which they seek to be appointed." As the qualifications needed are various, the competition is between all those who seek the same class of places. The act further provides that appointments to the service at Washington shall be apportioned among the States according to population. This provision stimulates education in the States and increases local interest in all matters affecting the Federal administration.

The business test of fitness submitted to the appointing officer when he is about to make a selection from among the three standing highest-certified for each vacancy in the Federal, State, and municipal service may be briefly divided into: 1. Qualities, experience, and personal history as brought out by carefully devised questions of wide scope in an application paper. 2. Reputation as shown in testimonials in answer to searching questions. 3. Physical tests, where necessary, as for railway mail-clerks, letter-carriers, firemen, watchmen, and policemen. 4. General intelligence and force (which are of more value than experience), exhibited in a written examination. Success in this test is a proof of mental power, showing that the candidate will readily learn and perform all ordinary duties and that he is equipped for emergencies. 5. Practical tests for places of technical skill. Finally, there is a probationary test of six months in doing the public work, to show that the man has tact, judgment, and industrious habits. This trial tests the careful performance of work, conduct, attendance, prompt and cheerful service, mental vigor, sound bodily health, adaptability, ability to perform services of a special nature, and capacity for promotion. The examination so thoroughly probes and exposes weak points that it deters many incompetents from attempting it at all. The adequacy of the examinations and their practical and common-sense character are shown by the trifling percentage of failures on the probationary test. Business ability and attainments are very

closely allied, and the best informed are generally the most trustworthy and successful.

In the outset the system of competitive examinations was made broad enough fairly to test its merits. The law provides for the extension of the service, in the discretion of the President, without the need of further action by Congress, as success points the way. In the departments at Washington the classification existing under the laws of 1853 and 1855 included all persons receiving salaries of not less than nine hundred dollars or more than eighteen hundred dollars per annum, about 5,652 in number, and this was considered as embracing a suitable field for the first examinations in that branch of the service. Like classifications were made of the customs and postal service, which the act required to be brought in the first instance under the rules.

The number of persons that were thus classified in the customs service at the eleven ports was in all 2,573. The classification of those in post-offices embraced all below the postmaster, not including any person employed merely as a laborer or workman. The whole number of places classified at the twenty-three post-offices was 5,699. In the three branches of the classified service, therefore, the number of places to be filled by competitive examination was in the aggregate 13,924. Certain of the places are excepted from examination by the civil-service rules, and may be filled, in the discretion of the appointing officers, without examination. A few other places may be filled by non-competitive examination, the appointing officer nominating the person to be examined, the commission determining the character of and conducting the examination; but the great mass of the places are filled by competitive examination.

A system of rules, as required by the act, was promulgated by President Arthur, classifications were made by the heads of departments, examinations were held at all the classified custom-houses and post-offices and elsewhere throughout the country, and upon July 16, 1883, the law and the rules were in effective operation. At the end of the first year the commission stated that in every stage of its work it had had the constant and unwavering support of the President. President Arthur, in a message in 1884, expressing the views of every member of the Cabinet, congratulated the country upon the success of the labors of the commission, and avowed his conviction that the system would prove to be of still more signal benefit to the public service. In November, 1883, the President, in a rule, forbade the choice among

eligible candidates to be made for political or religious reasons. During 1884 four additional post-offices were classified.

A committee of Congress, composed of eight Democrats and five Republicans, in June, 1884, made a unanimous report in which it declared itself "entirely satisfied with the thorough, conscientious, and non-partisan work of the commission," and added that the continuance of its work would in a large degree aid in eradicating the prevalent evils in the civil service. In March, 1885, Congress voted an increase of clerical force for the commission. To the close of the administration of President Arthur, within the fourteen thousand places classified, the law was honestly enforced in letter and in spirit and the sphere of its application was extended.

In the second year the system, which was almost entirely new, was subjected to the severest test of its vitality. A party which had been out of power for twenty-four years refused to treat the New York custom-house and post-office as party spoils. The Democratic collector was compelled to resign his office when it became evident that partisan removals were being made, and the Republican postmaster was retained because of his business efficiency. The explanations and controversies of the first two years had to be gone all over again with a new set of officials. Notwithstanding the change of power and the fact that the new party had been out of control of the offices for a quarter of a century, the system was completely enforced and the number of places subject to it nearly doubled, the whole number of places growing to about 27,300. In 1886, the third year, direct assaults to annul the law failed in both houses of Congress. Several reform measures failed by negative conduct.

In March, 1886, transmitting a report of the commission to Congress, President Cleveland commended the cause to its liberal care and jealous protection. He said that the scheme for a reform in the methods of administering the Government was no longer an experiment; that wherever the reform had gained a foothold it had steadily advanced in the esteem of those charged with public administrative duties, while the people who desired good government had constantly been confirmed in their high estimate of its value and efficiency. July 14, 1886, he issued a circular warning the employees of the Government against obtrusive partisanship, manipulation of party conventions, and all dictation of party action. In 1887 a system of compulsory examinations for promotion was directed by the President and applied at the War Department and at the New York custom-

house. Selections were permitted from the whole eligible list. The compulsory feature was designed to awaken industry, discover incompetency and ignorance, and stimulate the duty of removal. This feature was dropped by President Harrison in 1891 upon the recommendation of the commission and voluntary competition was substituted.

In 1888 the classifications of the departments at Washington were revised by order of President Cleveland to include all persons within the limits specified by the law, adding 1,931 places. The railway mail service was classified December 31, 1888. On January 4, 1889, rules for that service were promulgated, to take effect March 15, 1889. On March 11, 1889, their operation was postponed to May 1, 1889. The rules took effect on that date and brought in 5,320 places. March 1, 1888, a revision of the rules was made, removing wholly the maximum age limitation except for letter-carriers and one or two other classes, reducing the number to be included in a single certification from four to three, raising the minimum eligible average from sixty-five to seventy, except for soldiers and sailors preferred under section 1754, Revised Statutes, and securing more effectually the rights of such preference claimants. During the administration of President Cleveland the classified postal service was extended to sixteen additional post-offices.

In 1886, 1887, 1888, and in February, 1889, Congress voted an increase of appropriation for the commission. At the end of a year from the change of administration only about eight per cent of the departmental clerks appointed in the Democratic administration resigned or were removed, a little larger percentage than during the first year of President Cleveland's administration. On June 18, 1889, the rules were amended to permit the reinstatement to the service of veterans of the Civil War without regard to the length of time they had been out, the limit having previously been one year for all persons. A regulation was made, having a very beneficial effect, opening the lists of eligibles to all persons, to show that the examinations were free from fraud and that no undue discrimination was made in selections for appointment.

On April 13, 1891, the President classified the educational branch of the Indian service, bringing in about seven hundred employees. It is especially important that appointments in that service should be non-partisan, and examinations are particularly appropriate for it. The Secretary of the Navy, by an order of August 1, 1891, introduced the reform into the skilled and unskilled labor system of the navy-

yards, shutting out all political considerations and making employment depend alone upon the skill and efficiency of the workmen. Commodore Folger estimates the reduction in the cost of labor on guns since the introduction of the new system, in 1888, at forty-eight per cent on 6-inch breech-loading rifles, fifty per cent on 10-inch breech-loading rifles, and sixty per cent on 6-inch breech-loading rifle carriages. The reduction in the time of manufacture is shown by the fact that 10-inch breech-loading rifled guns which it took three hundred days to complete two years ago can now be completed in ninety-five days, and the smaller guns with a proportionately equal economy of time. A Democratic chairman has unanimously reported from his committee a bill to extend the same principles to all departments of the Government, and, with only one dissenting vote, a similar bill applying to fourth-class postmasters. The Postmaster-General has adopted a system of competitive examinations for promotion in his department and in the classified post-offices. Under an order of the President of December 4, 1891, records of efficiency are kept in each department; in some of them examinations for promotion are being held, and this will no doubt be done in all of them. Wise regulations for promotion, judiciously administered, will have far-reaching and beneficial results. They are a necessary complement to those for original admissions. A provision allowing promotions in the departments in certain limited cases from the unclassified to the classified service was dropped from the rules. On May 5, 1892, the Fish Commission, which has about one hundred and forty employees, was classified. Since the administration of President Harrison began, nine post-offices, including fifty employees, have been classified. In July, 1889, Congress gave the commission five additional clerks.

In the departmental service, in the year ended June 30, 1891, only thirty-three were removed of the four thousand persons appointed since the examinations began. In the customs service, counting both removals and resignations, the changes are about ten per cent of the classified force in a year, and taking the New York custom-house alone, five per cent. With each change of administration the railway mail service was subject to wholesale removals, amounting in two instances to nearly half of the whole number of employees. In the year ended June 30, 1889, the percentage of probationary appointees who failed to pass the final examination was 35.72. In 1891, under the new system, the percentage, including this class and also those removed during probation, was only 6.33; and since the introduction

of a physical test, in 1891, the proportion of inefficient probationers has become still smaller. As the law facilitates the just exercise of the power of removal, it is obvious that a much more satisfactory set of employees has been supplied and the efficiency of the service has been correspondingly increased. These figures sufficiently illustrate the bad character of the appointments under the patronage system. Figures might be quoted to show that in the New York post-office alone the adoption of the merit system has made a saving of at least three hundred thousand dollars a year. It can be shown statistically that competition generally brings to the top the best practical men.

The classified service since 1883 has grown from fourteen thousand places to thirty-four thousand. It embraces nearly ten thousand places in the departments at Washington; more than three-fourths of the customs officials of the country, collecting ninety-four per cent of the customs revenue; more than three-fourths of all the officials below postmasters at the sixty-five thousand post-offices of the Union, the railway mail service, and the Indian school service, including altogether one-half the service in importance and in the amount of salaries paid. One-fifth of the whole number of Federal places, much the most important, for which examinations are appropriate, are thus removed from the partisan system.

The commission has had to spend much time in making explanations to the friends of applicants interfering in their behalf. With lack of information by the public there was suspicion and distrust. These explanations are made embarrassing by misrepresentations on the part of applicants and by the misconceptions inevitable in the establishment of a new system. The commission invariably deals directly with the applicants themselves, and as its methods have become better understood the persistent reliance upon favoritism is ceasing. Fraud on the part of applicants is rarely attempted, and its immediate discovery would be almost certain. Every such case is rigorously dealt with.

Of the one hundred and twenty-five thousand persons examined, nearly two-thirds passed at an eligible grade, which is evidence that the examinations are not too severe. Of those that pass, two-fifths receive appointments, the number appointed since 1883 being more than thirty thousand. Only twelve per cent of those examined have been educated in colleges, and of these thirty-three per cent failed to pass, while of those educated in common schools thirty-seven per cent failed. Although what constitutes a common-school education is uncertain, and

although these figures take no account of the character or difficulty of the different examinations, yet they do show that the free-school system provides sufficient advantages as a basis of qualification for the public service. The average age of those that pass is twenty-six years and of those that fail twenty-nine years, showing that an average of a dozen years of business experience is had after leaving school before taking the examinations, and that the competition depends, not upon education alone, but upon personal qualities and habits, mental, moral, and physical. The training undergone by those who take the examinations is not lost for them nor for the country in the stimulus it gives to education and to the preparation for the battle of life. All questions of personal sympathy for those who fail must be ignored in the effort to secure the very highest quality of material for the service of the people, in which the only standards are merit, duty, honor, and attainments.

A large proportion of the places are filled from examinations of a special character where the precise technical qualifications needed can be thoroughly tested. It is in this field that the practical fruits of the competitive system most strikingly appear. For places, however, where only qualifications of an ordinary clerical character are needed, the test of general intelligence and force must be based upon educational qualification. The results are greater than the friends of reform modestly hoped for. Experience shows that scholastic tests need no apologist. The expenditure of one hundred and fifty millions annually in this country for elementary public schools is for a training, at non-partisan expense, which directly prepares the youth for the public service. Is it not an injustice to the taxpayer and to the child to make education compulsory if it is not the best possible preparation for business? Shall the State ignore its own work in ascertaining the competency of its servants? The need of the service is an intelligent citizenship, and the great end of the schools is to prepare for that citizenship.

The examinations exercise, indirectly, a considerable influence on the education of the country. Sir G. O. Trevelyan said that competition in England, in its influence upon national education, was equivalent to one hundred thousand scholarships and exhibitions of the most valuable kind. Tests are not applied which cannot be met by the usual educational facilities of any part of the country. The general lines of education in schools and colleges are followed, and the methods are expressly calculated to encourage sound preparation.

The training is such as to render the unsuccessful candidate none the less fit for any other profession. Education in the schools is a basis, but not a complete preparation for the training required for the civil service. It does not occur to the public mind that the evolution of government is dependent upon executive efficiency, that an immense economy in the management and instruction of employees and in the use of time and material, and a vastly greater degree of progress, are secured through a trained and experienced chief. The mischief and waste caused by uninstructed officials, the absurdities and red-tape of public business, are accepted as inevitable. The public sense has been scared by half a century of the spoils system. The influence of officials of high character, honor, and fidelity to trusts, trained in economics, politics, and the duties of public office, would be incalculable. Such officials would exert a highly beneficial influence, not only throughout the service, but on the public. The appointment of Indian agents from officers of the army in some conspicuous instances has had a most salutary effect, recognized in legislation, in marked contrast with some occasional instances where partisan appointments have been made from civil life.

From its inception the system has had the cordial approval and support of the heads of offices subject to it, and the volume of sympathy has grown with experience in its enforcement. The system is supported by those whose means of information are the best. The introduction of correct principles has wrought a vast improvement in the character of the service and in raising the public estimate of official life.

JOHN T. DOYLE.

HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO: AN EFFORT TOWARD SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

HULL HOUSE, Chicago's first Social Settlement, was established in September, 1889. It represented no association, but was opened by two women, supported by many friends, in the belief that the mere foothold of a house, easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for Chicago. It represents an attempt to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society, to add the social function to democracy. It was opened in the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal, and that "as the social relation is essentially a reciprocal relation, it gives a form of expression that has peculiar value."

Hull House stands on South Halsted Street, next door to the corner of Polk. South Halsted Street is thirty-two miles long and one of the great thoroughfares of Chicago. Polk Street crosses Halsted midway between the stock-yards to the south and the ship-building yards on the north branch of the Chicago River. For the six miles between these two dignified industries the street is lined with shops of butchers and grocers, with dingy and gorgeous saloons, and pretentious establishments for the sale of ready-made clothing. Polk Street, running west from Halsted Street, grows rapidly more respectable; running a mile east to State Street, it grows steadily worse and crosses a net-work of gilded vice on the corners of Clark Street and Fourth Avenue.

Hull House is an ample old residence, well built and somewhat ornately decorated after the manner of its time, 1856. It has been used for many purposes, and although battered by its vicissitudes, it is essentially sound and has responded kindly to repairs and careful furnishing. Its wide hall and open fires always insure it a gracious aspect. It once stood in the suburbs, but the city has steadily grown up around it and its site now has corners on three or four distinct foreign colonies. Between Halsted Street and the river live about ten

thousand Italians: Neapolitans, Sicilians, and Calabrians, with an occasional Lombard or Venetian. To the south on Twelfth Street are many Germans, and side streets are given over almost entirely to Polish and Russian Jews. Further south, these Jewish colonies merge into a huge Bohemian colony, so vast that Chicago ranks as the third Bohemian city in the world. To the northwest are many Canadian-French, clannish in spite of their long residence in America, and to the north are many Irish and first-generation Americans. On the streets directly west and farther north are well-to-do English-speaking families, many of whom own their houses and have lived in the neighborhood for years. I know one man who is still living in his old farm-house. This corner of Polk and Halsted Streets is in the fourteenth precinct of the nineteenth ward. This ward has a population of about fifty thousand, and at the last presidential election registered 7,072 voters. It has had no unusual political scandal connected with it, but its aldermen are generally saloon-keepers and its political manipulations are those to be found in the crowded wards where the activities of the petty politician are unchecked.

The policy of the public authorities of never taking an initiative and always waiting to be urged to do their duty is fatal in a ward where there is no initiative among the citizens. The idea underlying our self-government breaks down in such a ward. The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, factory legislation unenforced, the street-lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys and smaller streets, and the stables defy all laws of sanitation. Hundreds of houses are unconnected with the street sewer. The older and richer inhabitants seem anxious to move away as rapidly as they can afford it. They make room for newly arrived emigrants who are densely ignorant of civic duties. This substitution of the older inhabitants is accomplished also industrially in the south and east quarters of the ward. The Hebrews and Italians do the finishing for the great clothing-manufacturers formerly done by Americans, Irish, and Germans, who refused to submit to the extremely low prices to which the sweating system has reduced their successors. As the design of the sweating system is the elimination of rent from the manufacture of clothing, the "outside work" is begun after the clothing leaves the cutter. For this work no basement is too dark, no stable loft too foul, no rear shanty too provisional, no tenement room too small, as these conditions imply low rental. Hence these shops abound in the worst of the for-

eign districts, where the sweater easily finds his cheap basement and his home finishers. There is a constant tendency to employ school-children, as much of the home and shop work can easily be done by children. The houses of the ward, for the most part wooden, were originally built for one family and are now occupied by several. They are after the type of the inconvenient frame cottages found in the poorer suburbs twenty years ago. Many of them were built where they now stand; others were brought thither on rollers, because their previous site had been taken for a factory. The fewer brick tenement buildings which are three or four stories high are comparatively new. There are few huge and foul tenements. The little wooden houses have a temporary aspect, and for this reason, perhaps, the tenement-house legislation in Chicago is totally inadequate. Back tenements flourish; many houses have no water supply save the faucet in the back yard; there are no fire escapes; the garbage and ashes are placed in wooden boxes which are fastened to the street pavements. One of the most discouraging features about the present system of tenement houses is that many of them are owned by sordid and ignorant immigrants.

The theory that wealth brings responsibility, that possession entails at length education and refinement, in these cases fails utterly. The children of an Italian immigrant owner do not go to school and are no improvement on their parents. His wife picks rags from the street gutter and laboriously sorts them in a dingy court. Wealth may do something for her self-complacency and feeling of consequence; it certainly does nothing for her comfort or her children's improvement nor for the cleanliness of any one concerned. Another thing that prevents better houses in Chicago is the tentative attitude of the real-estate men. Many unsavory conditions are allowed to continue which would be regarded with horror if they were considered permanent. Meanwhile, the wretched conditions persist until at least two generations of children have been born and reared in them. Our ward contains two hundred and fifty-five saloons; our own precinct boasts of eight, and the one directly north of us twenty. This allows one saloon to every twenty-eight voters, and there is no doubt that the saloon is the centre of the liveliest political and social life in the ward. The leases and fixtures of these saloons are, in the majority of cases, owned by the wholesale liquor houses, and the saloon-keeper himself is often a bankrupt. There are seven churches and two missions in the ward. All of these are small and somewhat struggling, save the

large Catholic church connected with the Jesuit College on the south boundary of the ward and the French Catholic church on the west boundary. There are but three out of these nine religious centres in which the service is habitually conducted in English. There are seven Catholic parochial schools in the ward, accommodating 6,244 children; three Protestant schools care for 141 children. A fine manual-training school sustained by the Hebrews is found in the seventh ward just south of us. In the same ward is the receiving shelter for the Jewish refugees.

This site for a Settlement was selected in the first instance because of its diversity and the variety of activity for which it presented an opportunity. It has been the aim of the residents to respond to all sides of the neighborhood life: not to the poor people alone, nor to the well-to-do, nor to the young in contradistinction to the old, but to the neighborhood as a whole, "men, women, and children taken in families as the Lord mixes them." The activities of Hull House divide themselves into four, possibly more lines. They are not formally or consciously thus divided, but broadly separate according to the receptivity of the neighbors. They might be designated as the social, educational, and humanitarian. I have added civic—if indeed a settlement of women can be said to perform civic duties. These activities spring from no preconceived notion of what a Social Settlement should be, but have increased gradually on demand. In describing these activities and their value to the neighborhood, I shall attempt to identify those people who respond to each form.

A Settlement which regards social intercourse as the terms of its expression logically brings to its aid all those adjuncts which have been found by experience to free social life. It casts aside nothing which the cultivated man regards as good and suggestive of participation in the best life of the past. It ignores none of the surroundings which one associates with a life of simple refinement. The amount of luxury which an individual indulges in is a thing which has to be determined by each for himself. It must always be a relative thing. The one test which the settlement is bound to respect is that its particular amount of luxury shall tend to "free" the social expression of its neighbors, and not cumber that expression. The residents at Hull House find that the better in quality and taste their surroundings are, the more they contribute to the general enjoyment.

We have distinct advantages for Social Settlements in America. There are fewer poor people here than in England. There are also

fewer people who expect to remain poor, and they are less strictly confined to their own districts. It is an advantage that our cities are diversified by foreign colonies. We go to Europe and consider our view incomplete if we do not see something of the peasant life of the little villages with their quaint costumes and suggestive habits. We can see the same thing here. There are Bohemians, Italians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, and Arabs in Chicago vainly trying to adjust their peasant life to the life of a large city and coming in contact with only the most ignorant Americans in that city. The more of scholarship, the more of linguistic attainment, the more of beautiful surroundings a Settlement among them can command, the more it can do for them.

It is much easier to deal with the first generation of crowded city life than with the second or third, because it is more natural and cast in a simpler mould. The Italian and Bohemian peasants who live in Chicago still put on their bright holiday clothes on Sunday and go to visit their cousins. They tramp along with at least a suggestion of having once walked over ploughed fields and breathed country air. The second generation of city poor have no holiday clothes and consider their cousins "a bad lot." I have heard a drunken man in a maudlin stage babble of his good country mother and imagine he was driving the cows home, and I knew that his little son, who laughed loud at him, would be drunk earlier in life, and would have no such pastoral interlude to his ravings. Hospitality still survives among foreigners, although it is buried under false pride among the poorest Americans. One thing seemed clear in regard to entertaining these foreigners: to preserve and keep for them whatever of value their past life contained and to bring them in contact with a better type of Americans. For two years, every Saturday evening, our Italian neighbors were our guests; entire families came. These evenings were very popular during our first winter at Hull House. Many educated Italians helped us, and the house became known as a place where Italians were welcome and where national holidays were observed. They come to us with their petty lawsuits, sad relics of the *vendetta*, with their incorrigible boys, with their hospital cases, with their aspirations for American clothes, and with their needs for an interpreter.

Friday evening is devoted to Germans and is similar in purpose; but owing to the superior education of our Teutonic guests and the clever leading of a cultivated German woman, we can bring out the best of that cozy social intercourse which is found in its perfection in the "Fatherland." They sing a great deal in the tender minor of the

German folksong or in the rousing spirit of the Rhine. They are slowly but persistently pursuing a course in German history and literature. The relationship by no means ends with social civilities, and the acquaintance made there has brought about radical changes in the lives of many friendless families. I recall one peasant woman, straight from the fields of Germany. Her two years in America had been spent in patiently carrying water up and down two flights of stairs and in washing the heavy flannel suits of iron-foundry workers. For this her pay had averaged thirty-five cents a day. Three of her daughters had fallen victims to the vice of the city. The mother was bewildered and distressed, but understood nothing. We were able to induce the betrayer of one daughter to marry her; the second, after a tedious lawsuit, supported his child; with the third we were able to do nothing. This woman is now living with her family in a little house seventeen miles from the city. She has made two payments on her land and is a lesson to all beholders as she pastures her cow up and down the railroad tracks and makes money from her ten acres. She did not need charity. She had an immense capacity for hard work, but she sadly needed "heading." She is our most shining example, but I think of many forlorn cases of German and Bohemian peasants in need of neighborly help.

Perhaps of more value than to the newly arrived peasant is the service of the settlement to those foreigners who speak English fairly well, and who have been so successful in material affairs that they are totally absorbed by them. Their social life is too often reduced to a sense of comradeship. The lives of many Germans for instance are law-abiding, but inexpressibly dull. They have resigned poetry and romance with the other good things of the Fatherland. There is a strong family affection between them and their English-speaking children, but their pleasures are not in common and they seldom go out together. Perhaps the greatest value of the Settlement to them is in simply placing large and pleasant rooms with musical facilities at their disposal, and in reviving their almost forgotten enthusiasm for Körner and Schiller. I have seen sons and daughters stand in complete surprise as their mother's knitting-needles softly beat time to the song she was singing, or her worn face turned rosy under the hand-clapping as she made an old-fashioned courtesy at the end of a German poem. It was easy to fancy a growing touch of respect in her children's manner to her and a rising enthusiasm for German literature and reminiscence on the part of all the family, an effort to bring together the old

life and the new, a respect for the older cultivation, and not quite so much assurance that the new was the best. I think that we have a right to expect that our foreigners will do this for us: that they will project a little of the historic and romantic into the prosaic quarters of our American cities.

But our social evenings are by no means confined to foreigners. Our most successful clubs are entirely composed of English-speaking and American-born young people. Those over sixteen meet in two clubs, one for young men and one for girls, every Monday evening. Each club dispatches various literary programmes before nine o'clock, when they meet together for an hour of social amusement before going home at ten. Dancing they always prefer, although they will devise other amusements. The members of the Tuesday evening clubs are from fourteen to sixteen years old; a few of them are still in school, but most of them are working. The boys who are known as the Young Citizen's Club are supposed to inform themselves on municipal affairs, as are the Hull House Columbian Guards who report alleys and streets for the Municipal Order League. We have various other clubs of young people that meet weekly; their numbers are limited only by the amount of room. We hold the dining-room, the reception-room, and the octagon each evening for the College Extension classes, and can reserve only the large drawing-room and gymnasium for the clubs and receptions. The gymnasium is a somewhat pretentious name for a building next door which was formerly a saloon, but which we rented last fall, repaired, and fitted up with simple apparatus. A "real gymnasium" is at present being built for Hull House. During the winter the old one sheltered some enthusiastic athletic classes. The evenings were equally divided between men and women. The children came in the afternoon. This may answer for a description of the formal social evenings, although there is much social life going on constantly which cannot be tabulated.

To turn to the educational effort, it will be perhaps better first to describe the people who respond to it. In every neighborhood where poorer people live, because rents are supposed to be cheaper there, is an element which, although uncertain in the individual, in the aggregate can be counted upon. It is composed of people of former education and opportunity who have cherished ambitions and prospects, but who are caricatures of what they meant to be—"hollow ghosts which blame the living men." There are times in many lives when there is a cessation of energy and loss of power. Men and women

of education and refinement come to live in a cheaper neighborhood because they lack the power of making money, because of ill-health, because of an unfortunate marriage, or for various other reasons which do not imply criminality or stupidity. Among them are those who, in spite of untoward circumstances, keep up some sort of an intellectual life, those who are "great for books" as their neighbors say. To such the Settlement is a genuine refuge. In addition to these there are many young women who teach in the public schools, young men who work at various occupations, but who are bent upon self-improvement and are preparing for professions. It is of these that the College Extension classes are composed. The majority of the two hundred students live within the radius of six blocks from the house, although a few of them come from other parts of the city. The educational effort of Hull House always has been held by the residents to be subordinate to its social life and, as it were, a part of it. What is now known as the College Extension course, a series of lectures and classes held in the evening on the general plan of University Extension, had its origin in an informal club which, during the first winter, read "Romola" with the original residents. During the last term thirty-five classes a week were in existence. The work is divided into terms of twelve weeks, and circulars are issued at the beginning of each term. Many students have taken studies in each of the seven terms of work offered.

The relation of students and faculty to each other and to the residents is that of guest and hostess, and those students who have been longest in relation to the Settlement feel the responsibility of old friends of the house to new guests. A good deal of tutoring is constantly going on among the students themselves in the rooms of Hull House. At the close of each term the residents give a reception to students and faculty, which is one of the chief social events of the season. Upon this comfortable social basis very good work has been done in the College Extension courses. Literature classes until recently have been the most popular. The last winter's Shakespeare class had a regular attendance of forty. The mathematical classes have always been large and flourishing. The faculty, consisting of college men and women, numbers thirty-five. Many of them have taught constantly at the house for two years, but their numbers are often re-enforced. During the last term a class in physics, preparatory for a class in electricity, was composed largely of workmen in the Western Electric Works, which are within a few blocks of Hull House. A fee

of fifty cents is charged for each course of study. This defrays all incidental expenses and leaves on hand each term fifty or seventy dollars, with which to import distinguished lecturers.

It has always been the policy of Hull House to co-operate as much as possible with public institutions. The Chicago Public Library has an almost unique system of branch reading-rooms and library stations. Five rooms are rented by the library in various parts of the city which are fitted up for reading-rooms, and in addition to magazines and papers they are supplied with several hundred books. There are also other stations where public-library cards can be left and to which books are delivered. Hull House was made one of these delivery stations during its second year, and when in June, 1891, the Butler Gallery was completed we offered the lower floor as a branch reading-room. The City Library supplies English magazines and papers and two librarians who are in charge. There are papers in Italian, German, Bohemian, and French. Hull House gives the room free of rent. The number of readers the first month was 1,213; during the fifth month, 2,454. The upper floor of the Butler Gallery is divided into an art exhibition room and a studio. Our first art exhibit was opened in June, 1891, by Mr. and Mrs. Barnett, of St. Jude's, Whitechapel. It is always pleasant to associate their hearty sympathy with that first exhibit. The pictures were some of the best that Chicago could afford, several by Corot, Watts, and Davis. European country scenes, sea views, and Dutch interiors bring forth many pleasant reminiscences, and the person who is in charge of the pictures to explain them is many times more edified than edifying. We have had four exhibits during the year since the gallery was completed, two of oil-paintings, one of old engravings and etchings, and one of water-colors. The average attendance at these exhibits has been three thousand. An exhibit is open from two in the afternoon until ten in the evening, and continues usually two weeks. The value of these exhibits to the neighborhood must, of course, be determined by the value one attaches to the sense of beauty and the pleasure which arises from its contemplation. Classes in free-hand drawing are held in the studio of the Butler Gallery. They have been very popular from the first and some excellent work has been done.

Every Thursday evening for three years, save during the three summer months, we have had a lecture of some sort at Hull House. This has come to be an expected event in the neighborhood. These lectures are largely attended by the College Extension students, and

the topics are supposed to connect with their studies, but many other people come to them and often join a class because of the interest a lecturer has awakened. This attraction is constantly in mind when these lectures are planned. For two years a summer school has been held at Rockford, Ill., in connection with the College Extension classes. From one-third to one-half the students have been able to attend it, paying their board for a month and enjoying out-door study quite as much as the classes. I would recommend for imitation the very generous action on the part of the Rockford College trustees in placing at our disposal their entire educational apparatus, from the dining-room to the laboratories. On the border land between social and educational activity are our Sunday afternoon concerts, and the Plato Club which follows them.

The industrial education of Hull House has always been somewhat limited. From the beginning we have had large and enthusiastic cooking classes, first in the Hull House kitchen and later in a tiny cottage across the alley which has been fitted up for the purpose. We have also always had sewing, mending, and embroidery classes. This leads me to speak of the children who meet weekly at Hull House, whose organization is between classes and clubs. There are three hundred of them who come on three days, not counting, of course, the children who come to the house merely as depositors in the Penny Provident Fund Savings Bank. A hundred Italian girls come on Monday. They sew and carry home a new garment, which becomes a pattern for the entire family. Tuesday afternoon has always been devoted to school-boys' clubs: they are practically story-telling clubs. The most popular stories are legends and tales of chivalry. The one hundred and fifty little girls on Friday afternoon are not very unlike the boys, although they want to sew while they are hearing their stories. The value of these clubs, I believe, lies almost entirely in their success in arousing the higher imagination. We have had a kindergarten at Hull House ever since we have lived there. Every morning miniature Italians, Hebrews, French, Irish, and Germans assemble in our drawing-room, and nothing seems to excite admiration in the neighborhood so much as the fact that we "put up with them."

In addition to the neighbors who respond to the receptions and classes are found those who are too battered and oppressed to care for them. To these, however, is left that susceptibility to the bare offices of humanity which raises such offices into a bond of fellowship. These

claim humanitarian efforts. Perhaps the chief value of a Settlement to its neighborhood, certainly to the newly arrived foreigner, is its office as an information and interpretation bureau. It sometimes seems as if the business of the settlement were that of a commission merchant. Without endowment and without capital itself, it constantly acts between the various institutions of the city and the people for whose benefit these institutions were erected. The hospitals, the county agencies, and State asylums, are often but vague rumors to the people who need them most. This commission work, as I take it, is of value not only to the recipient, but to the institutions themselves. Each institution is obliged to determine upon the line of its activity, to accept its endowment for that end and do the best it can. But each time this is accomplished it is apt to lace itself up in certain formulas, is in danger of forgetting the mystery and complexity of life, of repressing the promptings that spring from growing insight.

The residents of a Social Settlement have an opportunity of seeing institutions from the recipient's standpoint, of catching the spirit of the original impulse which founded them. This experience ought to have a certain value and ultimately find expression in the institutional management. One of the residents of Hull House received this winter an appointment from the Cook County agent as a county visitor. She reported at the agency each morning, and all the cases within a radius of several blocks from Hull House were given to her for investigation. This gave her a legitimate opportunity for knowing the poorest people in the neighborhood. In no cases were her recommendations refused or her judgments reversed by the men in charge of the office. From the very nature of our existence and purpose we are bound to keep on good terms with every beneficent institution in the city. Passing by our telephone last Sunday morning, I was struck with the list of numbers hung on the wall for easy reference. They were those of the Visiting Nurses' Association; Cook County Hospital; Women's and Children's Hospital; Maxwell Street Police Station for city ambulance; Health Department; City Hall; Cook County Agent, etc. We have been on very good terms with the Hebrew Relief and Aid Society, the Children's Aid, the Humane Society, the Municipal Order League, and with the various church and national relief associations. Every summer we send out dozens of children to the country on the "Daily News" Fresh Air Fund and to the Holiday Home at Lake Geneva. Our most complete co-operation has been with the Visiting Nurses' Association. One of

the nurses lives at Hull House, pays her board as a resident, and does her work from there. Friends of the house are constantly in need of her ministrations, and her cases become friends of the house. Owing to the lack of a charity organization society in Chicago we have been obliged to keep a sum of money as a relief fund. Five bath-rooms in the rear of Hull House are open to the neighborhood and are constantly in use. The number of baths taken in July was nine hundred and eighty.

The more definite humanitarian effect of Hull House has taken shape in a day nursery, which was started during the second year of our residence on Halsted Street. A frame cottage of six rooms across our yard has been fitted up as a *crèche*. At present we receive from thirty to forty children daily. A young lady who has had kindergarten training is in charge; she has the assistance of an older woman, and a kindergarten by a professional teacher is held each morning in the play-room. This nursery is not merely a convenience in the neighborhood; it is, to a certain extent, a neighborhood affair. Similar in spirit is the Hull House Diet Kitchen, in a little cottage directly back of the nursery. Food is prepared for invalids and orders are taken from physicians and visiting nurses of the district. We have lately had an outfit of Mr. Atkinson's inventions, in which the women of the neighborhood have taken a most intelligent interest. We sometimes have visions of a kitchen similar in purpose to the New England Kitchen of Boston, but on a more co-operative plan, managed by the Hull House Woman's Club. This club meets one afternoon a week. It is composed of the most able women of the neighborhood, who enjoy the formal addresses and many informal discussions. The economics of food and fuel are often discussed. The Hull House household expenses are frankly compared with those of other households. I have always felt that "friendly visiting," while of great value, was one-sided. To be complete the "friendly visitor" should also be the friendly visited. It is quite possible that looking over her expense book with that of her "case" would be beneficial to her. The residents at Hull House find in themselves a constantly increasing tendency to consult their neighbors on the advisability of each new undertaking. We have lately opened a boarding club for working girls near Hull House on the co-operative plan. I say advisedly that we have "opened" it; the running of it is quite in the hands of the girls themselves. The furniture, pictures, etc., belong to Hull House, and whatever experience we have is at their disposal;

but it is in no sense a working-girls' "home," nor is it to be run from the outside. We hope a great deal from this little attempt at co-operative housekeeping. The club has been running three months and has twenty-five members.

In summing up the objective value of Hull House, I am sorry we have not more to present in the line of civic activities. It was through the energy of a resident this spring that the fact that the public-school census recorded 6,976 school-children in the nineteenth ward and that they were provided with only 2,957 public-school sittings was made prominent just before the appropriations were voted for school buildings and sites. It was largely through her energy and the energy of the people whom she interested in it that the Board of Education was induced to purchase a site for a school building in our ward and to save and equip for immediate use a school-house about to be turned into a warehouse.

During two months of this summer the reports sent in from Hull House to the Municipal Order League and through it to the Health Department were one thousand and thirty-seven. The Department showed great readiness to co-operate with this volunteer inspection, and a marked improvement has taken place in the scavenger service and in the regulation of the small stables of the ward.

Hull House has had, I hope, a certain value to the women's trades unions of Chicago. It seems to me of great importance that as trades unions of women are being formed they should be kept, if possible, from falling into the self-same pits the men's unions have fallen into. Women possessing no votes and therefore having little political value will be both of advantage and disadvantage to their unions. Four women's unions meet regularly at Hull House: the book-binders', the shoemakers', the shirtmakers', and the cloak-makers'. The last two were organized at Hull House. It has seemed to us that the sewing trades are most in need of help. They are thoroughly disorganized, Russian and Polish tailors competing against English-speaking tailors, young girls and Italian women competing against both. An efficient union which should combine all these elements seems very difficult, unless it grow strong enough to offer a label and receive unexpected aid from the manufacturers. In that case there would be the hope of co-operation on the part of the consumers, as the fear of contagion from ready-made clothing has at last seized the imagination of the public.

That the trades unions themselves care for what we have done

for them is shown by the fact that when the committee of investigation for the sweating system was appointed by the Trades and Labor Assembly, consisting of five delegates from the unions and five from other citizens, two of the latter were residents of Hull House. It is logical that a Settlement should have a certain value in labor complications, having from its very position sympathies entangled on both sides. Last May twenty girls from a knitting factory who struck because they were docked for loss of time when they were working by the piece, came directly from the factory to Hull House. They had heard that we "stood by working people." We were able to have the strike arbitrated, and although six girls lost their places, the unjust fines were remitted and we had the satisfaction of putting on record one more case of arbitration in the slowly growing list. We were helped in this case, as we have been in many others, by the Bureau of Justice. Its office is constantly crowded with working people who hope for redress from the law but have no money with which to pay for it. There should be an office of this bureau in every ward. Hull House, in spite of itself, does a good deal of legal work. We have secured support for deserted women, insurance for bewildered widows, damages for injured operators, furniture from the clutches of the instalment store. One function of the Settlement to its neighborhood somewhat resembles that of the big brother whose mere presence on the play-ground protects the little one from bullies. A resident at Hull House is at present collecting labor statistics in the neighborhood for the Illinois State Bureau of Labor. It is a matter of satisfaction that this work can be done from the Settlement and the residents receive the benefit of the information collected.

It is difficult to classify the Working People's Social Science Club, which meets weekly at Hull House. It is social, educational, and civic in character, the latter chiefly because it strongly connects the house with the labor problems in their political and social aspects. This club was organized at Hull House in the spring of 1890 by an English workingman. It has met weekly since, save during the months of summer. At eight o'clock every Wednesday evening the secretary calls to order from forty to one hundred people. A chairman for the evening is elected and a speaker is introduced who is allowed to talk until nine o'clock; his subject is then thrown open to discussion and a lively debate ensues until ten o'clock, at which hour the meeting is declared adjourned. The enthusiasm of this club seldom lags. Its zest for discussion is unceasing, and any attempt to

turn it into a study or reading club always meets with the strong disapprobation of the members. Chicago is full of social theorists. It offers a cosmopolitan opportunity for discussion. The only possible danger from this commingling of many theories is incurred when there is an attempt at suppression; bottled up, there is danger of explosion; constantly uncorked, open to the deodorizing and freeing process of the air, all danger is averted. Nothing so disconcerts a social agitator as to find among his auditors men who have been through all that and who are quite as radical as he in another direction.

The economic conferences which were held between business men and workingmen during the winter of 1888-89 and the two succeeding winters doubtless did much toward relieving this state of effervescence. Many thoughtful men in Chicago are convinced that if these conferences had been established earlier the Haymarket riot and all its sensational results might have been avoided. The Sunset Club is at present performing much the same function. There is still need, however, for many of these clubs where men who differ widely in their social theories can meet for discussion, where representatives of the various economic schools can modify each other, and at least learn tolerance and the futility of endeavoring to convince all the world of the truth of one position. To meet in a social-science club is more educational than to meet in a single-tax club, or a socialistic chapter, or a personal-rights league, although the millennium may seem farther off after such a meeting. In addition to this modification of view there is doubtless a distinct modification of attitude. This spring the Hull House Social Science Club heard a series of talks on municipal and county affairs by the heads of the various departments. During the discussion following the address on "The Chicago Police," a workingman had the pleasure of telling the chief of police that he had been arrested, obliged to pay two dollars and a half, and had lost three days' work, because he had come out of the wrong gate when he was working on the World's Fair grounds. The Chief sighed, expressed his regret, and made no defence. The speaker sat down bewildered; evidently for the first time in his life he realized that blunders cut the heart of more than the victim.

Is it possible for men, however far apart in outward circumstances, for the capitalist and the workingman, to use the common phrase, to meet as individuals beneath a friendly roof, open their minds each to each, and not have their "class theories" insensibly modified by the kindly attrition of a personal acquaintance? In the light of our experience I should say not.

In describing Hull House and in referring so often to the "residents," I feel that I may have given a wrong impression. By far the larger amount of the teaching and formal club work is done by people living outside of the House. Between ninety and one hundred of these people meet on appointment regularly each week. Our strength lies largely in this element. The average number of people who come to the House during the week is one thousand.

I am always sorry to have Hull House regarded as philanthropy, although it doubtless has strong philanthropic tendencies and has several distinct charitable departments which are conscientiously carried on. It is unfair, however, to apply the word philanthropic to the activities of the House as a whole. Charles Booth in his brilliant chapter on "The Unemployed" expresses regret that the problems of the working class are so often confounded with the problems of the inefficient, the idle, and distressed. To confound thus two problems is to render the solution of both impossible. Hull House, while endeavoring to fulfil its obligations to neighbors of varying needs, will do great harm if it confounds distinct problems. Working people live in the same streets with those in need of charity, but they themselves require and want none of it. As one of their number has said, they require only that their aspirations be recognized and stimulated and the means of attaining them put at their disposal. Hull House makes a constant effort to secure these means, but to call that effort philanthropy is to use the word unfairly and to underestimate the duties of good citizenship.

JANE ADDAMS.

THE MCKINLEY ACT AND THE COST OF LIVING.

THE doctrine that Congress has no power under the Constitution to impose protective duties, which is now declared to be the fundamental principle of Democratic policy, is absurd and untenable; and the political party that deliberately adopts a principle so at variance with the teachings of all accepted authorities and the unbroken practice of the Nation for more than a century, achieves discredit and invites defeat. The friends of protection, however, cannot afford in the pending political campaign to base their claims to popular confidence and support solely upon the mistakes of their adversaries. They have always insisted that the merits of the revenue system they advocate should be estimated by practical results, and even the stupendous Democratic blunder does not relieve them of the necessity of proving that protective duties are essentially beneficial and are not productive of the evil results so freely ascribed to them by tariff reformers. Republicans are not only required to have distinctive principles, but definite plans for their embodiment into law, and in answer to these demands they should at all times be prepared to submit their tariff policy to the critical judgment of the American people.

The American public may take but little interest in the discussion of abstract theoretical or constitutional problems, but an inquiry into the actual effect which a tariff system has upon their progress, happiness, and welfare is to them a pregnant, living question of vital force and importance. This is shown by the great interest manifested in the examination now going on into the character of the changes in industrial and commercial conditions and in wages and prices which have taken place since the adoption of the tariff acts of 1890.

All agree that the wisdom of the American protective system was subjected anew to the supreme test of experience by the enactment of these laws. This legislation was, however, so comprehensive and far-reaching in its character that its friends may fairly assume that the full measure of its beneficial results could not be realized within the short period of two years, especially in view of the repressive and

depressing effects of the elections of 1890. Notwithstanding this limitation protectionists welcome the most searching examination into the direct and indirect effects of these enactments, and will not attempt to evade any responsibility for their ascertained results. I hope to be able to direct attention to some phases of this important examination that have not heretofore received sufficient consideration. Preliminary to this it may be profitable to recall briefly the circumstances and conditions that led to the preparation and adoption of the tariff legislation of the Fifty-first Congress.

For twenty years there had been no thorough and complete revision of our revenue laws. During this time a sweeping industrial revolution had taken place. New conditions had arisen, the outgrowth of inventions and improved methods of manufacture. Aside from the readjustment of rates which these changed conditions rendered necessary, there were other causes which made the demand for tariff revision imperative. Excessive national revenues were to be reduced; existing inequalities and defects required adequate remedies; the practice of evading customs laws by fraudulent undervaluations was to be broken up. The great falling off in prices in twenty years had in some cases rendered *ad valorem* rates imposed at the beginning of this period insufficient for protective purposes. But, more important than all, the time had arrived when American artisans and mechanics should be given the opportunity to produce a large class of articles which had heretofore been supplied entirely by foreign producers; these included the finer and more expensive articles in all the great branches of manufacture, and their successful production here was of the highest importance from an industrial standpoint. In addition to the necessity of providing for the enlargement and security of American industries, it was deemed important, as an essential part of the American system, that Congress should provide by appropriate legislation for the expansion of a profitable foreign commerce and the enlargement of foreign markets for American products.

It was with these purposes in view and for the accomplishment of these objects that the work of preparation for tariff revision was commenced by the Senate Finance Committee in 1885. Five years of careful study and examination were given to the work. Exhaustive inquiries were carried into every conceivable phase of this great question. All the questions pertaining to the revenue, the relation of various industries to each other, the manner in which each was affected by tariff legislation, and the problem of securing for each

such an adjustment of rates as would give to it the highest degree of prosperity, received consideration.

Without detracting in any way from the great credit due the House committee for their share in the work at a later period, I can speak in the most positive terms of the unremitting, intelligent, and conscientious labor performed by my associates on the Senate Committee in this great task of preparation. Some idea can be formed of the magnitude of their work from the statement that a portion of the testimony taken by the Committee fills six volumes containing over three thousand pages. There was also available for the use of members of the Committee the testimony taken by various congressional committees and commissions within the eight preceding years, and there certainly could be no excuse for ignorance on the part of the framers of these acts in regard to any branch of the subject.

It is within the knowledge of all those engaged in this work of preparation that there is no basis of truth whatever for any assertion or insinuation that the rates in the tariff act of 1890, or the Senate bill of 1888 upon which it was based, were adopted blindly or at the demand of manufacturers or other interested parties, or that the whole or any portion of the revision was hurriedly conceived to meet political exigencies or to pay political debts. In the preparation of these acts an honest attempt was made to construct a harmonious and symmetrical system of revenue laws that should give increased activity and a greater degree of prosperity to all American interests. It is in the light of these purposes that the criticisms of the opponents of the measures should be examined.

It is safe to say of the tariff act of 1890 that no previous act had been denounced in such unmeasured terms. It was looked upon by Democrats as the incarnation of all that was vicious in tariff legislation. Their allegations in regard to its evil character and their statements of the disastrous results which were certain to follow its adoption were made with the greatest confidence and constantly reiterated. Not a shadow of doubt was ever expressed by them concerning the certain fulfilment of every one of their dismal prophecies. They asserted with emphasis:

First. That the act increased rates of duty enormously above those imposed by the act of 1883.

Secondly. That much higher rates were imposed upon articles in common use by the poor than upon those consumed by the rich, and in all cases excessive duties were levied upon the necessities of life.

Notwithstanding the fact that both these allegations were shown to be untrue in the course of the discussion of the bill in the Senate, they were repeated again and again and made the basis of further claims as follows:

First. That these excessive tariff rates, added as they must be in all cases to the cost of articles of both foreign and domestic production, would result in greatly increased prices.

Secondly. That this increase in prices would necessarily add largely to the burdens of the great masses of the people of the country by greatly augmenting their cost of living.

Thirdly. That through the injurious effects of its provisions on commerce and industry the act would lessen the opportunities for profitable employment and compel a reduction of the wages and earnings of all classes.

To test the accuracy of these allegations was the purpose of the recent exhaustive investigation of the Senate Finance Committee into the course of prices and wages. This inquiry disclosed the fact that prices of commodities and cost of living had not advanced, but on the contrary had declined during the period subsequent to the passage of the act of 1890. It also appeared that an advance in wages and not a decline had taken place during the same period. The statistical reports of the various Departments show that there have been increased instead of diminished industrial activities and an expansion instead of a restriction of foreign commerce. Not one Democratic prediction of evil has been fulfilled; not one Democratic assurance of injurious results has been verified.

After the publication of the Finance Committee's report and after the public had become convinced of the falsity of the original Democratic assertions, a change in base took place, and leading representatives of the Democratic party formulated a new bill of particulars against the Republican tariff legislation of 1890. I propose to give some attention to these amended claims of the Democracy.

They now admit that prices and the cost of living are lower than in the period prior to October, 1890, but assert that for a few months in the latter part of 1890 and the first part of 1891 prices and the cost of living were higher than in 1889, and that this result was owing to the legislation of 1890. It is true that at the time named prices advanced slightly, but, as can be readily seen by an examination of the detailed report of the Committee, these advances were in the prices of food and were owing almost entirely to the increased price of agricul-

tural products, which were largely affected by other causes than changes in tariff rates. It will be seen that in none of the months in question did the average prices rise above the level of the initial period in any of the groups of cloths and clothing, metals and implements, drugs and chemicals, and house-furnishing goods, and these groups include nearly all the manufactured articles that could possibly be directly affected by changes in tariff rates. This is conclusive evidence that the advance that took place did not result to any perceptible extent from an increase in rates, and this can be further shown by a comparison of the relative course of English and American prices during this period.

The following table gives the course of wholesale prices in the United States, from the committee's report, and the course of English wholesale prices as shown by the "Economist" index number for the same dates, and establishes the fact that the advance in prices at the time named was greater in England than in the United States, and I presume it will not be claimed that this advance arose from a modification of our tariff laws. In the construction of this table the prices of July, 1889, are taken as a basis at 100, and the comparisons made quarterly, as the "Economist" index number is computed quarterly:

RELATIVE WHOLESALE PRICES IN THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND, AS SHOWN BY THE REPORT ON WAGES AND PRICES OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND THE INDEX NUMBERS OF THE "ECONOMIST."

	England.	United States.
July, 1889.....	100	100
July, 1890.....	104.83	101.75
October, 1890	106.48	102.92
July, 1891.....	101.20	100.82

There are no data available by which we can make a comparison of English and American retail prices for the months in question. Mr. Sauerbeck's tables, however, of the course of English prices of forty-five leading articles show monthly changes in England, and I have made a comparison below of his figures and the American retail prices as shown by the report of the Committee. This comparison furnishes further proof of the fact that prices rose to a higher point relatively in England in October, 1890, than in the United States. This was undoubtedly owing to the fact that the advance in the price of food products was greater in Great Britain than here.

RELATIVE PRICES IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, AS SHOWN BY THE STATEMENT OF RETAIL PRICES IN THE REPORT OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND MR. SAUERBECK'S INDEX NUMBERS IN THE JOURNAL OF THE LONDON STATISTICAL SOCIETY.

	England.	United States.
June, July, and August, 1889.....	100	100
July, 1890.....	99.07	99.56
October, 1890.....	101.43	99.71
July, 1891....	99.63	99.03
September, 1891.....	99.76	98.92

The second of the new Democratic propositions to which I call attention is the following: Admitting that the average price of articles which enter into the cost of living has been reduced, it is now claimed that an advance took place at one time in the price of certain articles, that these were the articles upon which the rates of duty were increased by the act of 1890, and that the reductions in price which took place were upon articles where no change in rates was made or where the rates were reduced.

An examination of the tables submitted with the report shows that this claim has no foundation. Advances and declines took place apparently without regard to changes in rates. In the group of cloths and clothing certain articles of woollen manufacture, notably carpets, worsted suitings and overcoatings, advanced in price, but a greater number of articles of woollen manufacture upon which rates were advanced, including blankets, flannels, wool hats, hosiery and underwear of all kinds, declined in price. Three grades of women's woollen dress goods advanced slightly and four grades declined in an equal ratio. There was a considerable advance in the rates on both cotton and woollen hosiery, but of the eight hosiery items seven declined in price and only one advanced. In linen goods, table cloths and towels advanced in price, but men's collars and cuffs, on which the greatest advance in rates was made, declined considerably. A decline in price also took place in linen thread and men's shirts, where an equal advance of rates had been made. In the group of lumber and building materials the rates on cement, lime, and linseed oil were largely increased, and yet we find that a considerable decline took place in the price of each of these articles, especially in linseed oil, where it was very marked. The rates of duty on white lead remain unchanged, and yet the only considerable advance in this group was in the price of that article. The duty on pine boards was reduced and there was an advance in the price. It is impossible to trace any rela-

tion between the changes in rates which took place in any of the groups alluded to and the variations in price during the period named. Of the articles in which an advance in price took place prior to September 1, prices have declined since that date to a lower point than ever, the examination for May, 1892, showing that carpets even at that time were lower than in June, 1889.

In some cases a decline in prices concurrent with an increase in rates is undoubtedly owing to the desperate efforts of foreign manufacturers to hold the American market for articles of their production. They have cut down cost of production to the lowest possible point by a merciless scaling of wages and by the adoption of every other known expedient, and have sold their goods in the American market, duty paid, at less than the prices current prior to October, 1890. Some of these manufacturers are strangely boasting through their agents here that the quality of their goods is being debased to meet the demand for reduced prices. Frauds of this nature will, however, soon lose their power to deceive the American people.

Democrats are troubled in regard to the consistency of protectionists who suggest that the ultimate effect of a protective tariff is to reduce prices. Protectionists believe that an intelligent application of protective principles leads to greater diversification of industries and to a more effective organization of labor, and these to a more rapid and certain social and mental development and to an improvement and expansion of the productive forces of the country. They believe that this great work of development renders wider competition possible, stimulates invention, and leads to better methods of production and distribution. All these taken together insure lower cost of production and lower prices. The volume of domestic production added to the productive capacity of the world becomes a potential factor in the lowering of prices. Domestic industries once thoroughly established, the tendency of cost of production is always downward.

There can be no better illustration of the beneficial effects of protective duties in developing domestic production and at the same time reducing its cost than is found in the history of the iron and steel manufacture of the United States. While we may not be able to measure the effect which the addition of this manufacture to the aggregate production of the world has had upon the general reduction of prices, it has undoubtedly been very great, and there has been, through our improved methods, a steady approximation of domestic to foreign prices. The duty on bar iron imposed at the commence-

ment of the present century by a tariff which we are now assured by tariff reformers was not protective, was above \$38 per ton. The difference in the price of bar iron in England and at Pittsburg has recently been but \$1.50 per ton. Steel billets, which would have been dutiable under the tariff of 1789 at one-half cent per pound, or \$11.20 per ton, now sell in Pennsylvania at only \$2.50 per ton more than the foreign price. Pig iron, which during the entire period from 1846 to 1861 sold at an average price of \$12 per ton higher in the United States than in Scotland, now sells here within \$1.50 per ton of the Scotch price. This approximation of prices is remarkable in view of the fact that the scale of wages paid by the iron and steel producers of the United States is vastly greater than that paid by their foreign competitors.

A decline in prices may or may not be of advantage to the people of a community or nation, but if it arises from the several causes I have indicated above, it is beneficial alike to domestic consumers and producers. On the other hand, a decline in prices that arises through cheapening the market value of labor is disastrous to all wage-earners. In our domestic economy there is no place for cheapness which is secured by the degradation of labor. It is not contended that the protective policy reduces prices and cost of production in all cases to the foreign level. As the cost of production is the aggregated earnings of labor, this would mean reduction of American earnings to the foreign level. We desire only to secure such an approximation to foreign prices as is possible without lowering the high wage level of the United States. It is the purpose of the protective policy ultimately to secure the lowest possible level of prices consistent with the highest possible level of wages. A rise or fall in prices taken alone furnishes no indication of the relative condition of the people from time to time. It is necessary in this inquiry to ascertain the course of wages or earnings as well as the course of prices, as it is the comparative purchasing power of wages and not the range of prices alone that fixes the relative and actual condition of wage-earners.

While it is not denied that the investigation of the Senate Finance Committee into the course of wages from June, 1889, to September, 1891, established the fact that during this period an average increase took place in the wages paid in fifteen general occupations which were selected by the Committee as a test, an attempt is now made by leading Democrats to show that the fifteen general occupations selected by the Committee were non-protected industries, and that the fifteen special industries for which scattering quotations were obtained were

protected industries, and that in the latter class wages were lower in September, 1891, than in October, 1890. These claims have no foundation. No such classification of industries can be made. It certainly cannot be said that machinists, iron-moulders, stone-cutters, tailors, or tinsmiths, these being included in the fifteen general occupations, are engaged in the production of articles that are not protected. It is equally untrue that the statistics secured for special industries show a reduction in wages. Taking the same basis for comparison, an average increase is shown, and taking any basis, the tendency to higher rates is unmistakable. These quotations in the special industries to which I have referred were collected with a view to verifying the figures for general occupations. They were not collected with a view to covering adequately the course of wages in the important industries included, but were picked up at random as occasion offered. They were regarded by the Committee, as stated in the report, as so many quotations of specimen wages and nothing more.

It is true that the quotations show an apparent reduction of average wages in three of the special industries, viz., flint glass, lumber, and steel ingots, between October 1, 1890, and September 1, 1891. The other twenty-seven industries for which quotations were collected show either substantial uniformity or an increase in wages during the period between the enactment of the law and the close of the investigation. The entire alleged average reductions grew out of the changes which took place in a few occupations in these three industries. The unimportant character of these reductions will be apparent upon inspection of the detailed tables in the committee's report.

For instance, the report shows an apparent reduction in wages paid in the production of flint-glass bottles. This single reduction alone accounts for the entire average reduction claimed. An inspection of the tables shows that in September, 1890, an increase in the rates of wages paid took place in one of the establishments reported on, which resulted in an average increase of wages in this industry of 12.16 per cent. This increase was maintained until June, 1891. After that date no quotations were secured. It will be seen from this that no real reduction of wages took place, as it is quite as reasonable to assume that the wages paid in September, 1891, upon the resumption of work, were as great as those which had been paid when work was suspended. Taken together, the quotations secured for special industries fully confirm the results shown by the wage tables for general occupations.

There is no contention on the part of protectionists that it is possible to maintain a higher level of wages in industries engaged in the production of articles upon which protective duties are levied than in industries engaged in the production of articles upon which no duties are levied. It has been possible through the maintenance of protective duties to sustain a much higher level of wages in this country than in any other, but within our own limits the laws of supply and demand and the relative capacity and intelligence of the workman fix the relative rate of wages, and no one pretends that a machinist or a common laborer employed in a tin-plate mill would or could receive higher wages than persons employed in the same kind and character of work elsewhere in the country under like conditions.

The actual increase in rates of wages in all occupations between 1889 and 1891 was undoubtedly considerably greater than the indicated increase in the fifteen general occupations selected by the Finance Committee. In evidence of this I will state that an investigation by the same Committee over a much wider field of occupations and industries, made independently of the inquiry for twenty-eight months above referred to, shows an average increase of wages in all occupations of 1.8 per cent between 1890 and 1891. The results of the Committee's investigations are confirmed in a striking manner by the recent valuable report of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics of New York, Mr. Charles F. Peck. This report shows an increase in the average annual earnings of 285,000 persons engaged in 67 different industries, representing 1,121 trades, of \$23.11 *per capita*. This would indicate an increase in annual earnings of about 4 per cent for the year 1891 over 1890. It will be noticed that the report of Commissioner Peck deals with annual earnings, while the report of the Finance Committee deals simply with rates of wages. It is manifest from an inspection of that portion of the New York report which shows a greatly increased value of the product in 1891 that the persons engaged in the various industries profited by greater continuity of employment as well as increased wages, and this accounts for a greater apparent improvement than is shown by the committee's report.

That it has been possible in recent years under circumstances of unusual difficulty to keep up the average increase in rates of wages in this country is extremely gratifying to all protectionists. During this time the country has absorbed and furnished employment to a great mass of undesirable immigrants. These people had been accustomed to work for the lowest rates of wages and to live without any of the comforts

which have become such an essential part of American life. Their competition would have been extremely troublesome to American workmen if the rapid development of our industries had not furnished employment to constantly increasing numbers at remunerative wages. It must, however, be apparent that as a nation we are approaching the limit of our powers of assimilation in this direction. No more important or pressing problem is presented to the American legislator than to devise speedily some means of preventing further additions to the dangerous and degraded elements of our population.

While all intelligent economists and statisticians admit that there has been a general improvement in recent years in the condition of the wage-earners of the United States, as shown by a tendency to increased wages and a concurrent reduction in prices of commodities, tariff reformers now set up the claim that the movement in this direction has been retarded by the malign influences of our protective legislation, and that the improvement in this respect has not been as great in the United States under protection as it has been in our own or other countries under free trade or revenue tariffs. If this statement were true it would constitute a serious objection to protective tariffs. A comparison, however, of the relative condition of wage-earners in the United States and Great Britain for the years 1860 and 1890 shows conclusively that this claim is without foundation.

During this period average wages in the United States advanced nearly 70 per cent, while the cost of living, as shown by the decline in prices, was reduced 5 per cent. In other words, the purchasing power of wages was nearly 75 per cent greater in the year 1890, after thirty years of protection, than it was in 1860, at the close of fifteen years' experience under a revenue tariff. Coincident with this advance in wages a great reduction in the hours of employment took place. These results will appear in the forthcoming report of the Senate Finance Committee, covering an investigation into prices and wages for fifty years. They are confirmed by the census figures showing the relative annual earnings of all persons employed in the textile industries in the years 1860 and 1890, the average annual earnings for 1860 being \$205 and for 1890 \$332, or an advance of 61 per cent. It will be remembered that the revenue-tariff period between 1846 and 1860 is always pointed to by tariff reformers as the era of greatest prosperity for the country, and yet if the average annual earnings of the twenty-one millions of persons engaged in useful occupations in the United States at the present time should be reduced to the level of 1860, their loss

in earnings would be more than three thousand millions of dollars per annum. The rate of progress disclosed by these examinations, attained under the beneficent influences of the protective policy, has never been approached in the history of the world.

Until recently no attempt has been made to secure an official census of the average annual wages or earnings of the people of Great Britain, and we are obliged to rely for comparison upon the estimates of well-known statisticians. Prof. Leone Levi, whose statement, perhaps, carries with it the highest weight of authority, estimated the average annual earnings of all classes of people in Great Britain in 1884 at \$208 and for 1857 at \$160. Recent estimates have placed the present average annual earnings of the English people at \$199. If we accept Professor Levi's figures, an increase is shown in the average annual earnings of the people of Great Britain in twenty-seven years of \$48, as compared with an increase of the average annual earnings in the United States of \$127, taking the average earnings in textile industries of the United States as a basis of comparison. The increase in Great Britain is 30 per cent, as against 61 per cent in the United States. Professor Levi estimates that the cost of living of English workingmen increased 17 per cent between 1857 and 1884 (see "Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes," page 34), while a decline took place in the cost of living in the United States between 1860 and 1890 of more than 5 per cent. To state these results in another form, if Professor Levi's figures are accurate, the real wages of the wage-earners of Great Britain advanced 13 per cent during these years, while the advance in the United States was nearly 75 per cent.

The census of wages recently taken by the Commercial Department of the British Board of Trade enables us to make a comparison of the current American and British annual earnings in several important industries. Unfortunately the census figures for the United States for 1890 are available only in the textile industries. The annual average earnings of all persons employed in the woollen industry of Great Britain was \$170.10, in the United States \$304.20; in cotton manufacture in Great Britain \$174.96, in the United States \$301.65; in the worsted industry of Great Britain \$136.08, of the United States \$304.20; the percentage of American over English wages being 78 per cent, 72 per cent, and 123 per cent respectively. In the fifteen general occupations in which the Finance Committee obtained relative rates between Great Britain and the United States, the American wages were found to be 77 per cent the greater. Col. Carroll D.

Wright, in his report for the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, made a comparison in 1884 of the average annual wages paid in Great Britain, showing that average wages in Massachusetts were 77 per cent higher than in the same industries in Great Britain.

About one-half of the cost of living in a country is for food, and it is safe to say that the sum expended for this purpose in the United States is and must remain for some time to come less than that paid for the same quality and quantity in countries competing with us in the production of manufactured articles. In many other articles aside from food the examination of the Finance Committee and the testimony of parties who have purchased articles at retail in both countries show that the retail prices in England are in many cases as great or greater than in the United States. The earnings of English artisans and operatives will not permit of the purchase of articles for consumption on the same scale or of the same quality as in the United States.

No attempt has yet been made by tariff reformers to explain the fact which was developed by the Finance Committee's investigation that average retail prices advanced 1.9 per cent in England during the period in which a decline took place in the United States. The prices were obtained in Great Britain by the Committee for June, 1889, and for September, 1891, through skilled experts of the Department of Labor, instructed to be careful to get the prices from sales of the same goods at the same places. The prices were obtained for substantially the same list of articles as that used in obtaining prices in this country. Using the same formula which was used in this country for percentages of consumption of various articles, the cost of living was nearly 2 per cent greater in Great Britain in 1891 than in 1889. The "Economist" index numbers which I have quoted above show a general advance in prices of 1.2 per cent between July, 1889, and July, 1891, thus confirming the results ascertained by the committee.

In the presence of these facts, it is not strange that the leaders in the new crusade against the protective policy, having staked not only their own reputation as prophets, but also the value of their theories and the wisdom of their principles, upon the fulfilment of their prediction with regard to the effects of the Tariff legislation of 1890, and having lost in every instance and failed from every point of view, should now attempt to distract public attention from their complete discomfiture.

NELSON W. ALDRICH.

THE REPUBLICAN POLICY OF RECIPROCITY.

Now that its defenders are trying to prove that the McKinley bill has not been able wholly to rob the American people of the benefits of cheapening production and cheapening distribution which mechanical invention, science, enterprise, and experience are securing for all the civilized world, and to demonstrate, by statistics, that in the grapple between that bill and the gigantic forces of modern industry those forces have come out sixty-four one-hundredths of one per cent ahead, it may not be amiss to review the history of that section of the tariff act which, according to high Republican authority, alone saved the entire measure from the fury of the people.

Reciprocity in trade relations is not a new thing; but the so-called reciprocity of the McKinley bill owed its beginning to that clause of the act of May, 1888, authorizing the President to invite delegates to the International American Conference, which named, among the topics to be considered, "measures toward the formation of an American customs union." It was after the McKinley bill had passed the House and was favorably reported in the Senate that the President, June 19, 1890, sent to Congress a letter from the Secretary of State submitting the report upon "customs union" adopted by the conference. In this letter Mr. Blaine said that fifteen out of the seventeen republics which met us in conference indicated their desire "to enter upon reciprocal commercial relations with the United States; the remaining two express equal willingness could they be assured that their advances would be favorably considered." These two were Chili and the Argentine Republic, and he deemed it unfortunate that shortly after their arrival in Washington "in search of reciprocal trade," the delegates from the latter had "read in the daily press that propositions were pending in our Congress to impose a heavy duty upon Argentine hides, which for many years had been upon the free list, and to increase the duty upon Argentine wool." They declared, he said, that free entry for their coarse wool was the only concession we had to offer them in exchange for their removal of duties on our peculiar products. After giving, in some detail, the argument in

favor of this concession, Mr. Blaine suggested that a prompt and practicable mode of testing the question, "without the delay and uncertainty of treaties," was to submit an amendment to the pending tariff bill, the form and language of which he proceeded to give. Immediately upon the reading of this letter in the Senate, Mr. Hale offered the suggested amendment in the words proposed by Mr. Blaine, as follows:

"And the President of the United States is hereby authorized, without further legislation, to declare the ports of the United States free and open to all the products of any nation of the American hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever and so long as such nation shall admit to its ports, free of all national, provincial (state), municipal, and other taxes, flour, cornmeal, and other breadstuffs, preserved meats, fish, vegetables and fruits, cottonseed oil, rice and other provisions, including all articles of food, lumber, furniture and all other articles of wood, agricultural implements and machinery, mining and mechanical machinery, structural steel and iron, steel rails, locomotives, railway cars and supplies, street-cars, refined petroleum, or such products of the United States as may be agreed upon."

Here was a practicable, if narrow, scheme of reciprocity; and had it been made a part of the McKinley bill, as advised by the Secretary of State, its effect in increasing trade would not be a disputed question to-day, nor would the amount of that increase have to be tested by "apothecary's measure," however much it might fall short of the promises of its author.

Mr. Blaine seems to have understood the situation. He had completely failed in his effort to get a reciprocity provision embodied in the tariff bill while it was in the hands of the House committee, and he now followed up his official letter and Mr. Hale's amendment with two letters to Senator Fry, one of which, bearing date July 11, contained the following much-quoted sentences:

"The charge against the protective policy which has injured it most is that its benefits go wholly to the manufacturer and the capitalist, and not to the farmer. . . . Here is an opportunity for a Republican Congress to open the markets of forty millions of people to the products of American farmers. I do not doubt that in many respects the tariff bill pending in the Senate is a just measure, and that most of its provisions are in accordance with the wise policy of protection; but there is not a section or a line in the entire bill that will open a market for another bushel of wheat or another barrel of pork."

And he added most impressively:

"Our foreign market for breadstuffs grows narrower. Great Britain is exerting every nerve to secure her bread supplies from India, and the rapid expansion of the wheat area in Russia gives us a powerful competitor in the markets of Europe."

Under this public prodding from so eminent a party leader, the finance committee of the Senate could not, as the ways and means committee of the House had done, ignore Mr. Blaine's suggestion. But it would never do to let the matter come to a vote in the Senate on the Hale amendment. That committee accordingly reported to the Senate the following proposed addition to the tariff bill, which, with the omission of the first lines, was finally incorporated in that bill as the Aldrich amendment:

“That the exemptions from duty of sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides provided for in this act are made with a view to secure reciprocal trade with countries producing these articles; and for this purpose, on and after the first day of July, 1891, whenever and so often as the President shall be satisfied that the government of any country producing and exporting sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, raw and uncured, or any of such articles, imposes duties or other exactions upon the agricultural or other products of the United States, which, in view of the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides into the United States, he may deem to be reciprocally unequal and unjust, he shall have the power and it shall be his duty to suspend, by proclamation to that effect, the provisions of this act relating to the free introduction of such sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, the production of such country, for such time as he shall deem just, and in such case and during such suspension duties shall be levied and collected and paid upon sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides, the product of or exported from such designated country, as follows, namely:”

Then follow the duties: on sugar (after providing rates for the lower grades) above 20 Dutch standard, two cents per pound; on molasses, four cents per gallon; on coffee, three cents per pound; on tea, ten cents per pound.

One is at a loss whether to admire more the audacious false pretence of the entire proposition or the unique and superlative audacity of its opening sentence. Tea, coffee, and hides had been on the free list for many years in the interest of American consumers, and without any reference to reciprocity in trade. A “free breakfast-table to the workingman” was the virtuous cry under which in 1872 revenue duties were released in order that protective duties might be retained. Sugar was made free in the House bill for the same reason and with the same pretence, and it is worth adding that as late as May, 1891, Major McKinley, in his speech at the Tariff League banquet in New York, avowed that he had removed the duty because we did not produce sugar in this country, utterly forgetting or contemptuously ignoring the pretext that he had done so in order to pry open foreign markets for the American farmer.

The Senate debate on Mr. Hale's amendment began September 2,

1890. Nothing in the "Congressional Record" is more amusing and, as throwing light upon the present law, more instructive than Mr. Hale's headlong and cheerful descent from his own genuine reciprocity scheme to the ignominious level of the Aldrich substitute. He had boldly proposed reciprocal trade with "any nation of the American hemisphere." When asked if this included Cuba and Puerto Rico he replied in the affirmative, and offered, if any one wanted it, to insert the words "or dependencies or colonies of the Western hemisphere," but denied with consternation and emphasis that it would apply to Canada. Mr. Gibson, of Louisiana, reiterating what was really the argument of Mr. Blaine's letter, that wool was the foundation for reciprocity treaties with the South American states, said that the studied silence of the Maine senator in respect to wool showed that the proposition of the Secretary of State would have no further attention paid to it in the Senate than to have a decent burial, and he added:

"Thus perishes, even before it receives consideration, the generous, statesmanlike, and magnificent suggestion of the Secretary of State for full and free interchange of commodities with Mexico, Central and South America. It has gone down before the shepherd's crook. It has received death strokes at the hands of senators who represent wool, copper, wood, and ores."

Senator Allison, a leading member of the finance committee, hastened to say that he did not know that he should "at any time have anything to offer respecting the reciprocity features which for some reason or other seem to attach to this schedule of sugar," and to put himself on record as favoring free sugar solely because the duty came out of the pockets of the consumers of the United States. Senator Sherman, another leading member of the finance committee, after ridiculing that interpretation of the Hale amendment by its author which included Puerto Rico and Cuba and excluded Canada, declared that if any reciprocal trade relations were to be made with any country in the world, they ought to be made with Canada. He then took up that amendment and showed, in turn, that it would admit free of duty manufactures, farming products including wool, minerals and ores, whiskey, tobacco and beer, continuing his merciless catalogue until he had so thoroughly convicted Mr. Hale of a wicked attempt to undermine the whole protective system that the Maine senator begged for quarter and made haste to confess that his "amendment was hastily drawn and in no degree intended to cover the scope I had in mind"; a most remarkable confession when we recall that he had

framed his amendment in the very words of the carefully prepared letter of the Secretary of State, and in such immediate connection with the reading of that letter to the Senate as to justify the presumption that he had offered it after consultation with that official. Nor was the veteran defender of Ohio wool willing to let him off even after this confession. He required him to specify the articles on which he would treat; and when Mr. Hale, taking great care to avoid Ohio products, named sugar, coffee, rubber, rubber goods, nitrate of soda, Mr. Sherman made the good-natured, if somewhat contemptuous response: "I am afraid my friend is whittling down his magnificent theory, this bright and brilliant hope he has been indulging in for some time, until there is not much left of it." And even when the Maine senator, thoroughly convinced of the enormity of his own proposal and heartily penitent for having offered it, hastened to declare that the committee amendment "covered the great principle," and that the designation of articles in it "suited him better than his own proposition," Mr. Sherman did not try to hide his disdain for that amendment, but said it was "not a work I would take any great pride about." The Aldrich amendment was agreed to by a party vote, Mr. Hoar's suggestion to omit the false statement with which it began being accepted by its sponsor; so that, as embodied into law, it begins with the words, "That with a view to secure reciprocal trade with countries producing the following articles," to wit, "sugars, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides," and so on, as already quoted.

Such is the history of the third section of the McKinley bill, a history so significant in itself as to require little examination into the actual working of the provision. Mr. Blaine, with a sagacity not shown by other protectionists, saw the danger and folly of the bill as it was carried through the House. He saw the imperative necessity for larger markets for the farmer, while the blind authors of that bill were intent only upon securing the home market for the special interests they represented. He first tried by personal conference with the Republican members of the House committee to secure some amendment to their Tariff bill looking toward new markets for our exports. Private advice and warning having failed, he forced the fight openly. He seized the opportunity of reporting the action of the International Conference on Customs Union to make a long argument in favor of reciprocal trade, and to embody in his letter the precise form of amendment to the House bill that would lead to genuine reciprocity with "all the nations of the American hemisphere." That amendment, in his

own words, was immediately offered in the Senate by a senator from his own State, and in such a way as to impress the public that it was offered at the suggestion of the Secretary. He followed this up with two personal but public letters to the other senator from his State, which set forth what he could not say in his official report, the impending loss of existing markets to the American farmer and the complete failure of the McKinley bill to provide any new outlet whatever for the farmer's surplus grain or meat products. He forced the Senate finance committee to act. Something had to be done which to the unthinking might seem a compliance with the Secretary's suggestion, while it would not interfere with that monopoly of the home market which the protected interests were making more effectual through the Tariff bill, and which they would not surrender in any measure for the sake of increasing the farmers' trade with any nation of the American hemisphere.

The Hale amendment went to the finance committee of the Senate. The Aldrich amendment came out from that committee. In intention and effect they are contradictory measures. One was reciprocity; the other is retaliation. One looked to a real and expanding commerce by the free admission to our ports of all the products of the nations specified, in return for admission to their markets of a liberal list of our agricultural and manufactured products. The other looks to a diminution in the comforts and necessities of life in every American home, whenever and as often as the President may choose to "proclaim" against the unequal tariff laws of the nations from whom we procure those comforts and necessities. It puts in his hand a bludgeon which he may use, not to open foreign markets, but to punish or distress American consumers and American industries. We are to suffer for sugar, coffee, tea, and shoes if the follies or fiscal needs of the nations that supply us cause them to erect against us the same tariff wall we have so carefully and deliberately erected against our best customers, those who take from us the great bulk of our grain, provision, and cotton surplus.

As we read this story we are in doubt whether to admire more the cheerful eagerness with which Mr. Hale accepted the Aldrich amendment in place of his own proposition, or the cynical and business-like manner in which the finance committee forced that acceptance. It was a clear case of beginning with a demand for a foreign mission and taking with effusive gratitude "a pair of old breeches." And it is but just to say there was no hypocrisy on the side of the committee.

Mr. Aldrich offered the substitute and said nothing. Mr. Allison, in terms, declared it unworthy his consideration and put his support of free sugar on another ground. Mr. Sherman, with grim humor, laughed at Mr. Hale for "whittling down his magnificent theory" to the proportions of the Aldrich amendment, and then he disdainfully said that the latter itself was "not a work he could take any great pride about." Thus was framed the section of the tariff act which is now falsely palmed off on the people as a reciprocity provision, and about which, to adapt a phrase of Mr. Disraeli's, the Republican party has lately been cackling as if it had laid an egg.

Mr. Hale, who, like Mark Tapley, believes in cheerfulness and in "going it strong," solemnly avers that this section has "floated" the entire bill. The President, who looked coldly upon reciprocity when he communicated Mr. Blaine's letter to Congress, now sings its praises. Mr. McKinley, who refused to touch it when Mr. Blaine offered him the first chance to do so, who reported the Senate amendment to the House with the "hope" that it would realize the expectations of those who fathered it, and who, several months after his bill went into effect, had forgotten entirely that reciprocity had anything to do with putting sugar on the free list, has also joined the chorus. A special bureau has been organized in the State Department to keep up the cackling, while the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of Statistics are each making as much noise as if reciprocity were its own peculiar egg.

Let us see for a moment what the visible fruits of this great scheme have been, and whether those fruits justify all this official noise. The President communicated to Congress on the 27th of June a report from the Secretary of State setting forth that twelve agreements had been made as follows: with Brazil, Spain as to her colonies Cuba and Puerto Rico, Santa Domingo, the German Empire, Salvador, the British West India Islands, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras, France and her colonies (not yet ratified by the French Chambers), and with Austria-Hungary. Surely all these treaties ought to make a decided showing in our commercial reports. Yet when we turn to the latest report of the Bureau of Statistics, containing a summary statement of the imports and exports of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1892, and examine the tabular statement of "trade with countries with which reciprocity treaties are in force," we read at its bottom, "*Of countries with which we have reciprocity treaties, Brazil and Cuba are the only countries with which our trade shows marked*

change." This justifies us in omitting other countries, even those with which our trade has decreased under reciprocity, and in examining the trade returns as to these two countries alone.

Reciprocity has been in force with Brazil since April 1, 1891. We find our exports with that country for the fifteen months under the treaty to June 30, 1892, amounted in value to \$18,044,452, as against \$16,279,969 for the previous fifteen months, an increase of \$1,764,483. This may seem a gratifying exhibit. That would be a hasty conclusion. In the first place, the increase in our exports to Brazil from the fiscal year 1890 to the fiscal year 1891 was \$2,150,000, a much larger growth than under the fifteen months of reciprocity. Secondly, our imports from Brazil in these fifteen months increased fifty-seven million dollars; and it is almost incredible that the momentum of this increase should have carried with it so trifling an expansion of our exports. Thirdly, let us look into the items of our increased exportations. Wheat was admitted free before the treaty. Flour is made free by the treaty. Our flour export increased by \$1,745,000, while our wheat export decreased by \$779,000, a mere shifting in the form of the export, while its quantity has not kept pace with the increase of our exports to countries where no reciprocity treaties exist, due to our unprecedented crops of last year. In steam engines an increase in value of \$1,028,989 is given, but locomotives were already on the free list, as also, it would seem, all other engines. *Thus nearly two-thirds of the whole increase in our exports to Brazil was in articles not affected by the commercial treaty.*

In the Cuban trade a better showing appears. For the ten months under reciprocity our exports increased \$5,702,197 over like exports for the same period of 1891. But the increase in breadstuffs was only one-fourth of this total, and as we sent more breadstuffs everywhere than ever before, and as we bought nearly twelve million dollars' worth more from Cuba than in the previous ten months, it is hard to see much encouragement for the farmer—sorely distressed, as Mr. Blaine tells us, by narrowing markets for his wheat—or for any one else. Indeed, if we were to gain the whole wheat and flour market of Cuba, it would not consume the crop of a moderate county in the Dakotas or in Washington.

The statistician goes on to state that our exports to all the countries south of us with which reciprocity treaties are in force, from the time these treaties went into effect to June 30 last, amounted to \$42,328,678, an increase of \$8,132,329, or 23.78 per cent, over those of

the corresponding prior period. But he neglects to add that our imports from these countries during the same period rose from one hundred and fifty-six to two hundred and twenty-five millions in value, or more than fifty per cent, and that our entire exports for last year increased nearly one hundred and fifty million dollars, which is more than accounted for by the phenomenal crops which sent our breadstuffs export up from one hundred and twenty-eight to two hundred and ninety-nine million dollars. And he neglects to add that the increase in the value of our export of cattle alone to the United Kingdom was as large last year as the entire increase under reciprocity with the nations south of us, or that our export of corn to that kingdom increased more than twice, of flour about twice, and of wheat nearly eight times as much as this entire increase under trade treaties with those nations.

The length of this article forbids any consideration of the individual treaties or any inquiry into the probable growth of our trade with the several nations with whom we have made these treaties. Enough has been said, I believe, to show that the only purpose of the Aldrich amendment was to get rid as easily as possible of the Blaine proposition and at the same time to delude the people into the belief that something had been done to carry out Mr. Blaine's ideas. All that has been gained or may be gained under that amendment belongs to the *de minimis* and shows how little informed the President was when, replying to Major McKinley's speech of notification, he declared that "new markets abroad of large and increasing value, long obstinately closed to us, have been opened on favored terms to our meats and breadstuffs" under the operation of these commercial treaties. The platform adopted by the late Democratic convention at Chicago was therefore fully justified in denouncing "the sham reciprocity which juggles with the people's desire for enlarged foreign markets and freer exchanges, by pretending to establish closer trade relations for a country whose articles of export are almost exclusively agricultural products with other countries that are also agricultural, while erecting a custom-house barrier of prohibitory tariff taxes against the richest countries of the world, that stand ready to take our entire surplus of products and to exchange therefor commodities which are necessities and comforts of life among our own people."

I ought not to end this paper without saying that the President, by virtue of the authority vested in him and in obedience to the duty imposed upon him, has issued his proclamation imposing the duties

provided by the law upon imports from Hayti, Colombia, and Venezuela. The question arises why he does not take the same course as to the Argentine Republic, which quite as obstinately as these little countries refuses to lower her duties on our products. Is he afraid of the political effect in New England of a duty on Argentine hides? At any rate, the power to strike a dangerous blow at our great leather and shoe industries ought not to be in the hands of any candidate for the office of President of the United States. The temptation to secure or compel political support and pecuniary campaign contributions through the menace of this power, absent altogether, it may be, from the mind of the candidate himself, is too strong not to be used by the less scrupulous managers of a Presidential campaign.

WM. L. WILSON.

WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE OCTOBER FORUM.

LEWIS A. SAYRE (*Cholera: The Lesson of Preceding Epidemics*), born in Bottle Hill (now Madison), N. J., in 1820, was graduated at Transylvania University, Kentucky, in 1838, and at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1843. In 1853 he became surgeon at Bellevue Hospital, and when, on his profession, the Bellevue Hospital Medical College was established, he was made professor of orthopaedic surgery. In 1860-66 he was resident physician of the city of New York, during which he did much to prevent the entrance of the cholera into the city. He has won distinction as one of the leading surgeons of the world, chiefly for his treatment of natural deformities. He has represented this country at many of the medical congresses in Europe, has published several books and a great number of scientific articles, and he is a member of the leading medical societies of Europe and America.

J. M. RICE (*Our Public-School System: Evils in Baltimore*), born in Philadelphia in 1857, attended the College of the City of New York, and was graduated from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1881. He remained in the profession until 1888, and then devoted himself to the study of the physical development of children. For this purpose he resided in psychology and pedagogy at the universities of Jena and Berlin, after which he visited the schools of various European countries.

J. MCCOOK (*Venal Voting: Methods and Remedies*), born in Ohio, graduated at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. After service as a surgeon in the Civil War he studied law, medicine, and theology, entered the Episcopal ministry, and spent over a year in foreign travel. For ten years he taught modern languages in Trinity, where he is still a professor. He has given considerable study to the questions of pauperism, crime, and crime in this country and in Europe.

LOUIS LOTI (*The Literature of the Future*), the pen-name of Jules Viaud, born at Rochelle, France, in 1850, entered the French navy and is now commander of the "Jacquet." His first book, "Rarahu; or, The Marriage of the Gods," published about half a dozen years ago, made him famous and placed him among the leading modern writers of the romantic school. The best-known of his works that followed it are "An Iceland Fisherman," "Mme. Chrysanthème," and "The Book of Pity and of Death." He was recently elected a member of the French Academy.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD (*The Primary the Pivot of Reform*), born at Hadam, Conn., in 1805, was graduated at Williams College in 1825 and admitted to the bar in 1828. He has devoted himself to his practice and to reform in law and politics. He is one of the most eminent living authorities on law. He has received several appointments for the work of law-reform, among them one in 1857 to prepare a political, penal, and civil code for the State of New York. In 1873 he prepared for the Social Science Con-

gress "Outlines of an International Code." This led to the formation of an association for a revision of the law of nations, and Mr. Field became its first president. He has published "Speeches, Arguments and Miscellaneous Papers" and contributed many articles to periodicals.

BISHOP HENRY C. POTTER (*Sunday and the Columbian Exposition*), born in Schenectady, N. Y., in 1835, was educated at the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia. He was successively rector of churches at Greensburg, Pa., and Troy, N. Y., assistant rector at Trinity Church, Boston, and rector of Grace Church, New York. In 1883 he became assistant to his uncle, the late Bishop Horatio Potter, whom he succeeded in 1887 as Bishop of New York.

LUCIUS B. SWIFT (*Civil-Service Reform: A Review of Two Administrations*), born in Yates, N. Y., in 1844. At seventeen he enlisted as a private, and served nearly three years as a Union soldier. After his graduation at Michigan University, in 1870, he studied law, and is now a lawyer in active practice at Indianapolis. He has devoted much time in behalf of the movement for civil-service reform. He was for two years president of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association, and is now editor of the "Civil Service Chronicle," published in Indianapolis.

JOHN T. DOYLE (*Civil-Service Reform: A Decade of the Merit System*) was educated in the public schools of New York City and is by profession a lawyer. In 1877 he was appointed a clerk in the New York Post-office, where the signal success of the reform methods under Postmaster James led the way to the present system. In 1883, upon the organization of the United States Civil Service Commission, he became its stenographer, and in 1886 he was appointed its Secretary by President Cleveland. His long experience in connection with the Commission has made him one of the leading authorities on the history of Civil Service Reform in this country.

JANE ADDAMS (*An Effort Toward Social Democracy*) is the daughter of Hon. John H. Addams, for many years State Senator from Northern Illinois. Since her graduation at Rockford College, Ill., in 1881, she has been a trustee of the institution. In 1889 she opened Hull House with Miss Ellen G. Starr.

NELSON W. ALDRICH (*The McKinley Act and the Cost of Living*), born in Foster, R. I., in 1841, after receiving an academic education entered business. He was president of the Providence Common Council in 1871-73, a member of the general assembly in 1875-76, speaker of the house of representatives in 1876, and was sent to Congress in 1878 and 1880. In 1881 he was elected to the United States Senate and re-elected in 1886. His term will expire in 1893.

WILLIAM L. WILSON (*The Republican Policy of Reciprocity*), born in Virginia in 1843, was educated at Columbian College, District of Columbia, and at the University of Virginia. After serving in the Confederate Army he held for several years a professorship in Columbian College, which he resigned in order to practise law. In 1882 he became president of West Virginia University, and resigned the next year to enter Congress, to which he had been elected as a Democrat. He has been several times re-elected. He is a man of scholarly attainments, an authority on political and economic subjects, and he has a high reputation as a legislator.

The Forum.

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MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS IN AMERICA AND ENGLAND.

It is impossible to overestimate the value of municipal institutions, or the importance of wise, honest, and energetic administration of the powers of local government. The exercise of these functions is the best political education for a free people. It gives them experience in public business and in the methods of fair discussion and constitutional progress. It affords an opportunity to every patriotic citizen to be of some service to those amongst whom he lives, and it opens a career of usefulness which may be followed by all who have the ability and the will to distinguish themselves, without relinquishing their ordinary pursuits or leaving the places of their birth.

It is not given to every man to become President of the United States or even Senator or Member of Congress, but there are few indeed who may not look forward to taking some part in the government of their county, their town, or their village, as an object of legitimate ambition. And besides offering a chance of moderate personal distinction, the performance of these duties provides opportunities of philanthropic activity which cannot be found in private benevolence, or in any other description of public work. Local institutions minister more directly to the happiness and well-being of the whole people than even the National Government itself. They are of necessity in closer and more intimate connection with the population; they have to do with their everyday existence, with their family life, with their health and personal security, and with all the thousand details that determine whether existence shall be delightful or intolerable. No doubt the rulers of a nation fill a greater part in the public

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imagination than the leaders of a parish. They cover a larger space, they make more noise, and they excite more interest; but after all, the things that men care for most—their comfort, their health, their lives—depend much more on the action of the despised vestrymen and councillors than on anything that is said or done by the great potentates of the earth.

Under these circumstances it is only natural that the condition and character of its municipal institutions should be a matter of urgent concern to every citizen and to every friend of the United States. One would expect that in the land of Triumphant Democracy—the home of the most numerous portion of the Anglo-Saxon race—these institutions would have their most striking and most satisfactory development. Is this the case? Is it the common testimony of Americans themselves whose experience and judgment make them competent witnesses to the facts? A stranger may be prejudiced or insufficiently informed, and it is only by the evidence of her own sons that the working of one of the most important institutions of the United States can be conclusively declared defective. Applying this test, however, we find a remarkable concurrence of opinion on the part of authorities of eminence and impartiality that, while the local government of rural districts is generally speaking honest and efficient, the municipal administration of the vast populations of towns and cities is lamentably ineffective and unsatisfactory. Where the people are scattered, comparatively poor, and comparatively uneducated, they are able to establish and maintain a proper control over their local affairs; but, where they are concentrated, wealthy, and highly instructed, they allow their comfort to be neglected, their property to be wasted, and their highest interests to become the sport of incompetent, and even of dishonest men. It is not wonderful that such an anomaly should invite discussion, and that attempts should be made to diagnose the disease which has produced this abnormal state of things, and also to find a remedy. No one who knows anything of the common sense and general rectitude of purpose of the American Democracy will doubt their ultimate success in restoring to their true purposes the local liberties that have been temporarily diverted to improper ends. The abuses that have been introduced into city government are not inherent in the institution itself. They have not shown themselves in similar cases in Great Britain or even in the majority of continental towns; and, although it would be presumptuous to suggest that our experience should be bodily transported across the Atlantic and followed in every

particular, yet at least it affords an encouraging proof that the most popular form of government is not incompatible with the greatest efficiency and the most absolute freedom from any form of political corruption.

As a contribution to the discussion which has been opened in the pages of the FORUM, it is proposed in this paper to indicate the chief differences between municipal government in England and the United States. It must be left to Americans to draw their own conclusions from the facts and to decide how far the diversity of system and methods accounts for the unfavorable contrast which they have themselves drawn of the respective results.

In a paper published in June, 1890, in "Harper's Monthly Magazine," an American writer, Mr. Julian Ralph, has given, as the result of a personal visit and enquiry, a tolerably full and exhaustive account of the local government of Birmingham under the title "The Best-governed City in the World." Referring to this article for the details of the work now carried on by the corporation and other local bodies it is necessary for our present purpose only to summarise the results.

The Corporation came into existence in 1838 and has only gradually attained its present importance. During a little over half a century the town has been transformed and ennobled. Formerly it was badly lighted, imperfectly guarded, and only partially drained; there were few public buildings and few important streets. The paving was defective; the cleansing and watering imperfectly performed; no provision at all existed for the recreation or the culture of the artisan classes. Birmingham in fact was an overgrown village with the population of a great town. But now, great public edifices not unworthy of the importance of a midland metropolis have risen on every side. Wide arteries of communication have been opened up. Rookeries and squalid courts have given way to fine streets and open places. The roads are well paved, well kept, well lighted, and well cleansed. The whole sewerage of the town has been remodelled, and the health of the people is cared for by efficient sanitary inspectors. Baths and wash-houses are provided at a nominal cost to the users. Free libraries and museums of art are open to all the inhabitants; free schools and a school of art, together with facilities for technical instruction, are provided for their education. Recreation is not forgotten, and not less than ten parks and recreation-grounds are now maintained by the Corporation. New Assize Courts and Courts of Justice have been built. The police force and fire brigade are kept in the highest state

of efficiency; while the great monopolies of gas and water have passed into the hands of the representatives of the whole community, who have also acquired the tramways and have thus retained full control over the roads of the city.

These are the direct results of corporate government acting under the inspiration and control of an enlightened public opinion, and bringing to bear the force and means of the whole community for the advantage of every class and every individual citizen. Is there any reason why equal benefits should not be enjoyed, by the use of the same machinery, in any city of similar population and equivalent standing in the United States—say, for instance, in the City of Boston—and is there any reason why the same results should not be achieved at something like an equivalent cost, making allowance for the higher wages current in America, although we are sometimes told that these are fully compensated for by increased efficiency?

Anyone who knows the two cities of Boston and Birmingham, which have about the same population (Boston being credited with 448,000 in 1890 and Birmingham with 430,000 in 1891), will admit that Birmingham enjoys every result of municipal enterprise, and to at least as great an extent as Boston. Many persons would be inclined to state the case much more strongly in favour of Birmingham, which also confessedly possesses many developments of local activity not yet approached by the sister city. It will be interesting to compare the expenditure, not merely as a matter of curiosity, but especially because the value and usefulness of municipal government must always largely depend on the economy with which it can be administered. There is after all a limit to the productiveness of taxes, and, if this is already strained to the utmost, there will be no room for further extensions of the social agencies, which, however beneficial in themselves, may yet be purchased at too high a price. Again, if it should appear that, as compared with private enterprise and individual exertions, a municipality works always at a disadvantage in expenditure, it will be undesirable that its operations should be enlarged, and the community will do well to confine itself strictly to the absolute minimum of necessary work which cannot be accomplished at all without its intervention.

This important question of comparative cost appears to have hitherto received very little attention in the United States. On the occasion of a visit made two years ago, I consulted various authorities and arrived at some very startling conclusions, the accuracy of which

it is certainly desirable to test. There is some little difficulty in making an exact comparison owing to the different methods of assessment in different places, and especially owing to the entirely different basis of English local rating. But, whether the question be tested by the actual total expenditure, or by the rate of expenditure per head of population, or by the percentage of the cost of local taxation to total income, the result is about the same, viz.: that the Americans pay for less efficient service in their large towns nearly five times as much as is paid in the case of a well-managed English municipality.

To show this more clearly, and also to enable the expenditure to be more clearly followed, the accompanying table has been prepared. The figures are taken in the case of Birmingham from the Financial Statement for 1889 and in the case of Boston from the Financial Report, 1889-90. It is not possible to make an abstract which shall be absolutely correct, as the two systems of accounts are different, and it may happen that some items in each statement are wrongly compared. The charges for interest on debt are in Birmingham divided accurately under the different heads of indebtedness, while in the case of Boston they appear to be separately dealt with in an account of their own. In the same way the charge for re-payment of loans, and for depreciation of properties, is debited in Birmingham separately to the expenditure under each head. I have failed to trace a charge for this purpose in the Boston accounts. But, making these allowances, it may be assumed that the totals at any rate are correct; and from these it appears that the expenditure for local purposes in the city of Boston, including schools and poor-law expenditure, is nearly five times as large as that for similar objects in Birmingham.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE EXPENDITURE OF THE BIRMINGHAM CITY COUNCIL, THE BIRMINGHAM SCHOOL BOARD, AND OF THE BIRMINGHAM BOARD OF GUARDIANS, COMPARED WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE EXPENDITURE FOR SIMILAR PURPOSES OF THE CITY OF BOSTON.

<i>Birmingham.</i>		<i>Boston.</i>	
1. School Board	£70,000	1. Schools	\$2,266,000
This is only the portion of the total expense for elementary education which falls upon the rates. The total cost of the elementary education of the whole of the children of school age in the borough is about £180,000. The difference is made up by contributions from the government, the amount of the school fees, and the amount of voluntary subscriptions. The sum charged on the rates includes interest on loans and annual sinking fund.			
£70,000		\$2,266,000	

Birmingham.		Boston.	
	Forward..... £70,000		Forward..... \$2,266,000
2. Improvement Scheme	25,000	2. There is no expenditure in Boston which corresponds to this.	
<p>This sum is the present net annual deficiency on the great improvement scheme carried out in one of the worst quarters of the town under the Artisans' Dwellings Act. In the course of about sixty years the Corporation will own in fee-simple the whole property, worth now nearly two millions sterling, but in the mean time there is a loss which is gradually diminishing and now stands at £25,000 a year.</p>			
3. Public Works Committee and Drainage Board.....	141,000	3. Bridges..... \$200,000	3,054,000
This amount includes all salaries and wages in the Department; repairing and cleansing the streets; watering and lighting; maintenance of sewer and sewage farm; tramways; inspection of buildings and new works; interest on loans and sinking fund.		Ferries..... 199,000	
		Engineer's Department.. 35,000	
		Surveyor's Department.. 35,000	
		Inspection of Buildings.. 68,000	
		Lighting..... 592,000	
		Paving..... 1,122,000	
		Sewers..... 728,000	
		Sewerage..... 75,000	
		I do not find any charge for watering the streets. The charge for interest on loans and repayment has to be added. The charge for bridges and ferries may be for new works. If so, it ought to be debited to capital and not to annual expenditure.	
4. Free libraries, Art Gallery, Aston Hall, and School of Art.....	16,000	4. Public Library.....	162,000
<p>There are five lending libraries and one reference library containing one hundred thousand volumes. The total issue of books is nearly nine hundred thousand per annum. The Art Gallery contains a collection of pictures belonging to the town, and also a collection of art pottery, embroideries, manufactures, antiquities, etc., of great value. Aston Hall is an Elizabethan mansion belonging to the town and it contains a miscellaneous collection of pictures and curiosities.</p>			
<p>The expenditure includes interest on loans and sinking fund.</p>			
5. Lunatic Asylums	5,000	5. There appears no charge for lunatics in the city funds, but it is probably paid by the State taxation.	
<p>This sum represents the interest on loans for the building and the sinking fund.</p>			
<p>The cost of maintenance is provided by the Board of Guardians (see 14).</p>			
6. Finance Committee.....	15,000	6. Assessors..... \$109,000	231,000
This amount includes the cost of collection of taxes, provision of electoral register, expenses of magistrates' courts, and miscellaneous.		Auditors..... 24,000	
		Collectors..... 61,000	
		Treasurer's Department 37,000	
7. Watch Committee.....	62,500	7. Police..... \$1,135,000	1,997,000
This includes the cost of the police force of six hundred men and of the fire brigade; the cost of sending children to a reformatory; and the sum of £1,500 payable in connection with the cost of the jail. The principal cost of the prisons is now borne by the government and is not a local expense.		Fire Brigade..... 862,000	
8. Baths and Parks Committee.....	11,000	8. Baths..... \$16,000	665,000
There are five public baths and wash-houses, seven parks, and three recreation-grounds—all managed by the Corporation. A small charge is made for the use of the baths and wash-houses. The parks and grounds are free.		Public Grounds..... 108,000	
The amount includes interest on loans and sinking fund.		Parks..... 541,000	
£345,500		\$8,375,000	

Birmingham.		Boston.	
	Forward..... £345,500		Forward..... \$8,375,000
9. Estates Committee.....	14,600	9. Architect's Department. \$20,000	625,500
This committee has charge of the City Hall, the Council House, and Municipal Offices, and the City Cemetery.		Cemetery..... 28,500	
The amount includes interest on loans and repayment.		Public Buildings..... 577,000	
It is possible that a large part of this expenditure on public buildings belongs to capital and should not be charged to annual expenditure.			
10. General Purposes Committee.....	4,500	10. Clerk's Department..... \$21,000	445,000
This includes expense of the Town Clerk's Office, expense of municipal and other elections, and provision for Judges' lodgings at the Assizes, besides other miscellaneous expenses.		Messengers..... 22,000	
		Registrar..... 14,000	
		Contingent..... 20,000	
		Executive..... 18,000	
		Incidentals..... 38,000	
		Law..... 28,000	
		Printing..... 60,000	
		Celebrations..... 25,000	
		Salaries..... 29,000	
		Elections..... 170,000	
These expenses probably belong in part to other departments, but I am unable to distribute them with certainty.			
11. Industrial School.....	3,900	11. I do not find this charge in the Boston accounts, but it may be included in the charge for public institutions (see 14).	877,000
12. Health Committee.....	64,500	12. Board of Health..... \$80,000	
This includes removal of refuse and night soil, and treatment of the same at the works; inspection of premises, and operations under the Adulterations Acts; Mortuaries, Borough Hospital containing four hundred beds; Convalescent Home, and Disinfecting Plant; also interest on loans and repayment.		Health Department..... 490,000	
In addition to the Borough Hospital there is an Infirmary paid for by the Board of Guardians (see 14).		Inspection of Provisions. 12,000	
Besides the Institutions paid for out of the rates, there are a large number of hospitals in Birmingham supported by voluntary contributions.		Hospitals..... 295,000	
13. Markets and Fairs.			
We make a profit out of this committee.		13. Markets.....	9,500
14. Poor Law Expenses.....	120,000	14. Public Institutions.....	577,000
This includes expense of work-houses and out-door relief; also lunatics, £25,000; Infirmary, £10,000, and cottage homes, £10,000; also interest on loans and repayment.		It is not clear what this item really is, but it is assumed that the House of Industry and similar institutions must be comparable with our work-houses and poor law buildings.	
		Overseers of the poor.....	110,000
Total.....	553,000	15. Interest on the City Debt.....	1,551,000
Less.		The interest on loans should be distributed to the expenditure under its several heads, but I am unable to make the division.	
Profits on Gas Undertaking...£25,000		16. Sinking Fund.	
Profits on Water Undertaking 2,000		I see no item for Sinking Fund or Repayment of Loans, but if there is one it should also be distributed to the several committees.	
Profits on Markets..... 4,000			
	31,000		
Raised by Rates.....£488,000			
Government Grants..... 27,000			
Balance carried forward..... 12,000			
Net total£522,000	£522,000	Total.	\$12,570,000

It may be observed that in this comparison the whole of the local expenditure is included. If we confine ourselves strictly to municipal

charges we must deduct from the total Birmingham expenditure of £553,000, the following items, viz.: Schools, £70,000; Lunatic Asylums, £5,000; Poor Law, £120,000; and also the exceptional charge of £25,000 for the great scheme under the Artisans' Dwellings Act. This would leave the total municipal expenditure at £333,000.

The Boston expenditure would be diminished by Schools, \$2,266,000, Overseers of Poor, \$110,000, and possibly by some part of the expenditure for Public Institutions. The total municipal expenditure would then stand at \$10,194,000, or more than six times the expenditure of Birmingham.

Although in this calculation Boston has been taken as a convenient subject of comparison, it must not be supposed that Boston stands alone or is comparatively excessive in its expenditure. In the Census Bulletin, No. 82, published by the Census Office, the Superintendent, the Hon. R. P. Porter, gives the statistics of the expenditure of one hundred principal and representative cities of the United States with a total population of 12,425,366, or about two-thirds of the urban population of the whole country. The list includes cities of every class, from Burlington, Vt., with a population of 14,590, to New York with 1,515,301; and the respective expenditures vary from \$3.79 per head in the case of Little Rock, Arkansas, and Oswego, New York, to \$27.61 for St. Paul, Minnesota.

The total ordinary expenses for the whole of the hundred cities are given as \$234,626,655. Deducting \$7,166,901 for charitable objects, and \$19,086,751 for water-works, which are expenses not represented in the Birmingham statistics, there remains \$208,373,003, or \$16.77 per head of the population. The corresponding expenditure in Birmingham, including schools, is £403,000, which is equal to 18s. 9d., or \$4.50 per head. The expenditure of Birmingham, with a population of 430,000, is therefore little more than one-fourth of the average of one hundred American cities, great and small together.

It may be added that Mr. Porter gives the expenditure per head of Boston as \$35.94 for ordinary expenditure, and \$23.74 for approximate administrative expenditure. His abstract of the accounts differs in detail from that given in this paper, but, assuming the lower of his two averages, it would appear that the average per head in Boston is still more than five times as great as that of Birmingham.

There is still one other way of checking and testing this result. What proportion of his net income is paid by an average urban resident in one of the great cities of America on account of local taxa-

tion? In England it might vary from $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to 5 per cent. In America it appears to reach from 15 per cent to 30 per cent; and thus, from whatever side the subject is approached, there can be no doubt of the enormous disproportion between the cost of similar service in the two countries.

Is it possible to give any reasonable explanation of this discrepancy, which may well suggest misgivings to the minds of the American tax-payers and which goes far to account for the deficiencies in the services rendered by municipal government of which they complain?

We may at once dismiss the idea that it is to be attributed to a more liberal franchise. The municipal suffrage in all English and Scotch boroughs under the Municipal Corporations Acts is extended to all rate-payers, whether male or female, and whether they pay their taxes directly, or indirectly in the shape of rent and through the landlord. The municipal register of Birmingham for 1891 contains 88,186 names. The registered voters for Boston, with a slightly larger population, numbered only 73,000 in 1890. The suffrage is therefore more widely extended in Birmingham than in Boston, and in both cases the working classes and small rate-payers are in an immense majority, and can practically do as they like.

In English municipalities no property qualification is required for members of the Council, and in that of Birmingham several working-men have seats and attend to its duties without giving up their ordinary daily avocations. The Aldermen, who constitute one-third of the Council, are elected by the remaining members. They sit and vote with the rest of the Council and have no other privileges than that of being elected for six, instead of for three years, and of escaping the cost and labour of a popular election. The ordinary Councillors retire every three years—one-third going out each year. This system of renewing the Council by sections has the advantage of preserving some continuity in its policy and of retaining the experience of the older members, while at the same time it allows the general drift of public opinion to be made immediately manifest. The Council have the power of electing Aldermen from the general body of citizens, but this right is very seldom exercised, and the office is generally considered as a distinction to be earned by long and efficient service as an ordinary Councillor. The only outside aid accepted by the Council is in the case of the Free Libraries and Museums, which, under a special act, are managed by a Committee of fourteen, consist-

ing of eight Councillors and six citizens chosen by the Council from outside. This provision enables the Council to avail itself of special knowledge and taste in a matter which is not connected with its ordinary work, and has been found valuable in the development and management of these popular institutions.

In the selection of candidates for the Council the practice of different localities varies greatly. In some it is conducted as a matter wholly apart from ordinary politics; but in the majority party considerations have a preponderating weight in determining the choice. This is defended on two grounds: first, it is pointed out that a much better class of candidates is to be found to contest a seat when the great issues of national policy are even indirectly involved; whereas petty local and personal interests would prevail if the contest were strictly limited to parochial questions; and, secondly, it is urged that in every party there are many good men well fitted for municipal honours who have no chance of representing a constituency in the House of Commons, and who would lose all interest in the party organisation if its operations were confined exclusively to parliamentary elections. Whatever may be thought of these arguments, it is certain that the efficiency of local institutions in Great Britain has not suffered owing to the prevailing influence of party motives. It should, however, be borne in mind that in this country the members of all our local governing bodies are unpaid and their office is purely honorary, except in the case of the Mayor, who, in a small minority of boroughs, is voted a salary to enable him to maintain the dignity of his office. In most cases, however, like the rest of his colleagues, the Mayor bears his own charges and considers himself sufficiently remunerated by the importance and influence which the position confers upon him. He is elected for one year by the Council and not by the popular vote, but may be re-elected for any number of similar terms. The office confers no statutory privileges except that of presiding over the deliberations of the Council; but, as the Mayor can attend all the Committees, he may readily secure, if he is a man of energy and capacity, the confidence and support of the Council and thus exercise a very important influence on its decisions and general policy.

Although, as has been stated, political considerations exercise great weight in determining the composition of the Council, they ought never to be allowed—and as a matter of fact they very seldom are allowed—to have the slightest force in the election of the permanent

officials or the day workmen employed by the Corporation. For nearly sixty years the great majority of the Town Council of Birmingham have been Liberals and Radicals, and yet during the greater part of that time the majority of the high officials have been members of the Conservative Party. All the higher officials are appointed by the Council itself. The minor officials are appointed by the Councillors of the several Departments and confirmed by the Council; and the day workmen either by the Councillors or more generally by the permanent heads of the Departments. When a new official has to be elected no questions are asked as to his political opinions, and no interference would afterwards be tolerated with his exercise of electoral privileges. It is an unwritten law that no paid official shall take an active part in political contests. He is expected to refrain from the platform and the press in relation to such controversial matters, but his private opinions and his votes are matters exclusively for his own discretion. Once chosen, if he discharges his duties well and faithfully, he remains in office for life, or till his resignation; with the probability that if he is disqualified by age or infirmities he will receive a pension proportioned to his salary and the length of his service. In Birmingham, the Town Clerk receives a salary which with allowances amounts to £2,200 per annum; the City Surveyor, £1,400; the City Treasurer, £1,050; the Chief of Police, £920; the Medical Officer of Health, £1,000; the Engineers of the Gas Department have £1,200 and £1,050 respectively; the Chief Engineer of the Water Department, £1,200, and the Secretaries of the Gas and Water Departments, £1,250 and £750 respectively. These gentlemen, with all the other permanent officials, are expected to give their whole working time to the Corporation and not to engage in any other occupation. Some of them have been more than thirty years in its service. They have grown with its growth and remained at their posts while the composition of the Council has changed many times, always enjoying the full confidence of their successive employers. To an Englishman the idea that paid municipal office should be the sport of successful politicians is utterly abhorrent. The personal honour, the trustworthiness, and the fidelity to their engagements of the permanent official service—whether in the Departments of State or in the municipal administrations of the country—are a national possession and a source of pride and satisfaction to all who are interested in the welfare of our institutions. To substitute for such a class—so distinguished, so faithful, and so absolutely honest and incorruptible—a number of casual occupants of posts for

which they have no sufficient qualification—political cadgers and hangers-on, with no real love for their work—with no ambition to distinguish themselves in it and only anxious to fill their pockets in the shortest possible time before they give place to a new swarm of the same breed—would be a disastrous revolution, and would in the opinion of every public man in this country be the certain precursor of inefficiency, corruption, and extravagance in our national and local administration.

In any attempt to find the cause of the great difference in cost of the municipal administration of the two countries, it is of course necessary to take into account the difference in the cost of wages. Labour, especially ordinary day labour, is certainly more highly paid in money in the United States than in England. But we are told by President Harrison and other authorities that, under the Protective system enjoyed by the American people, higher wages can be maintained without raising the cost of the necessaries of life. If this be true, it must be because the work done is better in quality and more in quantity in proportion to the amount of the wages; and in this case the same rule ought to apply to municipal work as exists in the case of private manufactures or production, and the scavenger in New York who gets two dollars a day for eight hours' work ought to be twice as efficient as his fellow-workman in Birmingham with four shillings per day of nine hours.

Even if we are incredulous as to the miraculous virtues of Protection, and if we admit that wages are higher in America than in England for the same class and quantity of work, the difference is not sufficient to account for an expenditure from four to six times as great. It is doubtful whether heads of departments or the higher grades of labour are paid much more highly than with us. As regards ordinary day work, the following are the rates and conditions of different classes in Birmingham: paviments, five shillings per day of nine hours; scavengers and street cleaners, four shillings per day of nine hours; gas stokers, five shillings and six pence per day of eight hours; inspectors of nuisances, five shillings to seven shillings per day; ordinary policemen, five shillings per day; firemen, three shillings and six pence to six shillings and six pence per day. In some of these cases—the police and firemen, for instance—the uniforms are found and there are superannuation allowances.

It must be admitted that there is a growing tendency in England,

under pressure from the Trades Unions and other labour organisations, to establish in connection with corporate work a minimum of wages and a maximum of hours. This principle may easily be carried too far. It is right that a wealthy municipality should act towards all its employees with a liberality as great as that practised by the most generous of private employers; but, if it goes one iota beyond this, it is in fact taxing all the rate-payers, and especially the great mass of the working class, in order to establish a privileged class of workmen obtaining special advantages at the expense of their less fortunate fellows; and it is at the same time lessening its power of carrying out works beneficial to the whole community, since every additional penny of cost is so much taken from the general fund applicable to this purpose. At present, however, there is no reason to believe that the workpeople employed by our Corporations receive more than the full average market value for their services.

A second reason frequently given to account for the extravagance of American City expenditure is the alleged existence of deliberate dishonesty and corruption practised on a gigantic scale. In the popularly elected municipalities of England this does not exist and has never existed. It is significant, and perhaps suggestive, that in Ireland there have been well-grounded complaints of such practices. The notorious case of Dublin, where the municipality bought inferior paving stones from Mr. Parnell's quarries at a higher price than was tendered for better material by another contractor, and the serious irregularities frequently proved against Irish Boards of Guardians, are cases in point; but it is doubtful if, since the passing of the Municipal Corporations Acts in 1836, there has ever been a single case in connection with any of the Corporations under the Act in which there has been any general corruption or malversation of public funds or any organised stealing by any political combination. There have been some isolated cases of personal dishonesty on the part of particular officials, just as there are occasionally fraudulent cashiers in banks or thieving clerks in a mercantile house; but there has been nothing which could be particularly associated with corporate institutions or with their method of management.

It is for Americans to say whether their experience is the same. It is well known that at particular periods of the municipal history of certain cities the gravest scandals have arisen, but it is difficult to believe that these are chronic in any town, or that they are general in the majority of American corporations. If not, the existence of occa-

sional and sporadic dishonesty is not sufficient to account for the phenomenon that we seek to explain.

There remains only one other possible cause; and that is, that, owing to ineffective control and supervision by the honorary members of the Councils in the first place, and secondly by the chief officials, the standard of work has fallen too low and the standard of payment has risen too high. In such a case apathy and carelessness would soon lead to general inefficiency and incompetence. Places without work would be inordinately multiplied to give opportunities for patronage; and we may be sure that, whenever four men are chosen to do a task which one can easily perform, the work will be badly as well as expensively done; since there can be no proper sense of responsibility under such conditions. Ignorance would be permitted to review the work of idleness; and dishonesty, even if it did not take the form of actual theft, would be rife in the shape of neglect of duty and inadequate service.

We have now completed the review of the differences which have arisen in the United States and in England in the working of what is practically the same institution. If there is any moral to be drawn from the contrast it may be most properly left to an American to extract it, for it would be presumptuous in an outsider to dogmatise on a question in which he possesses an intimate knowledge of only one side.

The leading idea of the English system may be said to be that of a joint-stock or co-operative enterprise in which every citizen is a shareholder, and of which the dividends are receivable in the improved health and the increase in the comfort and happiness of the community. The members of the Council are the directors of this great business, and their fees consist in the confidence, the consideration, and the gratitude of those amongst whom they live. In no other undertaking, whether philanthropic or commercial, are the returns more speedy, more manifest, or more beneficial. To give a single illustration, the reforms in Birmingham, carried out in a few years, reduced the death-rate from 26.8 per 1,000 in 1874 to 19 in 1888, although it has risen a little since owing to the influenza epidemic. In other words, the initiative of the unpaid members of the Council, and their supervision of the loyal and assiduous labours of the paid officials, have been the means of saving the lives of more than 3,000 persons in a single year; and, inasmuch as for a single death many cases of

illness not actually fatal may be reckoned, it is easy to see what a mass of human suffering has been lightened and how much misery has been prevented. Under these circumstances, the primary object of all concerned is not so much to lessen expenditure as to spend most wisely and to invest the money of the community in such a way as to secure continuously equally satisfactory results in the condition of the people.

This is the ideal at the present time; but of one thing we may be certain. If ever the principles of action should change—if the best men should be so occupied with their own fortunes that they should leave the care of the commonwealth to those who will see in this duty only an opportunity for plunder—if office is sought, not for the good which can be done, but for the political patronage it may afford—if paid officials lose their pride in their work and their loyalty to the public that employs them—if incapacity is overlooked and corruption is condoned—then, if these things happen—the dignity, the efficiency, and the economy of our public service will all disappear, and the institution of local government, so long our pride and our glory, will be discredited in the eyes of the people and will become a bye-word and a reproach.

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT: LESSONS FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF QUINCY, MASS.¹

AN experience, now no longer short and still fast increasing, seems to indicate that one cause of the trouble experienced in our city governments is that they have from the beginning been organized on a defective model,—that they followed an analogy which was not applicable,—the model of the constitutions of the State and of the United States. The municipal government was assumed to be analogous to the political government. In fact it was and is nothing of the sort: the state is a political entity; the municipality, a mere business organization. Accordingly, it is no part of the proper function of those handling municipal affairs to consider philosophical principles of statecraft. They are, on the contrary, persons selected by the constituencies to do the work intrusted to them, because the constituent masses have grown so large that they can no longer meet in one body to do that work themselves. The function of the municipal officer is, therefore, to administer the affairs of a local community in an intelligent and business-like way. Nevertheless, in Massachusetts the municipal governments have always been traditionally framed with the cumbrous machinery of the larger political bodies. They have, as matter of course, had their boards of aldermen, representing the senate, and their common councils, representing the more popular branch of the Legislature, instead of the simple executive and board of directors of innumerable other business organizations. Indeed, it seems almost to have been assumed as a maxim by the framers of the city charters that municipal machinery would work more efficiently in proportion to its clumsiness and intricacy. Again, the functions of the several departments of the ordinary city government have, in the course of time, become hopelessly confused. Responsibility has ceased to exist; for the legislative has by degrees encroached on the executive until, in the greater number of cities, the mayor is reduced to a mere cipher, while certain irresponsible combinations in the legislative chambers and city

¹ From an Address delivered in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Incorporation of Quincy, Mass.

halls, generally known as "rings," really control the administration of affairs. Almost of necessity, the executive functions have more and more fallen into the hands of commissions and boards, as the special requirements for the successful management of streets, sewers, lighting, police, etc., grow in importance. These boards, if not irresponsible, are as a rule and under existing city organizations not responsible to the chief executive.

Public attention had for years been forcibly called to these gathering difficulties by the occurrence of scandals of ever-increasing notoriety, more and more discussed, which those who drew up our Quincy charter bore freshly in mind. Accordingly, that charter, framed in consultation with individuals both within and without the State who had made a special study of the subject, was based on correct political theories in one respect at least,—in so far as was practicable, it was not a creation, but an outgrowth. In this matter, the principle at the base of all successful constitutional government was carefully regarded,—the fundamental principle that "everything which has power to win the obedience and respect of men must have its roots deep in the past, and that the more slowly every institution has grown, so much the more enduring it is likely to prove." Changing, therefore, in the least degree possible, the system to which the community had long been accustomed, those who framed our Quincy charter proposed simply to do away with the old board of selectmen as an executive body, and with the town-meeting as a legislative body, and to substitute for them respectively a responsible single executive, and a council much in the nature of a board of corporation directors. The framers of the charter in distributing the powers and functions of the proposed government followed, and followed correctly, the maxim that "Deliberation is the work of many, Execution is the work of one"; and while to the council of Quincy under its charter all proper deliberative and directive liberty was allotted, the Mayor of Quincy was avowedly intended to be clothed with a larger and more arbitrary power within his department than had ever in the United States been confided to the executive head of any organization classed as political.

The Quincy charter has now been in operation for three years and a half. It may be said generally that as the result of its working the impression prevails that the composition of the council—the legislative department—is the weak point in it. In that body there has been a noticeable tendency towards the sacrifice of general to local interests. Ward politics and requirements have been unduly prom-

inent. This it is claimed is due to the feature of local constituency in the charter, and to the want of any provision securing minority representation. The students of municipal government assert that the Quincy charter, as far as it went, was based on correct principles; but that it failed to carry out those principles to their necessary logical result. The analogy of the business corporation should have been followed to its full extent, and all the members of the legislative department should have been chosen at large, regardless of ward lines; with, moreover, some provision for minority representation. This result, it is argued, would have been brought about to manifest advantage had the charter provided for the election of a council to be composed of fifteen, or twenty-one, or twenty-four members, as might be thought best, all to be chosen at large, while no voter could vote for over two thirds of the entire number to be chosen; but, on the other hand, each voter should have been at liberty to concentrate all, or any portion of the votes he could cast on one or more candidates, or to distribute them among the full number he was entitled to vote for, giving one vote to each. The fifteen, twenty-one or twenty-four candidates who received in this way the largest number of votes, irrespective of the size of the several votes as compared with the whole or each other, would be elected, and would compose the council.

Had such a system of electing the members of the legislative department been made a part of the Quincy charter, it would, it is contended, have assured an almost absolutely free constituency. Had those composing this total constituency, or any portion of them, desired to secure ward or local representation, it would have been easy for them to organize themselves so as, through concentration of votes, to bring that result about. It was right that they should have this power. If, on the other hand, scattered citizens wished to form a constituency to bring about certain results, or choose to the council particular men, it ought to be made easy for them so to do. It is now difficult, if not impossible. Freedom for individual action was the object to be kept in view and the result to be secured; and this result cannot be attained through the political systems now in use. It could be attained through changes in the basis of constituency of the kind suggested.

Such was and is the Quincy charter,—our attempt at a solution of the great problem now vexing the nation. It was a new departure,—a departure carefully prepared, in full sympathy with the current political theories of the day; and then understandingly entered upon.

Whether it will prove a successful departure,—a veritable and valuable contribution to political science,—remains to be seen; but whether in the result it does or does not so prove, it was and is, as I have said, none the less an honest, an intelligent and a well-considered attempt at the solution of the problem.

And now, having said this much, let us look at the thing from another point of view; for we may rest assured that before any final result is reached,—at least if that result is to be of a satisfactory and not of a chaotic character,—this thing has got to be studied as well as looked at from every conceivable point of view. From another point of view may it not be that in the Quincy charter the fatal mistake was made of endeavoring to devise a governmental machinery which should do the work the citizen only can do with success? Of late the effort has unquestionably been, through some ingenious and careful readjustment of the parts of government and their relations to the community and each other, to invent a mere machine, which, once set in motion, will work of itself,—a kind of nickel-in-the-slot political arrangement, under which the citizen will be saved the trouble of doing anything, except periodically dropping an improved ballot into a patented ballot-box.

More than a century and a half ago an English poet, a good deal more read formerly than now, epigrammatically exclaimed—

“For forms of government let fools contest:
That which is best administered is best.”

While this certainly is not now, and never was, wholly true, yet there is truth in it,—a degree of truth of which the charter theorists need to be reminded now that they are so plainly tending to the opposite theory, that, in municipal governments at any rate, everything is in the form, the proper distribution of functions and concentration of responsibility—that, in short, if we are only patient and ingenious enough in device, a charter can in time be produced which, once set in motion, will grind out a correct and satisfactory administration of municipal affairs. May it not be that, after all, the Quincy charter was to some extent an attempt of this sort,—an attempt to secure through mechanical means that which a disinterested and widely diffused public spirit and co-operative action only ever have brought about yet, or probably ever will bring about hereafter?

If this is so, it needs no prophet's eye to foresee that our Quincy charter is, as the solution of a difficult problem, not destined to prove

a success. When Mr. Bryce said that, as respects American municipal affairs, "we find able citizens absorbed in their private business, cultivated citizens unusually sensitive to the vulgarities of practical politics, and both sets therefore specially unwilling to sacrifice their time and tastes and comforts in the struggle" of civic administration,—when Mr. Bryce wrote this, he touched with the point of his pen the true seat of trouble. More than that, he indicated the only possible remedy for it.

It is good to frame charters and constitutions; it is well to devise ingenious political expedients; it is refreshing to observe the working of nicely balanced paper adjustments:—but, by themselves and of themselves, it is most improbable that in the present or any other respect these will ever work out the political salvation of a community which depends upon them. The Quincy charter, I will also add, however excellent it may be in theory, will in the coming years not work out the municipal salvation of Quincy. Of that much at least we can even now feel assured. Something else is necessary; and that something is men,—and, moreover, the very best men this or any other town or city now can or ever will supply. The solution, and the only solution, of the problem which torments us may be as easy to point out as it is difficult to secure. In looking for it, also, it may not be necessary to go very far afield.

I venture to suggest, also, that in the matter of municipal rule and administration we might to-day derive useful hints from the experience in another field of France and Italy, and yet more of Germany. Those nations have their skeletons in the closet,—their problems which must be solved,—as we have ours. Adequate security against internal disorder or foreign aggression is their problem. Their solution of it is compulsory military service. Our problem is good municipal government. Might not its solution be found in a species of compulsory municipal service? The suggestion of such a thing may at first seem futile and almost foolish; yet, perhaps, the more it is considered, the less idle will it appear. In republican America, no less than despotic Russia, the community has, so far as the individual citizen is concerned,—no matter who that citizen may be, or what his vocation, or what his estate,—the community has over him a certain right of eminent domain; and a right which within reasonable limits it should exercise. To say this is merely to assert, what no one will deny, that every citizen is towards the government which protects him under obligations of duty a quittance for which is not included in the

receipt of the tax-collector. If then the public exigency demands, and the demand can in no other way be met, just as the German government puts its hand on every German,—high-born or low-born, rich or poor,—and puts him for a term of years into the ranks of its army, exacting from him this forced service on public account,—so, under our institutions and in the spirit of them, you here in Quincy, and by the same principle those there in Boston and in New York and in San Francisco, have a right to lay hands on any citizen of your or their municipality, be he rich or poor, prominent or obscure, educated or ignorant, and exact of him a term of municipal service, if you see fit so to do; and moreover, just as in Germany a physical disability or papers of discharge alone give exemption from military duty, so here, if a proper system prevailed, only a similar disability or a reasonable term of duty performed, ought to secure exemption from municipal service. Not only under a republican system of government is this, I repeat, the right of the community, but more than that, it is its duty to exercise the right, and to enforce its exercise by all necessary means.

The enunciation of such a doctrine of public right and private duty will, I know, sound strange now, and by most be regarded as theoretic. I greatly fear, also, that as a practical remedy it is out of the question, being opposed to that tendency or drift of public opinion and unwritten law of usage than which nothing is more difficult to reverse or overcome. If such is the case,—if municipal service cannot be put on the same plane as jury duty,—it remains only to accept the situation, and to go on treating that service in the future as we have treated it in the more recent past, as a voluntary contribution to be made by those of more public spirit, and withheld by those of less. But if such is indeed the case, let no one hug himself in the pleasing delusion that the results of American municipal government in the future will be any more satisfactory than they have been heretofore. Most assuredly they will not, for it will then be evident that the root of the trouble is in the decay of public spirit; and neither charters nor systems of checks and balances, no matter how intricate or how cunningly devised, ever were or ever will be an adequate substitute for public spirit. On the contrary, those devices become then a delusion and a snare.

Such a theory of public right and private duty may to some also sound Utopian rather than merely theoretic. To such, if such there be, I will merely say: It was not always so!—and in proof thereof, I

with all confidence appeal to the record. Listen, and you will learn, very possibly to your surprise, that what you now dismiss as Utopian,—that very compulsory municipal service, irrespective of every social distinction, which I have suggested, not only formerly prevailed here in Quincy, but was enforced by a money penalty as well as by public opinion. And first, I call as a witness one who, it will be remembered, before being President of the United States, served two successive years as a selectman of Braintree. John Adams graduated at Harvard College in 1755, and six years later, in 1761, was a young lawyer just beginning practice in his native town. Here is his experience, recounted by himself, of compulsory municipal service as then practised :

“In March [of that year], when I had no suspicion, I heard my name pronounced [at town-meeting] in a nomination of surveyors of highways. I was very wroth, because I knew no better, but said nothing. My friend Dr. Savil came to me and told me that he had nominated me to prevent me from being nominated as a constable. ‘For,’ said the doctor, ‘they make it a rule to compel every man to serve either as constable or surveyor, or to pay a fine.’ I said they might as well have chosen any boy in school, for I knew nothing of the business ; but since they had chosen me at a venture, I would accept it in the same manner, and find out my duty as I could.”

Now for other cases of the enforcement of this rule of compulsory municipal service. Your ancient records are full of them, nor were any exemptions allowed. For instance, in 1734 Josiah Quincy, then a young man of twenty-five, was elected constable, and the town constable in those days collected the town taxes,—a duty even more odious then than now, for to it a financial liability for the entire levy attached by law: to this office of constable the Josiah Quincy of that day was chosen in the Braintree town-meeting of 1734; and the record goes on, “Mr. Josiah Quincy refused to serve, and paid his fine down, being five pounds.” So John Borland, belonging to one of the few wealthy families in the town, a member of the Church of England society, and subsequently a Tory, was chosen constable in 1756, though then excused from serving; but in 1757 he was chosen again, and appears to have served. In 1774 General Joseph Palmer, being then fifty-eight, a man of fortune and a deacon, was duly chosen constable at the annual March meeting, over which he was at the time presiding as moderator; but he “refused serving, as incompatible with his church office.” In 1728, Moses Belcher was chosen; and he declaring non-acceptance, William Fields was next chosen; Fields also declaring his non-acceptance, “John Adams, being by a majority of votes chosen; he declared his acceptance.” In 1735 no less than twenty-

five pounds were paid in as fines for non-acceptance; and those fines were looked upon as so considerable a source of revenue that in 1730 it had been voted that the money accruing on this account should be for the benefit, not of the town as a whole, but of the particular precincts in which the individuals who paid it might live. Col. John Quincy's only son, Norton, graduated in 1756, and two years later, at the town-meeting of September 11, he was chosen constable. Another meeting was held a week afterwards. Colonel Quincy was then a man of nearly seventy, and for almost fifty years he had been the most prominent personage in the town. He was looked up to with that respect which, in the popular mind, always accompanies advancing years associated with high personal character and the long holding of public office. The old man seems to have thought the choice of his son as town constable an act derogatory to himself; so he went into the second meeting, and, as the record says, "desired his son might be excused from serving constable." Among those to whom this request was addressed there could not have been many who remembered a time when the man who made it had not, as a matter of course, presided at town-meetings. They were not wanting in deference to years and standing; and if they would defer to any one, they would surely defer to him after whom the North Precinct as an independent town was subsequently named. But, clearly, they thought that Colonel Quincy was now demanding for himself and his an exemption from public service which amounted to little less than a denial of equality. Such an assumption of superiority was inconsistent with the spirit of town government. And so, the record proceeds, "after reasons offered," the request to be excused was "passed in the negative," and the town treasurer was directed "to call on said Norton Quincy for his fine." Apparently the old man felt this slight, as he regarded it, deeply; for his name does not appear again in the town records, though it was nine years yet before he died. But young Norton Quincy accepted the rebuke in the true spirit. He paid his fine, and the next year, when the town again chose him constable, he quietly accepted the office and performed its duties. Later he was chosen selectman, serving as such for many years during the revolutionary period.

So stands the record on the point that in Quincy here there is nothing novel in the idea of compulsory municipal service, or in its practical enforcement. In former days a man could not be called upon to serve forever as town-constable, nor could he properly be

called upon to serve perpetually now as a mayor or as member of your city council; but he was then compelled to serve his reasonable term of municipal duty in the positions to which his fellow-townsmen called him, and now he should be compelled to do the same. Nor wealth nor indolence nor private occupation sufficed to secure exemption then; nor should they suffice to secure it now.

I have also said that the American municipality is entitled to the service of its best men. But who are your "best men?"—for, in politics, this phrase sometimes excites a sneer, as though in that field the talking of "best men" seemed to contain an implied and undemocratic assertion that for civic purposes all men are not equal. By "best men," therefore, are meant those who in the ordinary walks of life—on the street, in the court-room, the sick-chamber and the market-place—are recognized as most successful in their callings. If you are going to organize a bank or a manufacturing or a railroad company, you do not select from among its stockholders a list of directors largely composed of those who have notoriously failed in whatever else they have undertaken, or who are otherwise discredited. You carefully select, on the contrary, men known to have been shrewdest and most successful in the management of their own affairs, and who stand highest in the estimate of the stockholders. Has the same practice been followed as a rule in the make-up of the boards of aldermen and common councils of our cities? Yet in what way, so far as good business management is concerned, does a public corporation differ from a private corporation? By the "best men" of a municipality, therefore, is meant those who are recognized and looked to as best and most successful in the ordinary walks of life: and it is to a reasonable share of the services of these that, I insist, every municipality is entitled as of right; and, moreover, that its claim should be enforced, where public opinion does not suffice, by such other means, whether of obloquy or pecuniary loss, as might be found necessary to bring about the desired result.

Herein, I submit, might be found one factor, and a most important factor, in the solution of our problem. But the suggestion of it will be met with the objection that, through the working of the political machinery now in use, and to which as a community we are thoroughly accustomed, the best men are not selected for office. The machine, indeed, is not worked to that end. Far from it; the professionals who make a business of manipulating the caucus are to the modern citizen, honestly minded but engrossed in his private affairs,

very much what armed mercenaries were to the town mob in old feudal days,—nine times out of ten they are absolute masters of the situation. They nominate whom they please; and, in municipal office, they have no use whatever for the community's "best men."

There is force, too, and a great deal of force, in this practical view of the subject. It is true—and for us very sadly true—that the whole underlying political machinery now in common use in American cities (and in Quincy, it may fairly be presumed, like the rest) is admirably adapted—as admirably adapted as if it were so designed—to put control securely in the hands of the professionals. The caucus system supplements the ward system. To be in public life in America,—whether in the National Congress or the city government,—a man must be a member of the political majority in the locality in which he chances to live. A political system better adapted to throwing control into the hands of those who will use it for ulterior and selfish ends, and for keeping the "best men" out of the field of public usefulness, could not be devised: and so it is against this part of the existing political machinery, I submit, that the charter-makers and reformers should now be directing their efforts, rather than in the direction of more ingenious contrivances for the division of functions and the concentration of responsibility. The difficulty is in the basis of representation. We reach our results to-day by the process of counting noses, *pro* and *con*, within the pales of certain geographical ring-fences known as district and ward lines!

The puzzle, therefore, the charter-reformer has to work out, if he is going to get down to the root of the matter, is some practical system which shall secure the utmost political free play to the individual citizen, and the representation of minorities in municipal affairs; having done this,—having thus set individuals free and made minorities potent,—it will be for those composing the minorities to put their hands, as of old, on the shoulders of the "best men," and exact of them compulsory municipal service, those civic tours of public duty.

On this problem the past throws no light. You may search with a conveyancer's care the pages of the Braintree records, or your own record-books of Quincy, but you will find nothing in them to aid you. The environments are all new; the adjustment to those environments must be equally new: but you will be uncomfortable all the same,—you will toss about like Dante's "sick man who cannot find rest upon his bed,"—until that adjustment is effected, and correctly effected. It may, unquestionably it does, seem strange that in a matter of such

moment the precedents to guide us should be so few,—that no finger-posts exist along the road we must travel. Indeed, were it not plainly so, it would be thought incredible that, after nearly three centuries of active experience, the English-speaking race should in such a matter as local municipal government cling to a system which leaves it to arbitrary geographical lines to supply the basis of representation, instead of seeking it in a common purpose existing among bodies of citizens. It is not easy to conceive of anything more illogical and crude, or, it may be added, more oppressive. But the absence of precedent in no way affects the situation. The situation is bad: nor will the trouble be settled until it is settled right. We are now represented by men because they live in the next street to us, not because they and we, thinking alike on municipal matters, want to act together. It would surely require no great degree of ingenuity to devise a local municipal system under which it would be practicable for a scattered constituency—no longer imprisoned within ward lines so that those composing it may the more conveniently be throttled by ward politicians—so to concentrate itself as to escape complete suppression. It would not be profitable for me to discuss this matter further, for nothing which could be uttered here and now will perceptibly affect results. These things work themselves out by a law of their own; and being impatient or scolding at the slow course of events is of no earthly use. If there is anything good or practicable in what has here been suggested, it will come under the pressure of necessity, and all in good time. Assured of this, we can afford to withdraw our gaze from the lengthening, onward road before us, with confident faith that just as the eighteenth century saw with us a system of compulsory municipal service in accepted and active operation, so the twentieth century will devise for us—if such a thing is really worth devising—some practical method of minority municipal representation which shall restore that system in a shape adapted to existing conditions, by utilizing to the utmost those saving forces of individuality in the citizen which are now ignorantly wasted, where not systematically suppressed.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

OUR PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM: SCHOOLS OF BUFFALO AND CINCINNATI.

· IN the October number of the FORUM I discussed the general features of our Public-School System, also the Public Schools of Baltimore.

In regard to the American schools in general, I stated that the schools of different localities were very unequal, so much so that while those of some cities had already advanced considerably, those of others were still far behind the age. I attributed this variation largely to the varying degree of excellence in supervision, for the reason that I had discovered during my visits to the schools of thirty-six American cities that, with few exceptions, the schools had advanced directly in proportion to what had been done by the superintendents toward raising the standard of the teachers in their charge. And this circumstance I explained by the fact that licenses to teach are, in the vast majority of instances, granted to persons whose education, both general and pedagogical, is far too limited to enable them to develop the minds of children upon scientific principles,¹ that consequently the vast majority of teachers are still sorely in need of training when they receive their licenses to teach, and that the duty of training them, after being regularly appointed as teachers, devolves upon the superintendent and his assistants.

In relation to the ultimate causes of the varying degree of excellence of the schools I stated in substance the following:

First, the citizens in many cities are utterly indifferent to the affairs of the schools, and, as a result, the school officials are not everywhere sufficiently urged to advance the educational institutions in their charge. Secondly, boards of education in this country are

¹ "Not more than a small percentage of persons engaged in teaching in the public schools of this country are normal-school graduates. Of those teaching (besides the normal-school graduates) some are high-school graduates, others have simply attended a normal school, high school, or academy for one or more terms, while a very large number of licenses to teach are granted to those whose education does not extend beyond that received at a grammar school, with or without a little extra coaching."—*October Forum*, page 151.

composed of laymen who cannot be expected to know the needs of the schools, and consequently the condition of the schools will depend to a not inconsiderable extent upon whether or not fortune favors them in the selection of a superintendent. Thirdly, in the larger cities a false system of economy is too frequently exercised, as is evidenced by the fact that the number of assistant-superintendents is too small to supervise properly a large corps of teachers. Lastly, the most potent of all causes—politics. When a school system is but a part of the whole municipal machinery—and this is not infrequently the case—the board of education is composed largely of politicians who seek the office of member of the school board for no other reason than that of patronage. Under these circumstances the tendency exists to select superintendents who are willing to follow blindly the dictates of the board, rather than those who, having the welfare of the children at heart, would consent to nothing which might have an unfavorable influence on the schools; in other words, political boards of education have the tendency to select *tools* rather than educational leaders. And where merit is of secondary importance in the selection of superintendents, the same is true in regard to the teachers, those having the most “pull” receiving the earliest and best appointments. And there is nothing which so hampers the work of a superintendent as a school system riddled with incompetent teachers.

In regard to Baltimore, I remarked that I had found the instruction in the public schools of that city extremely unscientific, and a description was given of some of the class-room work to show my reasons for such criticism. I also pointed out the fact that the unfavorable condition of the Baltimore schools was caused by inadequate supervision, untrained teachers, and politics in the Board of Education. In the present article, which will be devoted to the public schools of Buffalo and Cincinnati, I shall again point out the connection between unscientific instruction and inadequate supervision. And, for the study of the baneful influence which politics exert upon the schools, I know of no city that affords so much opportunity as Buffalo. In my next article I shall begin to show the bright side of American education.

The public schools of Buffalo and Cincinnati, like those of Baltimore, belong, in my opinion, to the mechanical order of schools. By mechanical schools I mean those whose aim is to cram the minds of children with words without regard to the things which they repre-

sent, with abstract ideas without regard to the concrete, and where the instruction appeals to the mechanical memory rather than to the reasoning faculties.

Whether in the present era mechanical instruction be justifiable, that is, whether a teacher be justified in ignoring all that has been done by educational scientists toward placing education upon a rational basis, may be a matter of opinion. But it is certainly not proper for school officials to condemn strongly all that pertains to the mechanical and to indorse warmly the views of educational scientists, and then to convey to the public the impression that they practise in their schools what they preach outside of them, when in truth the schools in their charge are pervaded with just those things which they condemn, while those which they commend cannot be found in them. A striking instance of this nature may be found at Buffalo, and, in order to illustrate my meaning, I shall compare what the superintendent of schools of that city remarks in his annual report of 1889-90, in regard to what schools should do and what they should not do, with the instruction as I found it in the schools in his charge.

The following are extracts from that report:

"In bringing into our present system of instruction the innumerable material objects and the tools with which manual training works out its processes, we must note a strict adherence to the universally accepted psychological law that the concrete should precede the abstract. It goes without saying that a pupil's conception of an idea, embodied in a tangible form, will be infinitely clearer than that of one who tries to grasp it by means of a mere word-picture of it. . . . For youthful minds, any system of education that deals almost wholly with abstractions is not so well adapted to the purposes of a mental discipline as one which employs the lucid and attractive methods of experimental philosophy, as evinced in the working of concrete substances."—Page 107.

Following these are words to the effect that there is a tendency on the part of the school to make automatons of children, that there is a necessity of breaking up the extreme uniformity, and that we "must have some regard for the differing assimilative powers of the young and precious minds committed to our charge."

"On every side we see unmistakable evidences of a new adaptation of means to ends, and it would augur ill for the conceded" (by whom conceded?) "advancement of our own school department, were we content to labor with methods and materials that have long since been relegated to a merited obscurity, to make way for new, easier and more successful means of instruction."—Page 103.

"— my desire to keep the school department of our city abreast of the foremost in the race for supremacy."—Page 102.

These remarks indicate that the superintendent of schools of Buffalo desires to convey two distinct impressions: First, that he is among those who favor natural development—teaching upon psychological principles—and that he is strongly opposed to all methods which savor of the mechanical. Secondly, that in all things short of manual training, the teaching in the public schools of Buffalo is not only conducted upon psychological principles, but that natural teaching had nowhere reached a higher stage of development than in the schools of that city, and consequently that no schools had done more than these toward discarding “methods and materials that have long since been relegated to a merited obscurity.” How otherwise can we construe the words “my desire to keep the school department of our city abreast of the foremost in the race for supremacy”?

I shall now describe some of the teaching that I witnessed in the public schools of Buffalo, in order to give the reader an opportunity to judge for himself how well the claim of superiority bears the test of actual investigation.¹

In a school which has the reputation of being one of the best in the city, I attended two lessons in geography, one in the fourth and the other in the sixth grade, which on account of their peculiar nature should not be passed by unnoticed.

First, the fourth-grade lesson. This lesson was divided into two parts, a written and an oral. During the written part, the children wrote upon their slates the answers to map-questions, which the teacher read to them from the text-book in the order in which they were printed. After some twenty questions had been asked and answered in this manner, the teacher said: “That will do for the present; now let us see how many missed.” She then told the class the correct answers, and while she did so the children looked at their slates in order to see how many misses they had made. When all the answers had been given the teacher inquired, “How many had all right? How many missed one? How many missed two?” etc., etc.

This process completed, the teacher remarked: “Now we will have that lesson orally, and let us see how many will miss.”

During the written lesson nothing worth speaking of was done

¹ I beg to call the attention of the reader to the fact that as I visited the schools of Buffalo very soon after the new superintendent entered upon the duties of his office, he was in no way responsible for the condition of the schools at the time, and that consequently my remarks are not intended to reflect upon him.

besides that which I have mentioned. In the oral part the same questions were asked as in the written part, the only difference between the oral and the written lesson being that in the one the answers were spoken, while in the other they were written.

In the sixth grade the subject of the lesson was California. During this recitation no text-book was used by the teacher. The teacher opened the lesson with the question, "How long does it take to go to California?" Then correcting herself, she said, "No, tell me first why you would like to go to California," though no one had expressed any particular desire to go there.

"I should like to take a drive around the mountains," answered one of the children.

"I should like to see the Golden Gate," said another.

This answer was followed by a cry of "chestnuts," from one of the boys. This remark did not, however, attract the attention of the teacher. In fact, during the entire lesson there was a complete absence of discipline.

After the children had given their reasons for desiring to go to California, the teacher remarked, "Now tell me how long it takes to go there."

In reply to this all sorts of guesses were made, the lowest being five days and the highest seven weeks.

At last a little girl said: "I know. My mamma went to California last winter. She started on a Thursday evening——"

This manner of solving the problem did not, however, appear to meet with unanimous approval, as the child's remarks were cut short by a cry of "Come off."

Unfortunately, to the teacher herself, the whole subject of California appeared to be involved in as deep a mystery as the language of the Hindoos. Indeed, the children appeared to do more toward the enlightenment of the teacher than the latter did to enlighten them. Nevertheless, she finally put an end to the agonizing suspense by saying, "I think it would take about a week."

"Through what cities would you pass in travelling from Buffalo to California?" was the next question.

"Chicago," said one of the children.

"Let me see," the teacher remarked, as she walked to the wall map, to verify the answer. When other cities were mentioned, she did the same thing.

"What can you tell me about San Francisco?" she asked later.

"It is the largest city in California," a pupil replied.

"It is one of the largest, but I don't know that it is the largest," said the teacher.

This ridiculous recitation was closed with the reading of an extract from an article on California which one of the children had found in an encyclopædia.

In one of the other schools that I visited the pedagogical absurdities were numerous, but in describing the work which I observed there, I shall, for the purpose of economizing space, confine my remarks to the curiosities which I found in one of the lower grades.

The first thing I heard in that room was a spelling-lesson. The teacher informed me that it was to be a new lesson, and that I should therefore have the opportunity to learn her method of teaching spelling. The teacher announced the lesson by telling the children to turn to a certain page in their reading-books.

When all the little ones were ready, they began to spell in concert, and continued doing so, until the list of words on that page was completed. Each word was spelled twice in succession and in a sing-song so marked that it resulted in a well-defined melody. As the effect cannot be reproduced in words alone, I shall give the music, as well as the words. The words "steal" and "their," for example, were sung as follows:

Con espressione.

The musical notation consists of two staves. The first staff is for the word 'steal' and the second for 'their'. Both are in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The melody is a simple, sing-song tune with a rising and falling contour. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Steal s - t - e - a - l steal, steal s - t - e - a - l steal,

their t - h - e - i - r their, their t - h - e - i - r their.

When the children had sung all the words in the list, they were told to spell them once more. They then repeated the whole process

After the words had been spelled in this manner for the second time, the lesson took a new turn. The children were now told to close their books, and when this had been done the teacher heard them spell individually the words that they had just studied in concert. When all the words had been spelled by the children individually, I expected to hear another subject announced, but I learned to my utter amazement that the pupils were to be treated to a third course; for the teacher here remarked:

"We will now write the words."

This announcement was followed by a considerable amount of bustle and confusion on the part of the children, and order was not restored until slates, pencils, and rulers had been placed in position. When all was quiet, one of the pupils called out,

"I ain't got no ruler."

In answer to this the teacher, without correcting the child's language, said,

"You don't need a ruler. Do it the way you *done* it yesterday."

Then the words of the oft-repeated list were slowly dictated by the teacher. When the word "steal" was reached, she remarked:

"Spell the 'steal' you spelled this morning, not the 'steel' you spelled yesterday."

When the word "their" was reached, the teacher asked, "How do you spell 'their'?"

"T-h-e-i-r—their," sang the children.

"What kind of a 't' do you use in *their*?"

"Capital 't,'" one of the pupils answered.

"That's right," said the teacher.

One of the children here interposed:



"I can't make no cap - i - tal t."



"I kin."

sang another.

Here the teacher said to me, "They don't use capital letters regularly in this class; I only let them use capitals when they write proper names and proper *things*."

At last the spelling was over, and a lesson in arithmetic was begun. The first example the teacher gave them was the following:
 $6 - 2 + 4 = ?$

After the children had written this upon their slates, motions were made by them which indicated that they had had a considerable amount of experience in counting upon their fingers. One boy displayed quite an original method of calculating. He performed the example in this way: he made six strokes upon his slate, rubbed out

two of them, added four strokes to those remaining, and finished by counting the number of strokes then on his slate. It was all done with remarkable rapidity. When a number of examples had been performed the teacher said:

"Now I will give you one in subtraction. You know that's the kind you have to borrow in."

I visited a number of classes in this building, and before leaving it I saw things which convinced me that the pedagogical skill of other teachers employed there was not much above that displayed by the one whose work I have just described.

Space will not permit me to enter further into the detailed description of Buffalo's class-room work. Indeed, it were needless to do so, for, owing to the general uniformity of methods in vogue in the public schools of that city, their general characteristic features may be summed up in a few words. An exception here and there among seven hundred teachers does not alter the rule.

A subject on which much stress is laid and which may be regarded as standing, to a great extent, in the same relation to the schools of Buffalo as arithmetic does to those of Baltimore, is spelling. So much importance is attached to this subject that even the five-year-old children are taxed with spelling-lessons twenty to twenty-five minutes in duration. One of the teachers while speaking to me upon the subject said:

"I do wish we would return to the alphabet method of teaching reading, because those children who know their alphabet progress most rapidly in spelling."

Geography, a subject which, when treated scientifically, can not only be made very interesting, but can do much toward exercising the reasoning faculties, is taught by the "cramming" process, true instruction being substituted by mere lesson-hearing. Indeed, the scientific teaching of geography is an art, while the process of simply hearing children recite the geography lessons which they have studied can be undertaken by any one able to read. The methods employed in teaching technical grammar to the younger children are anything but modern. Reading is taught by the word method, a method which when used without the aid of phonics (as is the case at Buffalo) does less to develop mental power and more to waste time than any that I know of, excepting, *perhaps*, the alphabet method. Arithmetic is taught in an almost purely abstract manner from the very beginning. And even physics—which is studied in the highest grade—is

taught not by the experimental, but by the text-book method. In fact, taken all in all, I found very little in the public schools of Buffalo to indicate that in that city "methods and materials that have long since been relegated to a merited obscurity" had made way for "new, easier and more successful means of instruction." Indeed, I found but few cities where so little had been done toward lightening the burdens of the children—and particularly the younger ones—by discarding abstract and subjective in favor of objective and experimental methods.

The causes of the deplorable condition of the public schools of Buffalo are the same as those which were mentioned as leading to a similar condition of affairs at Baltimore, namely: politics, untrained teachers, and scanty supervision.

In regard to politics, the schools of Buffalo are even more deeply involved than those of Baltimore. In the latter city there is simply a close connection between schools and politics, while in Buffalo they are one. This is true not only of the Board of Education, but also of the superintendent and, to a great extent, the teachers.

That the Board of Education is a purely political body is evidenced by the fact that it is constituted by a *Committee of Seven of the Common Council*. As for the superintendent, he is elected directly by the people, and must, therefore, almost necessarily be a politician. And when we consider that the superintendent who is elected by the people has the sole power to appoint teachers, it becomes clear that political influence is liable to play a very important part in their appointment. Until recently matters were apparently still worse, as the superintendent had the sole power to examine as well as appoint teachers; and what is more, he had full power to regulate the character of the examination, without being restricted, as far as I can learn, to any fixed minimum. The result is that a large number of incompetent teachers have found their way into the schools of Buffalo; in fact, only a comparatively small number of Buffalo's teachers are normal-school graduates.

The supervision itself is of the scantiest, the City Superintendent being the only supervising officer, although there are seven hundred teachers in the system. What can a single person do toward raising the standard of seven hundred teachers? Were he to devote all his time and energy to this end he could accomplish but little, and how much less can he do when a portion of his time and energy must necessarily be spent in work connected with his office

from which the teacher can receive no direct benefit, and when another portion of his time and energy must be spent in "pulling wires" and otherwise working toward a re-election? When all these things are considered—supervision, office-work, and electioneering—we find that (speaking with mathematical accuracy) Buffalo has, for the purpose of supervising and raising the standard of seven hundred teachers, not even one, but only one-third of one superintendent.

An action was recently taken at Buffalo which it was believed would lead to the improvement of the schools; namely, a board was established for the purpose of examining candidates for teachers' positions and exercising a sort of general supervision over the schools. But there are a number of reasons why this board is liable to do as little toward raising the standard of the schools of Buffalo as a drop of water to swell the Atlantic Ocean. First, the board is composed of laymen, and consequently of persons not qualified to inquire into the true competency of a teacher, true competency depending upon a knowledge of just those things of which laymen are supposed to know nothing; namely, psychology and pedagogy, the sciences upon which scientific teaching is founded. Secondly, the board has not the power to examine candidates as it sees fit, but only to formulate questions within certain limits prescribed by the superintendent, who, as before, is privileged to make the standard as low as he chooses. Besides, this officer still retains the power to appoint teachers, the only restriction now laid upon him being that the appointments must be made from among those who passed the examination of the board with an average of seventy per cent or over, without, however, being obliged to regard the order of merit.

Under these circumstances I fail to perceive why the superintendent should not conduct the examinations as heretofore, the advantage derived by an examination of the board over one given by the superintendent being a mystery to me. It is true that an examination by the board will prevent cheating on the part of the superintendent. But it certainly reflects badly upon the city itself, if it feels the need of creating a board to watch a man who, above all others, should be scrupulously honest.

Besides, as has been pointed out, the quality of the schools does not depend nearly so much upon what the teachers know at the time of their appointment, as it does upon what is done toward educating them professionally after their appointment. It is true that the members of the Board of Examiners are obliged to exercise a general

supervision over the schools. But if they are expected to do anything toward raising the standard of the teachers, which is the true essence of supervision, then they are supposed, as laymen, to be able to instruct teachers in the science of education and the art of teaching, which but renders their position doubly absurd.

It follows that something much more radical must be done before the schools of Buffalo may be expected to improve to an appreciable extent. As the causes of the evils in Buffalo—politics, untrained teachers, and scanty supervision—are identical with those which were found at Baltimore, I can but suggest identical remedies for their eradication. To rid the schools of politics nothing but a complete reorganization of the whole school system will suffice, for the reason that at Buffalo they enter into every branch of the system. And to remedy the evils arising from incompetent teachers, I know of but one thing that can be relied upon, namely, thorough supervision, that is, supervision the object of which is to raise the standard of the teachers by instructing them in the theory of education and in practical teaching. For this purpose a supervisory staff of five or six educational experts, who would direct all their time and energies toward giving the teachers their much-needed training, would be essential. The present superintendent, as I learned during a conversation with him, favors efficient supervision, and if he receives the support of the citizens in carrying out his plans in this direction, there is no doubt that before many years elapse the schools of Buffalo will have scored a material advance.

The schools of Cincinnati are, in my opinion, upon much the same level as those of Baltimore and Buffalo, as little having been done here as in the other two cities toward substituting objective and experimental, for subjective, abstract, and mechanical methods of instruction. It is true that principals and teachers who endeavor to obtain results by more rational means may here and there be found, but this is no less true of Baltimore and Buffalo.

To review in detail the methods of instruction employed in the schools of Cincinnati would, therefore, be but to repeat in substance much of that which was mentioned while speaking of the schools of Baltimore and Buffalo. I have said all, generally speaking, when I remark that the schools of Cincinnati have as yet scarcely opened their doors to the "New Education."

But there are a number of things besides mechanical methods

which serve to render miserable the lives of the children attending the public schools of Cincinnati. The child requires air and sunshine, but many of the buildings are dark and gloomy, and in many of them the laws of health are otherwise ignored, the class-rooms being overcrowded and poorly ventilated. I found one room where the furniture was so closely packed that the children were literally obliged to squeeze their little bodies in between the desks and the backs of their benches, there being scarcely room enough for them to expand their lungs, much less to move about their limbs freely. In another room the seats were so arranged that a few of the children were obliged to sit very near a large stove. And, to cap the climax, corporal punishment still reigns supreme in the public schools of Cincinnati.

And yet we hear the Board sing its song of praise. We hear it congratulate itself upon its own magnificence, and the citizens of Cincinnati upon their good fortune in securing a board so wonderful and teachers so fine. The following extracts from the Report of the President of the Board of Education for the year ending August 31, 1891, published in the Sixty-second Annual Report of the Public Schools of Cincinnati, will show that this is no exaggeration. I reproduce the words here, believing that they will scarcely fail to interest the *careful* reader, if for no other reason than that they were written by one who is at the head of a public-school system.

"While we justly take credit to ourselves—that is, the Board—for our new buildings, and for the excellent financial condition of the Board, and for all those things that, but for which it might not be possible to accomplish the good we do, or be able to congratulate ourselves upon our great Public School system; yet after all is said and done—after all of the school-houses are built and all of the money necessary provided and spent—what would it all go for, what credit to any one, if the end to be served was not realized? What is that end? The education of the youth of our city. To learn, one must be taught or teach themselves. The child, being too young to educate itself, must be taught. To be taught, one must have a teacher, and there we are brought to the shrine before which the whole Public School system must bow—the work of the teacher. All the other matters are but incidental—are but the means to the end—to the crowning work of the teacher.

"When we consider the system, we look only for the results—we think not of the buildings occupied, not of the amount of money expended, not of the care exercised in its expenditure, not of the personnel of the Board of Education. We'll not be thought of in connection with the schools fifty years hence—not of the great financiers—all excellent and to be commended.

"It is not that the Building Committee shall be glorified and their names go down into coming time emblazoned on the front of the new buildings; it is not that the Committee on Funds and Claims shall wear the laurel wreath of the victor over the difficult financial questions; not that the Committee on Heating,

Fixtures, and Fuel shall properly make things warm. No, no, none of these things stand as representative of the system of public instruction; but it is the result of the whole, and the one nearest that result is the one through whose direct efforts the result is reached; *that one is the teacher*. We point to the graduate from our High Schools as the representative of our Public School system. He is the presumed embodiment of all that goes to make us the name we have. He is the result of the teachers' work. It is the teachers' work which makes the record; which commands the praise; which earns and is entitled to the highest appreciation. It is that which will live and benefit coming generations. The education of the youth, that is the end sought; that reached, crowns our success.

"And so here I give to the teachers, to the instructors, to the educators, the larger part of the praise for the magnificent results secured during the year. From the opening of the Normal School to the close of the school year, they have been earnest in their work, faithful and attentive to their duties."

"In concluding this report, as the President of the Board, I wish to publicly express my sincere thanks to the members for the kindness and courtesy shown me on all occasions during the past year. The assistance rendered me by the members has materially lightened the duties of my office. The Board of Education is entitled to the encouragement and the confidence of the people of Cincinnati.

"We believe that the trust confided to our care has been carefully and judiciously managed and that every act and deed of the Board will bear the closest scrutiny and inspection."

"I again express my appreciation of courtesies shown me by the members of the Board of Education, in whose behalf this report is respectfully submitted."

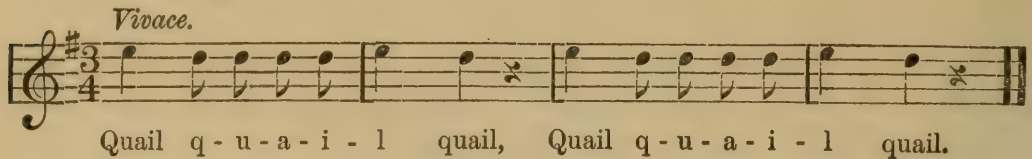
I shall now relate a few of my Cincinnati class-room experiences, in order to show why I cannot indorse the sentiments expressed by the president.

The most striking peculiarity of the Cincinnati schools exists, in my opinion, in the fact that so much time is devoted to concert recitations, a form of instruction than which there is none so preëminently fitted to deaden the soul and to convert human beings into automats. These recitations are heard, as a rule, as soon as a District (Primary) School building is entered, and in tones so loud that the uninitiated might readily mistake them for signals of distress.

My experiences of this nature were frequent. In one of the schools I heard upon entering the building sounds unusually shrill coming from one of the class-rooms, and being prompted by my desire to know the true cause of so much commotion, I entered the room from whence they came.

What did I see? Only this: a teacher and about a dozen pupils standing before a blackboard which was covered with lists of words,

spelling the word "Quail" at the top of their voices, and in melodious tones, thus:



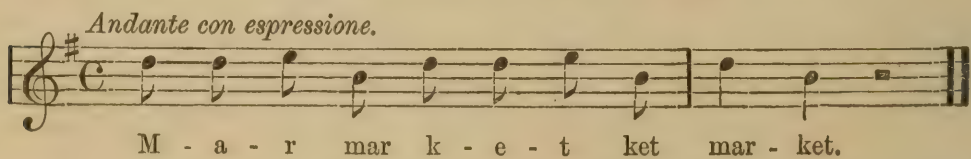
When the teacher found occasion to take a moment's rest, she said to me:

"These are my poorest spellers; they always need an extra drilling. *Quail* appears to be a very difficult word for them to remember. I must give them a little more drill upon it."

She then returned to the blackboard and told the children to continue. As a signal for them to start, she pointed with her stick to the letter Q, and after they had begun she swept the stick from left to right along the word "Quail," endeavoring in this manner to keep them in time while they were spelling the word. To keep them in time was, however, no easy matter. They kept together fairly well until they had spelled the word two or three times, but after that their voices became ever more independent, so that soon a regular medley ensued, some calling out the word "Quail," while others had only reached the letter "l," and still others had gone no further than "i."

The "mystery of the strange sounds" was solved.

When the word "Quail" had been earnestly, thoroughly, and conscientiously studied, the word "Market" was begun. Although the spelling of this word was carried on upon the same principles as those which governed the spelling of the word "Quail," nevertheless the monotony was broken, for the reason that both the melody and the *tempo* were changed. While "Quail" was sung rapidly and with much spirit, "Market" was sung slowly and plaintively, thus:



After a few more words had been studied in this manner the teacher said that she would let me hear the whole class read.

The sentence, "Is it a quail, John?" had previously been written upon another blackboard, and the teacher asked the children to read it together.

"Read it backward first," she said.

The children then read the words as the teacher pointed to them with her *baton*, and after they had read the sentence backward and forward, they spelled all the words contained in it. The teacher endeavored to keep them in time by sweeping her stick across each word while the children were spelling it, as she had done in the other case. The effect, as near as I can reproduce it, was as follows:

Moderato. *Allegro.*

John, quail, a it is, is it a quail, John? i - s is, i - s is,
i - t it, i - t it, a, a, a, a q - u - a - i - l ^quail,
q - u - a - i - l quail, cap-'tal J - o - h - n John, cap-'tal J - o - h - n John.

"You don't spell 'John' very well yet," the teacher now remarked. "Let us try it over again, but don't sing it."

She then spelled the word for the class, immediately, however, falling into the sing-song which she had told the children to avoid. After she had sung it alone two or three times, the voices of the children began to chime in, but she continued to spell with them. While teaching the children to spell the word "John," she adopted a different plan of leading them. She now beat time, and this she did most comically, by bringing her hands (with the backs upward) as near to her shoulders as possible, when she pronounced the word "capital," and thrusting them forcibly forward when she uttered the "J."

"I do have so much trouble in getting these children to recite together," the teacher afterward said to me.

If such teaching represents education upon psychological principles, it is not at all surprising that so many persons should be opposed to modern methods.

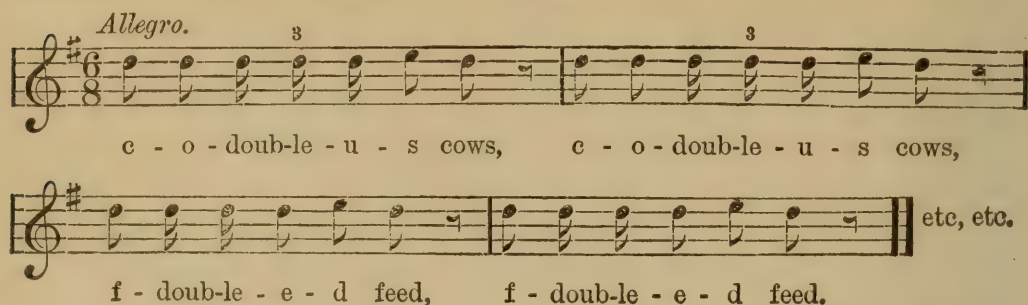
In one of the other classes that I visited in this school, some of the children were reading, while others were writing. After hearing some of them read, the teacher said to me:

"Now I will let one of those engaged in writing read for you. I always like to see whether they can read what they write. They copy

the words from the board, you know, and so I am not always sure that they can read what they write." She then said to one of the children:

"Lucy, read what's on your slate for that *there* gentleman."

Lucy then came forward courageously and read this thrilling tale: "The cows feed on the grass. At night they come to the barn."



It must not be supposed that the above-described method of teaching spelling is confined to this one school. Indeed, my observations led me to believe that this method is commonly used in the schools of Cincinnati.

A reading-lesson that I attended in the third-year class of another school presented some special features, though the method in itself was typical.

The lesson was announced soon after I entered the room. When the children had all placed their books upon the desks, the teacher said:

"Position! Books in your left hands; right hands behind your backs!"

The lesson was conducted as follows: One child was called upon to read a paragraph, then another pupil was told to read the same paragraph over again, and lastly, this paragraph was read by the class in concert. The same course was pursued in all the paragraphs read. Taken all in all, this reading sounded like a piece of music consisting of a solo, an echo, and a chorus. How interesting the story must have been to the children!

In one of the pieces read the word "merchant" appeared.

"What is a merchant?" the teacher inquired after one of the children had read the word.

"A merchant is a tailor," answered one.

"A merchant is a man what keeps dry-goods stores," said another.

"A merchant is a man what buys cheap and kin sell dear," remarked a third.

At last a little boy, with a triumphant air, cried out, "A merchant is a man what sells goods."

The teacher corrected none of these mistakes in language; but when one of the children had read the sentence, "I broke the glass and I will pay for it," the teacher said, "What mistake did he make?"

"Teacher," answered one, "he said 'glass' and he ought a said 'glars.'"

"Right," said the teacher.

It is teaching of this nature that the President of Cincinnati's Board of Education calls magnificent. But what this teaching shows beyond the fact that the teachers are not illiterates it is difficult to perceive.

In searching for the causes of the evils in the Cincinnati public schools we are confronted at the outset with our old acquaintance—scanty supervision, there being but one man to supervise and professionally educate seven hundred teachers, but one person to do the work of half a dozen.

As far as politics are concerned, the schools of Cincinnati are not so obviously involved as those of Baltimore and Buffalo. Until a few years ago, however, the politicians were in possession of the schools; that they abused their power is only too well known in Cincinnati, and it cannot be doubted that the old Board is responsible for many of the evils found in the schools of that city to-day. The power to appoint teachers, which is now in the hands of the superintendent, was then in the hands of the members of the Board, and during the reign of the politicians many incompetent teachers were brought into the schools. As Cincinnati has an exceptionally stable corps of teachers, not more than five or six per cent of changes occurring annually, the vast majority of those appointed years ago are still in the schools. This circumstance may, in large part, account for the fact that although during the past few years scarcely any but graduates of the Cincinnati Normal School have been appointed, the corps of teachers on the whole is still so obviously lacking in professional qualification.

But, after all, to fix the responsibility for the evils is of much less importance than to remedy them. As the most flagrant evils found in the schools of Cincinnati are due to the professional incompetency of the teachers, the chief remedy for Cincinnati's school evils lies in rendering the teachers competent by giving them a professional education. To educate them thoroughly, Cincinnati, as Buffalo, would require a supervisory staff consisting of five or six educational experts.

J. M. RICE.

ENGLISH VIEWS OF THE McKINLEY TARIFF.

To criticise the commercial policy of another country is in general as useless as it is ungracious. If the two countries are at one in their policy, it is needless; if they are at variance, any criticism will be regarded with suspicion. It is the honest creed of free-traders that absolute freedom of exchange between any two countries is good for both, and that if one of them sets up a fixed barrier against the other it may injure both, but will injure itself the more. But to preach this doctrine where it is not accepted leads to irritation rather than to conviction; and where it is preached with a conscious air of superior wisdom human nature recalcitrates. English apostles of free trade have done serious injury to their own cause by presuming to teach other nations, and have given to interested opponents the opportunity for imputations not the less telling because they are wholly unfounded. The poor Cobden Club, which has difficulty in scraping together subscriptions sufficient to pay for the issue of its publications and which has even given up the expense of its annual dinner, is credited with the expenditure of millions in order to bribe foreigners to buy English goods; and perfidious Albion is supposed to be intriguing for the ruin of foreign industries, when she is only doing her best to promote those industries by facilitating the exchange of their products and of her own. It is, therefore, not without reluctance that, being a convinced free-trader of old standing and a hearty well-wisher of the closer union of the two great branches of the English-speaking race, I have consented, on the special request of the editor of the *FORUM*, to try to put on paper in a form suitable to Americans a faint reflection of some of the thoughts current in Great Britain on the present controversy concerning commercial policy in the United States.

There can be no doubt that the first result of the McKinley tariff legislation was to create a disagreeable feeling toward the United States, both in this country and in Europe generally. It dazzled both the friends and foes of protection. It frightened foreign protectionist countries in Europe and British protectionist colonies into very odd and angry recrimination against a policy which was virtually their

own. It drew a homily on the evils of prohibition from our own protectionist newspapers. It made some of our light-headed protectionists chuckle with boyish delight over the help which an angry spirit of retaliation might be expected to give to their pet projects of protection. It led even graver and more responsible authorities to attribute to its promoters feelings of hostility to this country, when, in all probability, its promoters were wholly absorbed in domestic log-rolling. But those in England to whom it caused the greatest sorrow were those who are the most ardent well-wishers of the United States, not as a separate nationality, but as the biggest, if not the oldest member of the great British family; those who desire that the English-speaking races, and especially those who inhabit the British Isles, the United States, and British North America, should be joined together—not by the formal bonds of law or treaty, but by every possible tie of common institutions, common feelings, and common interests as well as by a common history. To such persons it was a matter of deep regret to find that the great British Republic on the other side the Atlantic was consummating a policy the professed object of which was to place a barrier between its own markets and the workshops of manufacturing England, and to place an equally effectual barrier between its own swarming population and the teeming seas, the fruitful plains, and the abundant forests of Canada.

Further reflection somewhat modified these impressions. It was seen that the McKinley law, preposterous as it might seem to English free-traders, was only the natural and logical outcome of the economical policy which the United States has been pursuing ever since its Civil War. Taxes on consumption, proposed originally for purposes of revenue, under circumstances of exceptional difficulty, were found to protect particular interests, and those interests succeeded in getting them continued and extended. Other interests, prejudiced by this protection, demanded protection too, and obtained it, until the whole country was enveloped in a web of protection, and the only unprotected industries were those in which the United States need fear no competition. Those who were acquainted with the history of the American tariff as written by Mr. F. W. Taussig had no reason to be astonished at the chapter added to that history by the McKinley law. Those who, like Sir Lyon Playfair and others, had the best opportunity of knowing the feelings prevalent in America, were the least astonished. The following is a vivid picture of the then state of feeling in the United States, drawn by one of the ablest of the many able

and agreeable Americans who have recently honoured us with their presence. He said to me: "I am a man of —— [naming an agricultural State], and all my farming neighbours have their lives made costly to them by our system of protection; but I shall go to my nearest neighbour and say to him, 'Sir, I am going to agitate for the overthrow of our republican institutions and the introduction of despotism,' and he will reply, 'Agitate if you please, sir; I have my farm to manage.' And then I shall go to him and say, 'I am going to destroy the Christian religion and to introduce atheism and anarchy,' and he will say quietly to me, 'Destroy it if you will; that is no business of mine.' But then I shall go to him and say, 'I am going to advocate a moderate reduction of our enormous protective duties,' and he will get up at once, exclaiming, 'Then, sir, I shall go and get down my rifle.' And yet," said my friend, "it will not be long, I cannot tell how long, before our people will look back upon this delusion of protection just as we now look back upon our forefathers' belief in witchcraft."

"Belief in witchcraft"! Yes, indeed! Some future Lecky who records the superstitions of the nineteenth century will have to tell of one of the most intelligent and democratic nations of the world—how it practised the most absolute free trade throughout the wide borders of a continent, and yet limited this beneficent exchange by the colour of a bit of bunting; how, while suffering even more than England from the extremes of wealth, it worshipped a policy which made the rich richer and the poor poorer; how it built harbours and railways and repelled the goods which would use them; how it sought for exports, but refused the imports by which alone they could be purchased; how it needed and invited foreign capital, but made the use of it dearer by rejecting the material substances in which capital is embodied.

Extremes often bring about reaction. It soon became apparent that the McKinley tariff, in putting the coping-stone on the fabric of protection, had made manifest its faulty construction and its hideous proportions. When women, in their daily shopping, found that they had to give ever so much more for pearl buttons, underclothing, furniture materials, and other articles of daily use, and the reason given, rightly or wrongly, was the McKinley tariff, it probably did more to open the eyes of fathers and husbands than all the vast "unseen" evils of wholesale protection and prohibition against which philosophers have protested.

As regards opinion in the United Kingdom, the English Board of Trade helped sober reflection by a carefully written memorandum, published in its Journal of December, 1890, on the probable effects of the new tariff. This memorandum pointed out that certain important articles, *e.g.*, sugar, had been transferred to the free list, that the whole of the dutiable articles in the tariff amounted to about half the imports of the United States, that upon these articles the duties were increased from about forty to fifty per cent, that the increased duties applied principally to five classes of imports, viz., metals and manufactures of metals; tobacco and manufactures of tobacco; agricultural products; flax, hemp, and jute and manufactures thereof; wool and manufactures of wool, the value of which was about £44,000,000 out of a total value of £78,000,000 of dutiable goods imported, and a total value of imports, dutiable and free, of £148,000,000. The Board of Trade memorandum further pointed out that the proportion of exports of British produce affected by the new tariff was about half of our whole exports to the United States, or, if our invisible exports in the form of the use of shipping were included, much less than half; and it then proceeded to discuss the particular effect of the most important of the increased duties, viz., those on tin plates; on cutlery; on wool and woollen manufactures; and on textiles of flax, hemp, and jute. On these points figures derived from actual experience are given below.

In fact, the additions made by the McKinley tariff to the burdens already thrown on trade by the previous tariff were, comparatively speaking, a small matter. When duties of twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, and even sixty per cent were already levied upon most of the important products of manufacturing industry, the new additions were seen to be in themselves a comparatively small thing, and though not unimportant in actual effect, of much more importance in their apparent principle. I say apparent principle, because it is difficult for Englishmen to appreciate accurately the motives and principles which may have actuated the Government and people of the United States, more especially when much of the legislation in question may be due to the intrigues which protection necessarily invites and encourages. But so far as a judgment can be formed from the tariff itself, the general object of its framers seems to have been the opposite of that which has prevailed in England. To raise revenue is the sole object of the English tariff. In raising whatever revenue may be needed, duties are levied in the United Kingdom either on foreign articles

which are not produced at home or, when import duties are levied on articles which are also produced at home, to tax the home product equally with the foreign product. On the other hand, increase of revenue was, of course, not the object, as it has not been the result, of the McKinley law. The McKinley tariff, following previous American tariffs, seeks, so far as we are able to judge, to carry out an opposite principle, the principle, namely, of excluding the foreign competitor from the American market and placing the American purchaser at the mercy of the American producer; and with this object it levies heavier and ever heavier duties on the import of all foreign articles which are also produced at home.

The English principle is to cause the least possible interference with trade and to raise the maximum of revenue. The American principle is to cause the maximum interference with trade and to disregard revenue. This last principle is relentlessly carried out, not only in the tariff itself, but in the elaborate inquisitorial and, so far as I know, unprecedented provisions of the accompanying legislation for official inquiry into the country of origin and into the price and cost of imported goods. At the same time it was seen that the measure was not simply and exclusively protective. The placing of sugar, coffee, tea, and hides upon the free list, with a power to the President to impose duties on them when imported from any country that imposed duties on United States products which he might consider unequal or unreasonable, was seen to be a considerable step toward free commercial intercourse with countries producing these articles, on the footing of reciprocity; and reciprocity, though on the part of a free-trade country like England a step toward protection, is on the part of a protectionist country like the United States a step toward free trade. It was seen, too, that this part of the tariff was favourable to British West India interests, which have hitherto found, in the great sugar market of the United States, some compensation for the loss of European markets, in which they have suffered much from the competition of Continental beet-root sugar.

Admitting, however, the ultra-protectionist character of the new tariff, there is another view of its effect taken by many Englishmen, free-traders as well as others, the tendency of which is to qualify or neutralise their dislike of American protection. These persons think, probably with justice, that in the competition between the United States and the United Kingdom in the neutral markets of the world the United States is now hampered by its protectionist policy; and

many of them further think that if the United States adopts a *régime* of free trade, its competition will injure the manufacturers of the United Kingdom in neutral markets more than free commercial intercourse between the United Kingdom and the United States will benefit them in the United States market. Such persons point to the present state of the American, as compared with the British mercantile marine, as an instance of the way in which American industry has been hampered by a protective tariff, and to the comparatively small part which American manufactures play in American exports, a part which appears to be becoming less and less under the McKinley tariff.

On the subject of shipping it is needless for me to quote figures. As regards exports I find, as I write, the following figures in the London "Times" of the 19th August: Total value of exports of domestic produce from the United States, July 1 to June 30, in 1890-91, £174,453,000; in 1891-92, £203,147,000; out of which the value of manufactures was £33,785,000 and £31,903,000, thus showing not only a very small proportionate export of manufactures, but an actual falling off of export of manufactures in the year when the tariff came into full operation, and when the aggregate exports of the United States increased enormously.

I am not disposed myself to attach too much importance to such facts as these. The tariff has no doubt a very serious effect in hampering American ship-building and American manufactures generally. But I suspect that a still more important factor in the comparatively slow growth of the American mercantile marine is to be found in the fact that the energy and resources of the United States have during the last fifty years been devoted to developing their immense continent, leaving the ocean to British enterprise; and that in like manner the principal factor in the growth of their agricultural as compared with their manufacturing exports has been their natural capacity for producing breadstuffs and similar products. Nor am I disposed to fear American competition in neutral markets. Free intercourse and free competition would, I believe, tend to bring out the special capacities of both nations, and though the natural advantages of the American continent may give its inhabitants larger prospects in certain industries, there will be others in which the inhabitants of the old country will not be behind. It has been well said that as civilization progresses the demand for mere necessities of life is limited, while the demand for luxuries and comforts, in other words, for the more advanced products of industry, is capable of infinite increase; so that

there will always be a future for a country which, like the United Kingdom, possesses the most advanced and specialised forms of manufacture. It is quite possible that Pennsylvania or Alabama might be able to lay down pig-iron in Liverpool at a cost which would enable it to compete with British iron, and yet that Sheffield or Birmingham, if unhampered by tariffs, might be able to sell cutlery and hardware in New York and Philadelphia, as well as in Asia or South America. The United States may, in adopting free trade, have more to gain than England; but England will, I believe, by such adoption gain also. Be this as it may, the increased competition of the United States, in case of their throwing protection overboard, must be admitted to be an element in the formation of English opinion on the American tariff, and with many persons it is a preponderating element.

The first impression made by the McKinley tariff was much modified by the above considerations. It remains to see what light subsequent facts throw upon the case. In considering the following statistics concerning the export trade of the United Kingdom as affected by the tariff, it must be remembered that, after all, any tariff, however stringent, is but one, and that not the most important, factor in determining the amount of trade; that the McKinley tariff was only the complement of a system of protection already in existence, and that the time has not yet come when we can confidently speak of final results.

Of all the cases affected by the tariff, that of tin plates is the most remarkable. A new duty was imposed on them amounting to one hundred and twenty per cent *ad valorem*; but this duty did not take effect until July 1, 1891. Tin plates are largely used for the canning of articles of food, and when these are exported from the United States a drawback is given equal to the duty imposed on the tin plates used in the package. The export of tin plates from the United Kingdom to the United States has been a very large and growing industry. Of the whole export of tin plates from the United Kingdom, amounting to two hundred and eighteen thousand tons in 1880 and to four hundred and thirty thousand in 1889, the United States took one hundred and sixty-four thousand tons, or about three-quarters, in 1880, and three hundred and thirty-six thousand, or rather more than the same proportion, in 1889. The value of this export in 1889 was four million six hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds, or between one-sixth and one-seventh of our whole exports of British

and Irish produce to the United States. The value of the trade since the adoption of the tariff has been as follows: The exports of tin plates to the United States for the complete years were—

1889.	1890.	1891.
£4,674,000	£4,786,000	£5,240,000

and for the six months ending June 30—

1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.
£2,459,000	£2,088,000	£4,368,000	£1,928,000

From this it will be seen that the immediate effect of the new duty was enormously to increase the export in apprehension of the duty; so that the exports for the first half of 1891 were more than twice what they were in the first half of the preceding year; that the exports for the whole of 1891, including the six months during which the tariff had been in operation, were larger in value than those of any preceding year; and that the exports for the first half of 1892, though of course very much below those of the first half of 1891, were, in spite of accumulated imports and in spite of the tariff, nearly as great as they had been in 1890 before the tariff came into operation. This does not look as if the effect of the tariff had been to create an American manufacture, to substitute an American for a British product in the American markets, or to diminish British exports. What the effect may have been or may hereafter be in disturbing the natural course of trade, in injuring the canning business of the United States, or in raising the price of canned articles to the people of the United States, it is no business of mine to inquire, as I desire only to look at the matter from a British point of view.

On pen and pocket knives the McKinley tariff imposes a very heavy increase of duty, whilst on other articles of cutlery there is probably a rise, but one of which it is difficult to trace the amount. The former duty on these articles was, however, very heavy, viz., from fifty per cent to thirty-five per cent ad valorem, and our export to the United States was a small affair compared to our total export of hardware and cutlery, which was in 1890 about £3,000,000. Such as it was, however, it has been adversely affected. The following are the figures of the exports of hardware and cutlery from the United Kingdom to the United States, in values:

1889.	1890.	1891.
£400,474	£393,309	£241,650

Nor are there any present symptoms of revival.

Upon wools and woollen goods the McKinley tariff largely increased the previous heavy duties. It is difficult to follow its effect through the changes in classification, but in 1890 the English Board of Trade¹ estimated the increase upon the whole as being from fifty-nine to seventy-eight per cent ad valorem; the increase on the raw material as being from thirty-four to forty per cent; and the increase on manufactures as from sixty-seven to ninety-one per cent. In some cases the then existing duties of from sixty to eighty per cent were doubled or more than doubled. In this case the effect of the duties is complicated by the fact that whilst the protective duty on the raw material is enormous, the manufacture is still more heavily protected, in order to compensate the manufacturer for what he has to pay to the wool-grower, as well as to protect his own labour.

The export of British wool to the United States is not a very large matter, but it appears to have suffered from the tariff. The figures are as follows:

1889.	1890.	1891.
£470,000	£405,000	£292,000

Woollen manufactures are a more important item, and their export has no doubt suffered. The following are the figures of the British export of these manufactures, excluding yarn, to the United States, in values:

1889.	1890.	1891.
£5,189,000	£5,148,000	£3,178,000

Nor does there appear to be any material increase in the present year. This is, no doubt, a matter of some importance. Still, however, our export of woollen goods to the United States was, before the recent tariff, only a fourth or fifth part of our whole export of those goods, and there seems reason to doubt whether, as regards some of the finer description of goods, there are any competing manufactures in the United States, in which case the new duties may be prohibitive, but are, of course, not protective. The duties on these goods were, however, so high before the McKinley tariff that the increases made by it may almost be looked on as admission of the failure of a protectionist policy. To determine what is the effect of the complicated arrangements for protecting United States wool-growers against the sheep-farmers of the world, and of protecting United States manufacturers against this protection as well as against the wool-manufacturers of Europe, is not part of my task.

¹ Board of Trade Journal, December, 1890, page 719.

It is difficult to follow the changes effected by the McKinley tariff in the duties on cotton, jute, and linen, or the effect of those duties on the trade. In the case of cotton piece goods there seems to have been a slight decrease of the heavy duty of forty per cent ad valorem on the lower classes and an increase on the higher classes.¹ In the case of jute goods there appears to have been some increase of duty, though what it amounts to it is difficult to say. But our exports to the United States have not decreased. Possibly the large grain crops may have increased the demand for bags. In the case of linen manufactures there was ground for some apprehension. The duty on the coarser kinds was increased at once by about ten per cent. That on finer kinds is to be increased on January 1, 1894, but is slightly diminished till then. The previous duty was, however, enormous, amounting to thirty-five and forty per cent. The export has decreased, as shown by the following figures: The value of exports of linen piece goods from the United Kingdom to the United States was—

1889.	1890.	1891.
£2,105,000	£2,104,000	£1,720,000

It appears to be increasing in 1892. The whole export of jute and linen goods to the United States was in 1889 about half our total export of those goods, which amounted to nearly ten million pounds.

The new duties on agricultural produce do not affect the United Kingdom, but they do affect Canada materially. The increase, roughly speaking, seems to be from twenty-five per cent to thirty-five per cent ad valorem, and on barley, a great Canadian export, from ten cents per bushel to thirty cents. The total exports from Canada do not seem to have been affected as much as might be expected, as will be seen by the following figures: The value of Canadian exports in years ending June 30 was—

	To the United States.	To all Countries.
1889.....	£3,943,000	£18,326,000
1890.....	8,327,000	19,880,000
1891.....	8,454,000	20,223,000

But the export of Canadian barley to the United States appears to have fallen off in 1890-91, as compared with 1889-90, from nine million nine hundred thousand to four million eight hundred thousand bushels in quantity, and in value from four million six hundred thousand dollars to two million eight hundred thousand dollars.

¹ Board of Trade Journal for December, 1890, page 720.

It may be interesting to add a word or two on the recent figures of the aggregate export trade of the United Kingdom and of the United States. The value of the whole exports of British produce from the United Kingdom to the United States for the last three years for which we have full returns is as follows:

1889.	1890.	1891.
£30,293,000	£32,068,000	£27,544,000

The McKinley tariff, except as to tin plates, came into operation on October 6, 1890. It will be observed that the exports of 1890 were larger than those of 1889, which was probably due in part to an abnormal export of certain articles in order to anticipate the new tariff. It will be observed also that the export of 1891, when the tariff had come into operation, was less, not only than the export of 1890, but also than that of 1889; and the diminution appears to be continuing in the first two quarters of 1892. This is probably due in part to the operation of the tariff. Yorkshire, no doubt, has suffered considerably, both in woollen goods and cutlery. At the same time it must be remembered that the McKinley tariff was contemporaneous with the Baring failure, with the South American collapse, with the Chilian revolution, and with Australian financial troubles, the various effects of which it is impossible to disentangle. Moreover, it is yet too early to say what the ultimate result may be. Meanwhile it is interesting to note that while there have been the above fluctuations in the trade with the United States, the aggregate exports of the United Kingdom to all countries, notwithstanding the McKinley tariff and all other drawbacks, were in 1891 much the same as in 1889. The figures are as follows:¹ The total exports of British produce were--

1889.	1890.	1891.
£248,935,000	£263,530,000	£247,235,000

From the recent returns of United States exports it seems that the total exports of the United States increased from one hundred and seventy-four million four hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds in 1890-91 to two hundred and three million one hundred and forty-seven thousand pounds in 1891-92, being an increase of twenty-eight million six hundred and ninety-four thousand pounds. This increase was due entirely to the increase of exports of agricultural produce, which amounted to thirty-one million one hundred and nineteen thousand pounds, so that there was an actual diminution in other exports.

¹ See London "Times," August 19, 1892.

It further appears that the export of corn from the United States to the United Kingdom more than doubled in the same year. Under such circumstances one might have expected that the direct exports of the United Kingdom to the United States would also have increased. But that they have not done so is shown by the above figures, and the American corn which we have purchased has no doubt been paid for indirectly, thus showing, in connection with previous figures, that the effect of the United States tariff has probably been to divert rather than to destroy trade, and of course, in diverting it, to render it less profitable both to the American farmer and to others concerned in it than it would be if it flowed in the natural channels. Looking to the whole of the facts, it is fair to conclude that so far as British trade is concerned it is in some degree injured by the tariff, but much less than was expected, and that the injury is rather by way of diversion than by way of destruction. Of its effect on American trade I do not care to speak.

But the question of the increase or decrease of the exports of the United Kingdom or even of her whole trade, imports as well as exports, however important, is not the most important feature in the case. A still more interesting aspect of the subject is that which concerns the future relations of English-speaking races. The case of Canada and the United States and the effect of the McKinley tariff on their commercial relations have been already adverted to. The evil of a trade quarrel between them is bad enough in itself. It creates a further evil when it leads Canada to seek, in an exclusive arrangement with the United Kingdom, compensation for the neighbouring market of which the United States tariff as well as her own protective policy has deprived her. Canada has led the way in an agitation in which, under the guise of a desire to promote a closer union between different parts of the empire, protection has for some time been making insidious steps toward an imperial system of differential duties, under which the mother country and the colonies should agree to exclude from their markets, wholly or partially, the goods of foreign countries, so as to confine those markets to goods produced within the empire, or at any rate to make them by artificial means more favourable to British than to foreign goods. This policy has, of course, found favour with those in this country who support protection openly, as well as with those who support it under the absurd misnomer of "fair trade"; and symptoms have from time to time appeared which looked as if it were making way with the public. For the present that policy

has failed. It found no favour even with Lord Salisbury's government; and, at a recent meeting of the British Chambers of Commerce of the Empire held in London under the presidency of Sir John Lubbock, a motion by Sir Charles Tupper in favour of such a policy was decisively rejected and a motion in favour of a non-protective policy was carried. But there can be no doubt that such a policy is in the air; that it is an outgrowth, though not a necessary one, of what is spoken of as "Imperial Federation"; and that it connects itself with the wave of national, as opposed to cosmopolitan, feeling which has played so large a part in the history of the last half-century. There is equally little doubt that in the case of Canada such a policy derives much support from the protective policy of the United States. When Canada repels and is repelled by her next neighbour, she looks for an outlet for her produce in the mother country and seeks to tempt England by offering reciprocity or exclusive dealing. To accept such an offer would, in the opinion of British free-traders, be suicidal and fatal to our own commercial policy. What is even more important, it would be fatal to the future relations between Canada and the mother country and between both of them and the United States; for Canada is destined by nature and by geography to trade with the United States, and any legal obligation to the mother country which may have the effect of preventing her from so doing would be sure in time to be felt to be an intolerable grievance and would embitter the relations of all three countries.

Free commercial dealings between Canada and the United States, to the exclusion of the mother country, would be grudgingly assented to at home, and would no doubt create a bitter feeling in the United Kingdom. But if the United States and Canada were both to relax their protective policy and to invite trade with the United Kingdom, as well as with each other, all people in the British Islands would no doubt hail with delight the prospect of bringing the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada into closer and more harmonious relations by means of unrestricted commercial intercourse.

Even this direct result of a change in the commercial policy of the United States, all-important as it is, would scarcely be so welcome to those who hope for human progress as the aid which would be given to that cause by the example of the United States. The policy of one country, sooner or later, affects other countries. When Lord Salisbury, in a speech probably made for electioneering purposes, suggested reprisals on the protectionist countries of Europe, a distin-

guished American said to me: "This may not hurt you here, but it will hurt free-traders in America. Their opponents will say, 'The minister of the greatest free-trade country in the world is advocating protection.'" He was right. Our newspapers of the 22d of June last contained the following telegram: "Mr. McKinley, addressing a mass-meeting in New York last night, said, 'We have a right to be cheerful when Lord Salisbury has given his adherence to the Republican doctrine of protection.'"

What the exact effect of these utterances on the English public may have been we can only guess. But I have no doubt myself that Mr. McKinley's patronage has done Lord Salisbury a great deal more harm than good in England. Let us trust that Lord Salisbury's supposed adoption of Mr. McKinley's pet doctrine may do it more harm than good in America. No nation stands alone. Those who have upheld the standard of free trade through its darkest hours as a good not for England only, but for all countries, must rejoice at the possible conversion to the true faith of that great country which already practises within its own borders a system of free trade wider than the world has ever known elsewhere; which, as it has led the way of the nations in apostasy from the true faith, will no doubt also lead the way in a return to that faith; and which, by such a course, would not only solve the Canadian difficulty and unite by ties of growing commercial interest the whole English-speaking populations both of North America and of the United Kingdom, but would also set an example which the English-speaking communities of the other hemisphere and the foreign nations of Europe must sooner or later follow.

T. H. FARRER.

HAS ENGLAND PROFITED BY FREE TRADE?

Is England a Free Trade country? With many this may seem a strange, if not startling, inquiry. The license given to external trading at the ports of the United Kingdom has so long passed by the name of Free Trade, that the world has accepted the term as representing fact, without stopping to remember its real meaning. Moreover, those enamoured of such license, or from various reasons—political and otherwise—interested in advocating its continuance, are wont to claim the progress and prosperity of the latter half of the nineteenth century as its direct effect. And so great is the power of constant iteration, that the term and claim have both been largely accepted without examination.

The term "Free Trade" is itself but a lame rendering of the original conception, the French equivalent, *libre échange*, expressing its meaning much more accurately. By the latter it is at once seen that the reciprocity of free imports is intended, whereas the English wording is too loose to carry more than a conventional meaning. In fact, the origin of the term in England is curiously typical of what it has come to be in practice. Long before the days of Adam Smith, and afterwards, Free Trader was a synonym for smuggler, or one who escaped paying rightful dues. To this day even the term lingers in this sense on the East Coast of Great Britain, and old men still survive to tell, not without boastful pride, of their feats of "free trading," and of the peril and even punishment involved. And according to this meaning perhaps England may well be styled a Free Trade country, some portion of the community escaping the payment of market dues on their imports, whilst the rest, who supply the market with similar commodities from home sources, bear all the brunt of the cost of the market, *i.e.* of the local and imperial taxation.

But the real sense and theory of Free Trade, or Free Exchange, is that countries shall freely exchange with each other the produce for which each country is naturally fitted and the other is not. Southern climes are to exchange their fruits and the produce of their grapes for the hardier products and manufactures of the north, where sunshine

is rare: Countries unable to produce natural foods, but well able to supply other necessities of life in the form of clothing or luxuries, are to exchange these latter for the food and drink they cannot produce. British Free Trade, however, is, in practice, based on the exact opposite of this theory. It says in effect: "If there be anything another country produces which the United Kingdom cannot produce, and which presumably is therefore especially wanted, let it be taxed as an import, up to the hilt, *for revenue*; but whenever a country can send what can be and is very well grown or produced internally, let it be encouraged to come in free, so that the profits and wages of producers at home may be knocked down to the lowest margin, and if destroyed altogether, so much the better."

In this fashion "Free Trade" England levies a larger amount of customs taxation, both in amount and reckoned by head of population, than any country in Europe. But she does so only on non-competing imports, whilst admitting free every commodity which competes with, undersells, or extinguishes home production. Was there ever apparently so suicidal a policy? And yet British Free Traders (save the mark!), and especially the Cobden Club of to-day, vaunt such a policy to be the essence of wisdom.

So far have these later apostles carried their advocacy of this view, that they have openly discarded all pretence of belief in the virtues of Free Exchange of Commodities, and at recent gatherings of their Club have evinced their "patriotism" by avowing that they have ceased from seeking to convert the United States, on the pretence that British interests may be best served by that country adhering to Protection, thereby (according to their doctrine) crippling its producing power. This utter negation of the Free Exchange policy by modern British Free Traders is worthy of note, as probably the latest example of the blind leading the blind; showing also how completely the scientific theory is discredited in Europe, even among its professed followers.

But no matter by what name it is known, or what illogical renderings may be given to it, if the claim that British Free Trade has created or indeed contributed in any degree to the material progress and prosperity of the past forty or fifty years be just, it should be allowed. Those who have in recent years advocated a reform of the existing fiscal policy of the United Kingdom have never shirked this point. They have freely admitted the progress and prosperity achieved during the first half, or perhaps a little more than a half, of that period, but they have strenuously denied the *post hoc* to be the *propter hoc*.

They have indeed asserted that when the United Kingdom was prospering exceedingly, it was in spite of her so-called policy of Free Trade, or rather of Free Imports of competing products. And they have maintained that when she ceased so to prosper, as has been the case now for nearly two decades, it was because the natural operation of such policy then only took effect.

But assertion is insufficient without proofs. The Cobden Club-ites on their side advance a quantity of statistics to prove their case, the chief of which are those of British commerce with foreign countries. There is indeed an easy reason why proof of this character has been placed in the front. The form in which the Government statistics of the United Kingdom are taken and published contribute chiefly to this style of propaganda. Except with regard to agriculture, and the assessments of callings liable to income tax (these latter being very inadequately classified in only five divisions or schedules), there are no official statistics of British industries (other than shipping, of which later on); but there are abundant ones, and in much detail, of imports and exports. And these taken in both quantities and values, and considered only by themselves, without comparison with those of other countries, and regardless of their character, are large enough to appeal to the imagination.

The British Free Trader is never tired of boasting that since 1855 (the year when the Board of Trade returns of the United Kingdom were first issued with real values instead of nominal values, as had been the case previously), the total external commerce of the United Kingdom has risen from 1300 million dollars a year to (in 1891) 3720 million dollars a year. Such figures are naturally impressive, if when examined they were not found to be *vox et præterea nihil*. In truth, when the character of this portion of British national trading is examined, it may be better argued whether such progress is not rather indicative of loss in other directions internally; and, if not altered, to be the forecast of disaster. This is a view of the case which the Cobden Club-ites do not care to discuss. They write and speak as mere professional statisticians, dealing only with figures, regardless of the facts they clothe.

Under the reality of Free Trade, expounded by the light of maxims of political economy, under which goods imported are paid for by goods exported, and the imports are of commodities not able to be produced internally, such progress of external trading would be naturally as gratifying as profitable. But in British Free Trading

these conditions do not exist. In spite of the maxims of political economy, and of the repeated contention of Cobden Club writers, exports of goods have not paid, and do not pay, for all the imports into the United Kingdom. Taking quinquennial periods since 1855, the preponderance of imports over exports has been—

Very prosperous period.	{ 1855-59.....	150 million dollars per annum.		
	{ 1860-64.....	277	“	“
	{ 1865-69.....	283	“	“
	{ 1870-74.....	279	“	“
Decline of previous prosperity.	{ 1875-79.....	590	“	“
	{ 1880-84.....	546	“	“
	{ 1885-89.....	462	“	“
	{ 1890-91.....	545	“	“

Naturally, from the nature of such trading, the statistics of foreign commerce must always show an excess of imports over exports. Thus, in the years 1855-74, there was a by no means abnormal excess. It amounted to no more than what was amply justified by freights and natural profit on external commerce, accruing on the transactions themselves. It is therefore notable that these years were prosperous. But when things took a turn, or, in other words, when the world at large became possessed of the new methods of production, of which the United Kingdom had possessed a monopoly in the earlier period, the excess import was suddenly doubled. And it was then that the years of trade depression and industrial decline commenced.

Of course, the Cobden Club-ites of to-day cannot, and do not, deny these figures, which go so far to disprove the *dicta* of the Cobdenites of fifty years ago. When Mr. Cobden and his friends carried on their crusade, they specifically promised that for every £1 worth of products imported, 20s. of British goods would be sent out in exchange. But those who now bear their mantle and carry on their propaganda under the old name, have had to alter their tactics. Like poor Reynard who lost his tail in the trap, they are anxious to show how much better it is to be without such full return trade in goods. They argue, “it cannot be unprofitable to get so much more than is given”; or, in other words, that the world being debtors to British capitalists in their character as foreign investors, or as sea-carriers, there is so much annual tribute to be received in produce or merchandise, before it is necessary to pay for imports by exports of the products of British labour of to-day. In effect, during the controversy of the last dozen years, it has been alleged that the excess imports of the United Kingdom are a sign of increasing wealth rather than the reverse.

But this places these gentlemen on the horns of a dilemma. If such course of trading be more profitable, how is it that those years when the excess has been only normal were noted for prosperity, and that the period marked by the abnormal excess has been one of national reverse, varied by occasional glimpses of improved trade, when curiously enough the excess import has for the time diminished? And in this present year, which is the worst in more recent times, and promises to be the precursor of a still more troubled period, there is every reason to suppose that the excess of imports into the United Kingdom over exports will nearly reach the figure of 700 million dollars. According to the Cobden Club-ite theory, the year 1892 ought therefore to be the most prosperous for British traders, instead of its being, as there is too much reason to fear, one of the worst.

It is difficult to understand how intelligent men can place themselves as controversialists in this position. To a great extent political partizanship has a great deal to do with it. British Free Trade has been accepted as a party plank in each of the many sections of the Liberal party of the United Kingdom. Though originally carried nearly half a century ago by a Conservative Prime Minister, the pressure came from both the Whigs and the Radicals. The events which immediately followed the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 also gave the policy and its name an undeserved prestige. The railway boom was then on. Newly-discovered forces were opening up the world, which, aided by the gold discoveries in Australia and California, gave an impetus to production and international trading, of which Great Britain was alone able at first to take full advantage. Hence years of great prosperity followed, and of this British Free Trade received the credit. Protectionists were silenced by the undoubted expansion of material prosperity, and both parties in the State acquiesced in what appeared to be working well. But in spite of Sir Robert Peel having been the instrument of repealing the Corn Laws, Liberal politicians brought it about; and it was a Liberal statesman who finally carried the changes to its present somewhat illogical point—namely, the free import of competing commodities, with inordinate customs taxation on non-competing products, such as tea, coffee, and fruits, tobacco, wines, spirits, &c.

Therefore, while the Conservative party has equally abstained from espousing the cause of the modern fiscal reformers known as Fair-Traders—who in politics are of no-man's-land—the Liberals, and

more especially the advanced Liberals, have rushed into the breach made by the failure of the Cobdenite prophecies. And assuming the good faith of every one who has entered the fray, the utmost that can be said of them is, that, as devotees to their party, they have deliberately treated the question only on the surface, and ignored the factors that govern it. For example, if this item of excess imports stood by itself, simply as a matter of figures and nothing else, they would not be in the quandary of having to reconcile the vast profit accruing (as they allege), with the patent fact that the years when such "vast profit" has been greatest the national prosperity of the United Kingdom has been, to say the least, on the ebb tide.

For excess imports *per se* are not necessarily bad. Nay, they may be entirely good. Supposing the whole of the 2000 million dollars (and upwards) of imports into the United Kingdom were the payment of tribute to such portion of the people as are foreign investors or sea carriers, and that not a cent's worth of British goods went out in exchange, *under one condition* it might be all really national profit, coincident with general prosperity. But that condition is absolutely essential. It is material that the import of such tribute (by goods) should consist of non-competing imports, say of articles of consumption unable to be produced under ordinary methods at home; or of articles of luxury in which other peoples, either from climate or racial distinctions, have the great pre-eminence; or, best of all, of the raw material for manufacture, indigenous to other soils and incapable of production at the place of import, but useful to the importing country for the better employment of labour.

When, however, such excess imports consist in the main, as is now the case of the United Kingdom, of products, chiefly foods and especially corn (than which no other country in the world can grow finer crops, or to so great a quantity per acre); or of manufactures, in which Great Britain is still pre-eminent, but which by longer hours and cheaper living in other countries and freedom from taxation, can be imported at a lower cost than that at which the handicapped manufacturers at home can make; with the results that land is thrown out of cultivation and mills obliged to reduce their production for the home market; what is earned by the foreign investor or the sea carrier ceases to be national profit. What is gained in one pocket is lost from the other, with the still further disadvantage that the stronger the foothold secured by the import, especially in the matter of foods, the more precarious the position of the importing peoples. This is the

crux of the position, and no Free Trade advocate has ever been able to get around it.

Indeed, foreign commerce, instead of being necessarily a symptom of prosperity, may mean exactly the reverse. Imports, they say, beget exports (always apart from that "tribute" question to which some have of late given the term of "invisible exports"). But if so, home production also begets customers. When, however, the import displaces home production, though an export may be attracted, the equivalent home customer is lost, in addition to the primarily displaced product. For the sake of one new national profit from outside, two national profits are lost inside. Take the case, for example, of the United Kingdom and France, of which the populations are nearly equal. The French people consume as much food per head of population as the English. But the United Kingdom imports 500 million dollars more of competing foods than France does, the latter under a policy of not immoderate food duties producing nearly all she consumes herself. Discarding the "tribute" question for the moment, let it be assumed that the United Kingdom pays for such extra import by 500 million dollars of goods exported. She has then 1000 million dollars more foreign trade than France has. But which is better off, the United Kingdom whose national profit is confined to the labour, &c., involved in the 500 millions dollars export, or France who gains the double profit, first on the 500 million dollars of food primarily produced, and then on the 500 million dollars of return custom given by the home producer? Even though the cost to consumers in France may be greater, the margin of national profit involved in such transactions is too great for anyone—except the impenitent political Free Trader—to doubt which policy is the wiser; always providing, of course, that such production is reasonably natural, and not requiring hot-house treatment.

It is the custom also with certain politicians in the United Kingdom, who by wont of long usage have the ear of the public, to treat the so-called Free Trade era as though it had had the monopoly of light, and that all that had preceded it was dark. And men who have not taken the trouble to investigate facts, or had the courage to discard the prejudice which in England surrounds the "dear loaf" bogie, have accepted such statements without questioning. A condition of general adversity, with high prices of bread, is the common picture drawn of the days of Protection. In one of the Cobden Club leaflets, adopted from a Radical electioneering handbill, a doleful story is told

by one professing to be a very old man (anonymously, of course) of the hardships of 1812, in which year wheat was 112s. (27 dollars) the quarter; but the memory of that old man was evidently defective, and not a hint is given by those respectable gentlemen who edit the Club "literature" that in the year 1812 there was no tax on wheat in operation. That old man had forgotten that the wicked Corn Laws repealed in 1846 dated only from 1815, with some changes in the interval. In the course of the Fair-Trade propaganda it has been a common thing for men beyond middle age, saturated with this idea of past calamities so often retailed, to rise and declare how they remember the time when the loaf was so and so (perhaps double what it is now), using this as an argument why no return should be made in the direction of a protective policy. And when pressed to name the year of such high prices, these historians by repute, if they are definite at all, universally fix upon the "Fifties" as such period of distress. But the absurdity of this story (from the point of view of the Free Trade or free import controversy) is patent, when it is remembered that the Corn Laws were abolished in 1846, and that at the period named, as in 1812, there had been free imports of corn for several years, with the exception of the small registration duty of 1s. (quarter dollar) per quarter.

Both in the earlier years of the century and in the "Fifties," when at times the average price of wheat in the United Kingdom has been very high, war and the absence of transit facilities have been the causes. In the earlier period Europe had been in strife for years, and England had had a chief share in the fighting; whilst in the "Fifties," the Crimean War put a stop for the time to trading with the Black Sea, whence the imports of wheat into the United Kingdom were then chiefly derived. But the British Free Traders have annexed these events, and through their distortion sought to discredit the fiscal policy of 1815-46; whereas if a fiscal policy had had aught to do with such results—and it had none—the facts tell rather against free imports than against import duties. No better illustration than the foregoing could be given of the ignorance and prejudice on this point amongst Englishmen at home (though when they travel, and especially when they settle in other parts of the world, their eyes are quickly opened); and how this ignorance and prejudice are fomented for political ends by those who ought to know better.

Another feature of these bygone days is always forgotten, and one cannot but think purposely overlooked. Doubtless there were times

and places when and where, in different parts of the United Kingdom, small as the country is compared with the United States, there were local scarcity of crops and high prices, with hardships pressing upon all classes, especially the peasantry; which did not exist at the same time in other parts of the country. In certain counties—in, for example, Dorsetshire—the conditions of production would be far below the average of the United Kingdom, and the position of the labourers inferior to the lot of the same class elsewhere. In a changeable climate like that of the United Kingdom, where the spells of hot and rainy weather are of brief duration, and where the times of harvest vary in different parts of the country by several weeks, crops may be above the average in one part of the kingdom, and much beneath the average in another part. In the present day such diversity of local influences is not felt, the locomotive having brought distant parts together, precisely as the ocean steamer has knitted country with country. But the absence of means of quick transit in these olden times made it possible for abundance to exist in one part of the country, whilst scarcity and distress might be the portion of another part. This is proved from the fact that the average prices of wheat throughout the country during the protective period were certainly much less than they were in the decade preceding, or the decade succeeding, the operation of import duties.

Indeed, were it necessary, it would not be difficult to show that instead of the protective period of 1815–46 in the United Kingdom having been one of gloom and adversity, it was not merely the contrary, but that the foundations of the future wealth and prosperity of British traders were laid during those years. That the special nature of the Corn Laws of that time was defective, and in many cases vicious—more particularly in the facilities they gave to money speculators to control the market—may be freely admitted. In a word, what the circumstances of 1815 might have dictated was unfitted for the period of thirty years afterwards, when these laws were abolished; and probably many of those who are now clamouring for an alteration of the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom to suit the new conditions of to-day, would have been found among those who forty or fifty years ago fought for repeal. But the British Free Traders have pinned their creed to that of the political economists, and instead of respecting the special needs of each country and generation, still teach their faith as though it were an exact science, regardless how very imperfectly they themselves already carry out the real creed in operation.

However, in spite of admitted evils and drawbacks, it was during this much decried, and most undeservedly decried, period, that England placed herself in a position, not merely to take the lead, but to be the only country able to take the first advantage of the commercial and industrial revolution, ushered in by the new reign of science and invention, which the gold discoveries so powerfully stimulated for the time. By fortuitous circumstances these historic events followed the introduction of the free import system so closely, giving rise to the now famous leaps and bounds of trade, that Englishmen were too busy to diagnose the real factors governing the occasion; while the politicians and professional Free Traders at once seized on such progress as a sign of the wisdom of their policy. But, in point of fact, the real operation of free imports of competing products, and without reciprocity, was only retarded; and it was not because, but in spite, of free imports that the country prospered. As a well-known writer on the subject has pithily put it, Free Trade really failed when it was *apparently* succeeding; but when in later years the causes that prevented its natural operation were removed, and apparent failure resulted, it was *really* succeeding.

There are also two or three sign-posts standing to tell us that instead of disaster or distress being the portion of England's Protection period, the reverse was the truth. In the year 1841, before even the first approaches towards a Free Trade policy were made, the *Edinburgh Review*, the chief organ of the Liberal party of that day, and therefore on the side of the Anti-Corn-Law-Leaguers, wrote as follows (p. 502):—

“The history and the prospects of the manufacturing industry of Great Britain have long excited mixed feelings of pleasure and pain, of pride and regret, of satisfaction and of uneasiness, in all thinking minds. We have raised the value of British industry far beyond the value of any other European community. We have accumulated a capital far exceeding, both *positively* and in relation to our population, that of any other existing nation, or, indeed, of any nation whose history is known. Though struggling with a bad climate, and a moderately fertile soil, that industry and that capital have made our land more valuable than any other country of equal extent. In no portion of Europe does the whole amount of wages bear so large a proportion to the whole number of labourers, or the whole amount of profit to the whole number of inhabitants, or the whole amount of rent to the cultivable area. So far as wealth has been our object, we have been successful beyond the dreams of avarice.”

This was five years before the Corn Laws were repealed, and at a time when the Lancashire capitalists were subscribing more than a million dollars (this in itself no small test of the wealth of the country

at that moment) for an agitation founded upon these tales of distress and misery—tales that survive to this hour, though founded on such isolated circumstances as those already described. Listen again to what a modern historian of that agitation, himself a Cobden Club writer, has testified. Mr. Mongredien, in his eleventh chapter, says:—

“The adoption of Free Trade principles was not the result of pressure from adverse circumstances. The country was flourishing; trade was prosperous; the revenue showed a surplus; railways were being constructed with unexampled rapidity; the working classes were fully and remuneratively employed; the Imperial average of wheat for the week ending June 28th, 1845, was 47s. 11d. per quarter; and bread was cheaper than it had been for many years.”

Once more a brief reference may be made to another historical fact showing how under Protection England achieved the highest commercial position in the world, namely, to the Great Exhibition of 1851, the first of those International Shows at which wise men are now chary of exhibiting their methods, but to which still wiser men flock to profit by the ideas and experience of others. Could at that time any part of the whole world have produced anything comparable to it? People from all quarters of the globe, and from every civilized country, flocked to see the proofs of England's commercial greatness, and, alas! to profit by her folly in showing them. How they eventually profited, at the expense of British manufacturers, is now a matter of history; and no longer would it be possible for the United Kingdom to attempt to excel in such rivalry, still less to compete with such monster shows as that which Chicago will next year present to the world.

It is not, however, because of the historic part of the case, and still less on account of the illogical position taken up by the Cobden Clubites, that the Fair-Traders—who first propounded their definite policy in 1881—have entered the field to urge the reform of the present policy of the United Kingdom. It is rather because the features of the world's trade are entirely altered from those which prevailed so recently as twenty years ago. The British trader no longer enjoys his monopolies of the world's markets, besides possession of his own at home. From the point of view of the world's progress at large, the former is, perhaps, not to be regretted; but in the face of the determination of all countries to cater, as far as possible, for themselves—a policy which, in the end, enables them also to compete with the long-established British trader in neutral markets—it is suicidal to let the home market be invaded without at least securing reciprocity in

tariffs. Moreover, the very element in these invading imports which causes the Cobden Club-ite to declare that no change is possible—namely, the large proportion of food of which they are composed—is precisely that which makes a change absolutely imperative as a matter of mere national safety.

For whilst it cannot be and is not denied that the crowded population of the United Kingdom absolutely needs very large imports of food, and especially of food stuffs, it is equally impossible to deny that so long as such surplus requirements come mainly from foreign countries, this represents a serious element of national weakness, both economically and politically. More especially is this dangerous when such imports, and more particularly breadstuffs, come mainly from the very two countries—Russia and the United States—which send the least return orders in the shape of purchases of British products, as compared with the amount of their sales to the United Kingdom. To become more and more dependent on these external supplies, with decreasing exchange commerce, is a menace not merely to the productive capacity of the United Kingdom internally, but even to its national pre-eminence. The wiser policy of the United States in, for example, building up its iron and steel industries—even though a price for the goodwill has had to be paid at first—is precisely the converse of the policy of the United Kingdom, by which agricultural prosperity has been ruined, because the people have been willing to barter it away for the “mess of pottage” of present and immediate cheapness.

Did the United Kingdom stand alone, it might well be that the inability to produce sufficient food internally might prevail, for fear worse might follow. That she could produce much more than she does is undoubted. Twenty years ago double the quantity of land was under wheat cultivation than is the case to-day, without the compensation of extra food of other kinds taking its place. The United Kingdom then produced over 15,000,000 quarters of wheat, or nearly two-thirds of the present consumption, whereas to-day she produces less than 8,000,000 quarters, or only one-third of her consumption. Protection for the United Kingdom of itself alone might immediately restore such previous production, but it would be attendant with other results, which, under its present economical conditions, would render such policy impossible. And this is the plea which the Cobden Club-ite advances the most successfully.

There is, however, an alternative policy which the Fair-Traders

have propounded, and which is now a growing factor in England, wherever it is impartially considered and its details all thoroughly grasped. Even as the great United States presents in itself a self-contained and self-subsisting Empire, throughout which there is the reality of Free Trade or free exchange, so the British Empire at large contains all the elements which can protect the United Kingdom from any ill-effects arising from the crowded condition and present needs of the home population. The resources of the British Empire are sufficient, if prudently developed, to supply the food requirements of the Mother Country, and at the same time to replace the lost or diminishing markets for her manufacturing exports. The British trader has this weapon of retaliation in his hands to oppose to a policy, through which a great manufacturing concern like Saltaire is crushed, and thousands of men in the Welsh tin-plate industry are dismissed. And though the day has not come when the young populations of the outlying parts of the British Empire can afford to make inter-imperial trade one of absolute free exchange, the principal British Possessions have already spoken out and declared that, if the Mother Country grants her own Empire a preferential market at home, they in their turn would create a preferential tariff for British goods. And without impugning the wisdom of foreign countries, which in their judgment, and understanding their own needs best, have adopted the protective principle as their guide, it is this policy of using the resources of the British Empire as a means whereby the Mother Country may successfully, and without danger, fight the hostile tariffs of the world, which Fair-Traders propounded ten years ago, and still advocate.

MASHAM,

President of the Fair-Trade Club.

London, September, 1892.

ENDOWED THEATRES AND THE AMERICAN STAGE.

THE task of writing upon the actual state of the American stage is very difficult and delicate, and I undertake it with great diffidence and serious misgivings. Being foreign-born, I am not familiar enough with its past as perhaps I should be to do full justice to my theme, but possibly my foreign origin and experience have given me certain facilities for comparisons and judgment which, if I were of American birth, I might not be able to make.

It seems to me that there is no danger in America which can be said to threaten the future existence of the stage. In this country new theatres are built every day; every day new stars appear on the histrionic horizon; every day new companies and new combinations are formed. This is not surprising, for the stage offers a large field for financial investment and speculation. One can get a higher rent from a theatre than from almost any other kind of building. The work of the theatrical manager is comparatively very easy, as it consists mostly of "filling dates"; that is, of finding enough so-called attractions to give performances during the whole of the theatrical season. Such work does not require any artistic or literary education or any preliminary training. There is also in this land of possibilities and ambitions a vast number of candidates for histrionic honors, and their prospects seem always bright. But the future of the stage and the future of dramatic art and dramatic literature are very different from each other.

The increasing number of theatres and of theatrical organizations in America proves only one thing; that is, the increase in the public desire here for theatrical performances. The population of the cities and even of the minor towns here grows at a wonderful rate; besides, the general welfare and the natural need of recreation after a day's hard work or after a day of idleness are certainly incentives for some outside excitement. This is, however, not the ultimate *desideratum* of dramatic art. No harm is done if a manager fill his pockets or if an actor or actress acquire a fortune. But is this the manner in which a

higher standard of dramatic art can be attained? Are pastime on one side and speculation on the other the only objects for which the theatre exists? Is there not a higher object than either of these?

When I came to America, there were many things in the theatrical methods and customs prevailing here that puzzled me. The first thing I noticed as strange was the manner in which theatrical performances were advertised. Huge posters, lithographs, quotations from the press on the bills, pictures of Shakespeare standing side by side with advertisements of patent medicines and dog-shows were placed in such a way as to catch the eye of every passer-by and disfigure the walls. This brutal custom of bringing the people to the theatre by means of elaborate prints and a bragging style struck me very disagreeably at first, but little by little I came to understand that it was adopted and sanctioned by even the best actors of this country, for the reason that it was the only way to attract the public. On the continent in Europe, however, the people are always on the lookout for everything that is going on in the artistic world, and a small sheet of paper is sufficient to notify them of performances. Another surprise awaited me when I took up a newspaper and looking eagerly for theatrical notices found them under the heading of "Amusements," and, to cap the climax, discovered, just beneath an elaborate criticism on the performance of "Julius Cæsar," an account of a show of trained monkeys. I must confess that the heading and the juxtaposition filled me with dismay. I have since noticed that some of the papers of a higher standing use the title of "Drama" or "Theatre" instead of the hateful one of "Amusements."

One of the strongest proofs of the relatively small importance of the theatres in the United States is the lack of buildings built solely for the drama. In Europe, theatres bear the character of public buildings and are situated in a square with plenty of space around them. Here nearly all of them are crowded between the shops in business streets. They present externally very slight indication of their exceptional character, except by means of a signboard and a frame with photographs of actors and actresses exposed in the open lobby. In some large cities the manager of to-day attempts by adorning the front entrances of his building to give it something of an artistic air; but in the majority of towns the lack of respect for the appearance of the theatre is appalling. Very often one has to pass through a drug store to the stage, and both of those establishments are frequently under the same management. The arrangements behind the scenes are still

worse, and though I have learned not to expect too much, I cannot be reconciled to the appearance of the stage entrances and to the condition of the dressing-rooms. There is an unpardonable negligence in this regard on the part of the local managers, who seem to consider nothing but the box-office. The actor during the intervals of his work has not even the chance of resting or breathing in his dingy dressing-room, which is without air, or rather is filled with bad air, and in its equipment is both shabby and unclean. These inconveniences and drawbacks, however, are trifles in comparison with the greater evils which affect the character of dramatic art in this country, the main one of which is a complete lack of stock companies.

In place of stock companies we have the modern system of travelling stars and combinations. There is nothing more detrimental to the actor, nothing more injurious to the advancement and development of his art, than the constant shifting on his part from one place to the other, and, what is still worse, the run of the same play hundreds of times, until the actor's work becomes nothing more than a mechanical and weary reproduction of his part night after night, and his only desire is that it may soon be over. Tomasso Salvini is the only man who has had the courage to revolt against this custom of the English and American stage. He never has played two nights in succession. Even when frequently changing his repertory, he has found his task too wearisome and in great measure injurious to his art. In order to give a good performance, the actor must have rest; he must not appear on the stage tired, trusting in his good luck or in the indulgence of the public. He ought to go to his work with eagerness and anticipation of all the joys and enchantments which a well-performed part gives to the true artist. If acting is, as it should be, the actor's highest enjoyment, it will be equally enjoyed by the audience. But how can one feel able to perform the difficult tasks of the stage after twenty-four hours of travelling or after a number of weeks of so-called "one-night stands"? Still, in spite of fatigue the actor has to obey the prompter's bell; no matter whether he feels well or ill, he must "go on"; no matter if he has a bad cold, he must recite the blank verse with hoarse voice, or he must dance a minuet with a headache. Scarcely has he time to unpack his trunk and eat a cold supper in a hurry before he must appear on the stage with a radiant countenance. Where is art then? Art has covered her face and flown away, ashamed of those who cease thus to be priests at her altar and simply become commercial travellers in art, changing the stage to a sample-room where the

public has only a vague idea what the article might have been if it had been shown under the best conditions.

Why do the great actors of this country travel from place to place instead of remaining in the large cities? There is one main reason: the lack of an endowed theatre, where the principal talent of the country, having an assured sustenance, may, without regard to the future, be devoted exclusively to artistic pursuits. Great actors would thus create a standard which would be authoritative in matters of dramatic art. It would be impossible for a single person, even of the most prominent standing, to keep up in any of the American cities a stock company devoted purely to legitimate drama and comedy. The sad experiment made by Edwin Booth is the best proof of this fact. And yet there is no name dearer to every ear, no talent shining with greater splendor than his. Where now is the beautiful theatre to the erection of which he sacrificed the gains of many years of hard work? Where is the stage upon which "Romeo," "Hamlet," "Shylock," walked in the full bloom and vigor of his genius? They are gone, and trade now spreads its goods where Shakespeare's spirit reigned. It is true that there are several stock companies in New York. The organizations of Augustin Daly, Palmer, and Frohman, as well as the cheerful home of local comedy under Harrigan, answer in part to the wants that permanent theatres ought to supply. There is also a stock company of old standing and reputation in Boston—the Boston Museum. All these companies contain excellent talent; they are conducted with sagacity and artistic knowledge; they possess a public of their own. And yet we see that even they lose sometimes their best actors or sublet their theatres to inferior organizations; that they are compelled to make long runs of pieces of poor intrinsic merit, mostly translations, and that only occasionally they can afford to give performances of a legitimate order. Is there no remedy for this degraded condition of American dramatic art?

There is no remedy except in the establishment of endowed theatres independent of the money question. The supremacy of such institutions, supplied with superior talent, artistic management, and elevated repertory, would soon be acknowledged by a public so quick to appreciate as the American people. This would naturally improve the taste and necessarily react upon the conduct of other theatres. There is no question that they would attract a great many persons who, disgusted with present conditions, rarely or never go to the playhouse. Such theatres, if obliged by the provisions of their endow-

ment to produce the classic works of dramatic literature, would at the same time offer a ready hospitality to the best modern plays and bring to the front new authors, exciting emulation among the foremost writers of the country. A few great actors and innumerable so-called stars and combinations cannot furnish opportunities for the development of dramatic literature. The plays now written are mostly well or ill fitted dresses, made to order for each individual star, pieces of one part; or else they are conglomerations of scenic effects adapted to the capacity of the company, where the author sometimes has little to do, the ingenious actors having burdened the lines with their own inventions.

There can be no doubt that dramatic art is in its influence very important and is worthy of a better fate than falls to it in this country. It speaks more keenly to the human heart and mind than any of the other arts; its means are the most direct of all, appealing as they do to both our ears and eyes. Partaking thus of the advantages of music and the plastic arts, it penetrates the deepest recesses of the human soul, whose innermost chords it puts into vibration; however short may be its action, the impressions which it leaves are often very durable. By rendering some of the highest works of genius, this art makes more accessible to us the great inspiration of the master minds of humanity, and stirs in us the love of the ideal slumbering in every soul, and which, when awakened, raises man above the level of the brute. I have heard two of the most eminent divines of this age declare that next to the pulpit the stage can have the greatest influence for good. And yet there is no art which is so much abused. Controlled by sordid influences, it descends slowly but surely to a degraded position. Its influence certainly grows, but not for good. Instead of being itself a guide in matters of refinement and art, the stage of to-day is guided merely by the question of attractiveness and knows no higher aim than the receipts of the box-office; instead of trying to improve the public taste, it panders to the tastes of the majority. And who can deny that the lower the taste is the more general it is? I do not speak here of the great public, but of that portion of it which is most eager in its search for excitement. Is there anything more noticeable than the increasing vulgarity, falsely called realism, of the plays that nowadays achieve the greatest success?

In old Europe, where many things are in decay, but where also many other things remain as the outgrowth of centuries of civilization, the theatre has preserved to a great degree the character of a public institution. Almost every large city, every town of some im-

portance, possesses one or more theatres endowed either by the state or the city or by private donations. The foremost of them, like the *Théâtre Français* in Paris and the *Burg Theater* in Vienna, have exerted an exceedingly salutary influence, not only on the improvement of dramatic art, but equally on the development of literature, the refinement of public taste and manners, and in a great measure on the preservation of the purity and elegance of the language. Conservative in their tendencies, they have been a barrier against the encroachments of vulgarity, and they have not been indifferent to genuine improvement and progress. Similar to them was the action of many others, those in Berlin, Dresden, Munich, St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, Warsaw, Pesth, Prague, etc., etc. Strange to say, England, the home of Shakespeare, does not possess a national theatre. Germany, in fact, takes the front rank in regard to the respect it pays to dramatic art.

An endowed theatre is conducted on the basis of a stock company selected from the foremost talent of the country. The actor remains there for the greatest part of his life; at the end of his services, when old age or infirmity disables him for further work, he is granted a pension. The manager is not a speculator, but a responsible employee, chosen on account of fitness for his duties. In many of those institutions the plays are accepted or refused by a committee composed of the most prominent members of the company, sometimes in conjunction with a few select literary advisers. "Runs" of plays night after night are practically unknown. A successful piece is placed in the permanent repertory, to be repeated several times weekly or monthly. The rule is a continual change of bill. The companies are numerous; therefore there is no necessity for an actor to play every night. The regulations of the endowment usually prescribe the production of standard works at certain intervals. There is, for instance, no week in the *Théâtre Français* without a performance of Racine, Corneille, or Molière, no week in the *Burg Theater* without Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, or Shakespeare. Besides the endowed theatres, there exist in the larger cities, mainly in the capitals, many private ones that have to support themselves, and are therefore conducted more on a business basis. But such is the prestige of the endowed theatres that the others are compelled to follow the example set by them, and thus avoid the complete anarchy which is the result of our American system.

Starring is not wholly unknown on the European continent, but it is singularly modified and restrained. Actors and actresses who have achieved a notable success, whose fame has reached beyond the limits

of their own town or country, are granted now and then a few months' vacation, during which they are invited by other theatres to appear as "guests" in conjunction with the stock companies. Such was, I understand, the practice in this country as long as the stock companies existed. The latter disappeared because the present system seemed to promise a larger income both to the managers and to the actors. It is a question if we ever shall return to it. It would certainly be an improvement, but it would not solve the difficulty.

As to the *personnel* of endowed theatres, there would be no difficulty in forming it. Dramatic talent is not rare here. The prevalent mixture of races, the inherent quickness and subtlety of perception, the nervous and emotional temperament, as well as the innate sense of humor and observation among Americans—all these elements seem exceedingly propitious to the development of native dramatic talent. Among the older actors and actresses, trained in the school of stock companies (I include not only the stars, but, possibly even more, those who are satisfied with the humbler position of supporters), there are forces sufficient to form the nucleus of excellent companies. By grouping around them a number of younger actors and training them, we could certainly be able, in time, to emulate the better theatres in Europe. The managerial positions could be filled either by actors of experience and ability or by those of the local managers who have distinguished themselves by the artistic conduct of their business. Good-will would not be lacking; a great number of actors would welcome the change, and would gladly abandon their present uncertain and unsatisfactory manner of life to obtain a more dignified, more stable, and more artistic position.

As our mode of government places entirely out of question any idea of State or municipal support, it is not to be expected that in the present state of the public mind, where the theatre is considered mostly as an amusement and very often as a precursor of Hades, public subscriptions could be solicited with any prospect of success. The only chance is to find among the rich, the very rich, of this country men both enlightened and generous enough to endow such theatres with private donations. I say *very* rich, because it would be unfair to conceal that the cost of the establishment of such a theatre would run not merely into tens or hundreds of thousands, but into millions.

However, I do not despair. Was not the whole *renaissance* movement in Italy supported, not so much by Italian courts and governments as by the patronage of the wealthy inhabitants of the little

republics? Many of our millionaires have nobly shown how well they understand their duty to the country which gave them their wealth, by establishing religious, educational, and charitable institutions. Few commonwealths, indeed, can boast of such generous examples of philanthropy as the United States. In the artistic sphere we have instances of individuals endowing symphonic orchestras, musical institutes, and museums of fine arts. With regard to dramatic art, we know of a few cases where public-spirited citizens have erected fine buildings for theatres; but as no fund was provided to maintain companies in them, the theatres have been obliged to support themselves in the usual manner.

The awakening of the sense of art in other directions is a happy sign of the time. It is not unreasonable to hope that soon we shall see a Mæcenas of dramatic art, inspired by a noble ambition, not only erecting in one of the larger cities of America a theatre worthy of the high purposes for which it is founded, but also devoting a sufficient capital to assure its independence. Such an endowment would certainly be duplicated in time in other cities, because nothing is more contagious than good example. This is the only hope which sustains the courage of those who long to see the American stage in the place it ought to fill.

HELENA MODJESKA.

A NEW IMPULSE TO AN OLD GOSPEL.

"HULL HOUSE, which was Chicago's first Settlement, was established in September, 1889. It represented no association, but was opened by two women, backed by many friends, in the belief that the mere foothold of a house, easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for Chicago. It was opened on general Settlement lines, in the conviction that along those lines many educated young people could find the best outlet for a certain sort of unexpressed activity. Hull House is neither a University Settlement nor a College Settlement: it calls itself a Social Settlement, an attempt to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society. It is an attempt to add the social function to democracy. It was opened on the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal; and that as the social relation is essentially a reciprocal relation, it gave a form of expression that has peculiar value." This I wrote in the FORUM for October.

I attempt in this paper to treat of the subjective necessity for a Social Settlement, to analyze, as nearly as I can, the motives that underlie a movement which I believe to be based not only on conviction, but on genuine emotion. I have divided the motives which constitute the subjective pressure toward Social Settlements into three great lines: the first contains the desire to make the entire social organism democratic, to extend democracy beyond its political expression; the second is the impulse to share the race life, to bring as much as possible of social energy and the accumulation of civilization to those portions of the race which have little; the third springs from a certain *renaissance* of Christianity, a movement toward its early humanitarian aspects.

It is not difficult to see that although America is pledged to the democratic ideal, the view of democracy has been partial and that its best achievement thus far has been pushed along the line of the fran-

chise. Democracy has made little attempt to assert itself in social affairs. We have refused to move beyond the position of its eighteenth-century leaders, who believed that political equality alone would secure all good to all men. We conscientiously followed the gift of the ballot hard upon the gift of freedom to the Negro, but we are quite unmoved by the fact that he lives among us in a practical social ostracism. We hasten to give the franchise to the immigrant from a sense of justice, from a tradition that he ought to have it, while we dub him with epithets deriding his past life or present occupation and feel no duty to invite him to our houses. We are forced to acknowledge that it is only in our local and national politics that we try very hard for the ideal so dear to those who were enthusiasts when the century was young. We have almost given it up as our ideal in social intercourse. In many a city ward the majority of the votes are openly sold for drinks and dollars; still there is a remote pretence, at least a fiction current, that a man's vote is his own. The judgment of the voter is consulted and an opportunity for remedy given. There is not even a theory in the social order, not a shadow answering to the polls in politics. The time may come when the politician who sells one by one to the highest bidder all the offices in his grasp will not be considered more base in his code of morals, more hardened in his practice, than the woman who constantly invites to her receptions those alone who bring her an equal social return, who shares her beautiful surroundings only with those who minister to a liking she has for successful social events. In doing this she is just as unmindful of the common weal, as unscrupulous in her use of power, as is any city "boss" who consults only the interests of the "ring."

In politics "bossism" arouses a scandal. It goes on in society constantly and is only beginning to be challenged. Our consciences are becoming tender in regard to the lack of democracy in social affairs. We are perhaps entering upon the second phase of democracy, as the French philosophers entered upon the first, somewhat bewildered by its logical conclusions. The social organism has broken down through large districts of our great cities. Many of the people living there are very poor, the majority of them without leisure or energy for anything but the gain of subsistence. They move often from one wretched lodging to another. They live for the moment side by side, many of them without knowledge of each other, without fellowship, without local tradition or public spirit, without social organization of any kind. Practically nothing is done to remedy this.

The people who might do it, who have the social tact and training, the large houses, and the traditions and custom of hospitality, live in other parts of the city. The club-houses, libraries, galleries, and semi-public conveniences for social life are also blocks away. We find workingmen organized into armies of producers because men of executive ability and business sagacity have found it to their interests thus to organize them. But these workingmen are not organized socially; although living in crowded tenement-houses, they are living without a corresponding social contact. The chaos is as great as it would be were they working in huge factories without foreman or superintendent. Their ideas and resources are cramped. The desire for higher social pleasure is extinct. They have no share in the traditions and social energy which make for progress. Too often their only place of meeting is a saloon, their only host a bartender; a local demagogue forms their public opinion. Men of ability and refinement, of social power and university cultivation, stay away from them. Personally, I believe the men who lose most are those who thus stay away. But the paradox is here: when cultivated people do stay away from a certain portion of the population, when all social advantages are persistently withheld, it may be for years, the result itself is pointed at as a reason, is used as an argument, for the continued withholding.

It is constantly said that because the masses have never had social advantages they do not want them, that they are heavy and dull, and that it will take political or philanthropic machinery to change them. This divides a city into rich and poor; into the favored, who express their sense of the social obligation by gifts of money, and into the unfavored, who express it by clamoring for a "share"—both of them actuated by a vague sense of justice. This division of the city would be the more justifiable, however, if the people who thus isolated themselves on certain streets and used their social ability for each other gained enough thereby and added sufficient to the sum total of social progress to justify the withholding of the pleasures and results of that progress from so many people who ought to have them. But they cannot accomplish this. The social spirit discharges itself in many forms, and no one form is adequate to its total expression. We are all uncomfortable in regard to the insincerity of our best phrases, because we hesitate to translate our philosophy into the deed.

It is inevitable that those who feel most keenly this insincerity and partial living should be our young people, our so-called educated

young people who accomplish little toward the solution of this social problem, and who bear the brunt of being cultivated into unnourished, over-sensitive lives. They have been shut off from the common labor by which they live and which is a great source of moral and physical health. They feel a fatal want of harmony between their theory and their lives, a lack of co-ordination between thought and action. I think it is hard for us to realize how seriously many of them are taking to the notion of human brotherhood, how eagerly they long to give tangible expression to the democratic ideal. These young men and women, longing to socialize their democracy, are animated by certain hopes. These hopes may be loosely formulated thus: that if in a democratic country nothing can be permanently achieved save through the masses of the people, it will be impossible to establish a higher political life than the people themselves crave; that it is difficult to see how the notion of a higher civic life can be fostered save through common intercourse.

The blessings which we associate with a life of refinement and cultivation can be made universal and must be made universal if they are to be permanent. The good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain, is floating in mid-air, until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life. These hopes are responsible for results in various directions, pre-eminently in the extension of educational advantages. We find that all educational matters are more democratic in their political than in their social aspects. The public schools in the poorest and most crowded wards of the city are inadequate to the number of children, and many of the teachers are ill-prepared and overworked; but in each ward there is an effort to secure public education. The school-house itself stands as a pledge that the city recognizes and endeavors to fulfil the duty of educating its children. But what becomes of these children when they are no longer in public schools? Many of them never come under the influence of a professional teacher after they are twelve. Society at large does little for their intellectual development. The dream of transcendentalists that each New England village would be a university, that every child taken from the common school would be put into definite lines of study and mental development, had its unfulfilled beginning in the village lyceum and lecture courses, and has its feeble representative now in the multitude of clubs for study which are so sadly restricted to educators, to the leisure class, or only to the advanced and progressive workers.

The University Extension movement—certainly when it is closely identified with Settlements—would not confine learning to those who already want it, or to those who, by making an effort, can gain it, or to those among whom professional educators are already at work, but would take it to the tailors of East London and the dock-laborers of the Thames. It requires tact and training, love of learning, and the conviction of the justice of its diffusion to give it to people whose intellectual faculties are untrained and disused. But men in England are found who do it successfully, and it is believed there are men and women in America who can do it. I also believe that the best work in University Extension can be done in Settlements, where the teaching will be further socialized, where the teacher will grapple his students, not only by formal lectures, but by every hook possible to the fuller intellectual life which he represents. This teaching requires distinct methods, for it is true of people who have been allowed to remain undeveloped and whose faculties are inert and sterile, that they cannot take their learning heavily. It has to be diffused in a social atmosphere. Information held in solution, a medium of fellowship and good-will can be assimilated by the dullest.

If education is, as Froebel defined it, "deliverance," deliverance of the forces of the body and mind, then the untrained must first be delivered from all constraint and rigidity before their faculties can be used. Possibly one of the most pitiful periods in the drama of the much-praised young American who attempts to rise in life is the time when his educational requirements seem to have locked him up and made him rigid. He fancies himself shut off from his uneducated family and misunderstood by his friends. He is bowed down by his mental accumulations and often gets no farther than to carry them through life as a great burden. Not once has he had a glimpse of the delights of knowledge. Intellectual life requires for its expansion and manifestation the influence and assimilation of the interests and affections of others. Mazzini, that greatest of all democrats, who broke his heart over the condition of the South European peasantry, said: "Education is not merely a necessity of true life by which the individual renews his vital force in the vital force of humanity; it is a Holy Communion with generations dead and living, by which he fecundates all his faculties. When he is withheld from this Communion for generations, as the Italian peasant has been, we point our finger at him and say, 'He is like a beast of the field; he must be controlled by force.'" Even to this it is sometimes added that it is

absurd to educate him, immoral to disturb his content. We stupidly use again the effect as an argument for a continuance of the cause. It is needless to say that a Settlement is a protest against a restricted view of education, and makes it possible for every educated man or woman with a teaching faculty to find out those who are ready to be taught. The social and educational activities of a Settlement are but differing manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the existence of the Settlement itself.

I find it somewhat difficult to formulate the second line of motives which I believe to constitute the trend of the subjective pressure toward the Settlement. There is something primordial about these motives, but I am perhaps over-bold in designating them as a great desire to share the race life. We all bear traces of the starvation struggle which for so long made up the life of the race. Our very organism holds memories and glimpses of that long life of our ancestors which still goes on among so many of our contemporaries. Nothing so deadens the sympathies and shrivels the power of enjoyment as the persistent keeping away from the great opportunities for helpfulness and a continual ignoring of the starvation struggle which makes up the life of at least half the race. To shut one's self away from that half of the race life is to shut one's self away from the most vital part of it; it is to live out but half the humanity which we have been born heir to and to use but half our faculties. We have all had longings for a fuller life which should include the use of these faculties. These longings are the physical complement of the "Intimations of Immortality" on which no ode has yet been written. To portray these would be the work of a poet, and it is hazardous for any but a poet to attempt it.

You may remember the forlorn feeling which occasionally seizes you when you arrive early in the morning a stranger in a great city. The stream of laboring people goes past you as you gaze through the plate-glass window of your hotel. You see hard-working men lifting great burdens; you hear the driving and jostling of huge carts. Your heart sinks with a sudden sense of futility. The door opens behind you and you turn to the man who brings you in your breakfast with a quick sense of human fellowship. You find yourself praying that you may never lose your hold on it all. A more poetic prayer would be that the great mother breasts of our common humanity, with its labor and suffering and its homely comforts, may never be withheld from you. You turn helplessly to the waiter. You feel that it would

be almost grotesque to claim from him the sympathy you crave. Civilization has placed you far apart, but you resent your position with a sudden sense of snobbery. Literature is full of portrayals of these glimpses. They come to shipwrecked men on rafts; they overcome the differences of an incongruous multitude when in the presence of a great danger or when moved by a common enthusiasm. They are not, however, confined to such moments, and if we were in the habit of telling them to each other, the recital would be as long as the tales of children are when they sit down on the green grass and confide to each other how many times they have remembered that they lived once before. If that is the stirring of inherited impressions, just so surely is the other the stirring of inherited power.

There is nothing after disease, indigence, and a sense of guilt so fatal to health and to life itself as the want of a proper outlet for active faculties. I have seen young girls suffer and grow sensibly lowered in vitality in the first years after they leave school. In our attempt then to give a girl pleasure and freedom from care we succeed, for the most part, in making her pitifully miserable. She finds "life" so different from what she expected it to be. She is besotted with innocent little ambitions and does not understand this apparent waste of herself, this elaborate preparation, if no work is provided for her. There is a heritage of noble obligation which young people accept and long to perpetuate. The desire for action, the wish to right wrong and alleviate suffering, haunts them daily. Society smiles at it indulgently instead of making it of value to itself. The wrong to them begins even farther back when we restrain the first childish desires for "doing good" and tell them that they must wait until they are older and better fitted. We intimate that social obligation begins at a fixed date, forgetting that it begins with birth itself. We treat them as we would children who, with strong-growing limbs, are allowed to use their legs but not their arms, or whose legs are daily carefully exercised that after awhile their arms may be put to high use. We do this in spite of the protest of the best educators, Locke and Pestalozzi. We are fortunate in the mean time if their unused members do not weaken and disappear. They do sometimes. There are a few girls who, by the time they are "educated," forget their old childish desires to help the world and to play with poor little girls "who haven't playthings." Parents are often curious about this. They deliberately expose their daughters to the knowledge of the distress in the world. They send them to hear missionary addresses on

famines in India and China; they accompany them to lectures on the suffering in Siberia; they agitate together over the forgotten region of East London. In addition to this, from babyhood the altruistic tendencies of these daughters are persistently cultivated. They are taught to be self-forgetting and self-sacrificing, to consider the good of the Whole before the good of the Ego. But when all this information and culture begins to show results, when the daughter comes back from college and begins to recognize her social claim to the "submerged tenth" and to evince a disposition to fulfil it, the family claim is strenuously asserted; she is told that she is unjustified, ill-advised in her efforts. If she persists the family too often are injured and unhappy, unless the efforts are called missionary, and the religious zeal of the family carry them over their sense of abuse.

We have in America a fast-growing number of cultivated young people who have no recognized outlet for their active faculties. They hear constantly of the great social mal-adjustment, but no way is provided for them to change it and their uselessness hangs about them heavily. Huxley declares that the sense of uselessness is the severest shock which the human system can sustain, and, if persistently sustained, it results in atrophy of function. These young people have had advantages of college, of European travel and economic study, but they are sustaining this shock of inaction. They have pet phrases, and they tell you that the things that make us all alike are stronger than the things that make us different. They say that all men are united by needs and sympathies far more permanent and radical than anything that temporarily divides them and sets them in opposition to each other. If they affect art, they say that the decay in artistic expression is due to the decay in ethics, that art when shut away from the human interests and from the great mass of humanity is self-destructive. They tell their elders with all the bitterness of youth that if they expect success from them in business, or politics, or whatever lines their ambition for them has run, they must let them consult all of humanity; that they must let them find out what the people want and how they want it. It is only the stronger young people, however, who formulate this. Many of them dissipate their energies in so-called enjoyment. Others, not content with that, go on studying and come back to college for their second degrees, not that they are especially fond of study, but they want something definite to do, and their powers have been trained in the direction of mental accumulation. Many are buried beneath mere mental accumulation

with lowered vitality and discontent. Walter Besant says they have had the vision that Peter had when he saw the great sheet let down from heaven, wherein was neither clean nor unclean. He calls it the sense of humanity. It is not philanthropy nor benevolence. It is a thing fuller and wider than either of these. This young life, so sincere in its emotion and good phrases and yet so undirected, seems to me as pitiful as the other great mass of destitute lives. One is supplementary to the other, and some method of communication can surely be devised. Mr. Barnett, who urged the first Settlement—Toynbee Hall, in East London—recognized this need of outlet for the young men of Oxford and Cambridge and hoped that the Settlement would supply the communication. It is easy to see why the Settlement movement originated in England, where the years of education are more constrained and definite than they are here, where class distinctions are more rigid. The necessity of it was greater there, but we are fast feeling the pressure of the need and reaching the necessity for Settlements in America. Our young people feel nervously the need of putting theory into action and respond quickly to the Settlement form of activity.

The third division of motives which I believe make toward the Settlement is the result of a certain *renaissance* going forward in Christianity. The impulse to share the lives of the poor, the desire to make social service, irrespective of propaganda, express the spirit of Christ, is as old as Christianity itself. We have no proof from the records themselves that the early Roman Christians, who strained their simple art to the point of grotesqueness in their eagerness to record a "good news" on the walls of the catacombs, considered this "good news" a religion. Jesus had imposed no cult nor rites. He had no set of truths labelled "Religious." On the contrary, his doctrine was that all truth was one, that the appropriation of it was freedom. His teaching had no dogma of its own to mark it off from truth and action in general. The very universality of it precluded its being a religion. He himself called it a revelation—a life. These early Roman Christians received the Gospel message, a command to love all men, with a certain joyous simplicity. The image of the Good Shepherd is blithe and gay beyond the gentlest shepherd of Greek mythology; the hart no longer pants, but rushes to the water brooks. The Christians looked for the continuous revelation, but believed what Jesus said, that this revelation to be held and made manifest must be put into terms of action; that action is the only organ man has for receiving

and appropriating truth. "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine."

That Christianity would have to be revealed and embodied in the line of social progress is a corollary to the simple proposition that man's action is found in his social relationships in the way in which he connects with his fellows, that his motives for action are the zeal and affection with which he regards his fellows. By this simple process was created a deep enthusiasm for humanity, which regarded man as at once the organ and object of revelation; and by this process came about that wonderful fellowship, that true democracy of the early Church, that so captivates the imagination. The early Christians were pre-eminently non-resistant. They believed in love as a cosmic force. There was no iconoclasm during the minor peace of the Church. They did not yet denounce, nor tear down temples, nor preach the end of the world. They grew to a mighty number, but it never occurred to them, either in their weakness or their strength, to regard other men for an instant as their foes or aliens. The spectacle of the Christians loving all men was the most astounding Rome had ever seen. They were eager to sacrifice themselves for the weak, for children and the aged. They identified themselves with slaves and did not avoid the plague. They longed to share the common lot that they might receive the constant revelation. It was a new treasure which the early Christians added to the sum of all treasures, a joy hitherto unknown in the world—the joy of finding the Christ which lieth in each man, but which no man can unfold save in fellowship. A happiness ranging from the heroic to the pastoral enveloped them. They were to possess a revelation as long as life had new meaning to unfold, new action to propose.

I believe that there is a distinct turning among many young men and women toward this simple acceptance of Christ's message. They resent the assumption that Christianity is a set of ideas which belong to the religious consciousness, whatever that may be, that it is a thing to be proclaimed and instituted apart from the social life of the community. They insist that it shall seek a simple and natural expression in the social organism itself. The Settlement movement is only one manifestation of that wider humanitarian movement which throughout Christendom, but pre-eminently in England, is endeavoring to embody itself, not in a sect, but in society itself. Tolstoi has reminded us all very forcibly of Christ's principle of non-resistance. His formulation has been startling and his expression has deviated

from the general movement, but there is little doubt that he has many adherents, men and women who are philosophically convinced of the futility of opposition, who believe that evil can be overcome only with good and cannot be opposed by evil. If love is the creative force of the universe, the principle which binds men together, and by their interdependence on each other makes them human, just so surely is anger the destructive principle of the universe, that which tears down, thrusts men apart, and makes them isolated and brutal.

I cannot of course speak for other Settlements, but it would, I think, be unfair to Hull House not to emphasize the conviction with which the first residents went there, that it would simply be a foolish and an unwarrantable expenditure of force to oppose and to antagonize any individual or set of people in the neighborhood; that whatever of good the House had to offer should be put into positive terms; that its residents should live with opposition to no man, with recognition of the good in every man, even the meanest. I believe that this turning, this *renaissance* of the early Christian humanitarianism, is going on in America, in Chicago, if you please, without leaders who write or philosophize, without much speaking, but with a bent to express in social service, in terms of action, the spirit of Christ. Certain it is that spiritual force is found in the Settlement movement, and it is also true that this force must be evoked and must be called into play before the success of any Settlement is assured. There must be the overmastering belief that all that is noblest in life is common to men as men, in order to accentuate the likenesses and ignore the differences which are found among the people the Settlement constantly brings into juxtaposition. It may be true, as Frederic Harrison insists, that the very religious fervor of man can be turned into love for his race and his desire for a future life into contempt to live in the echo of his deeds. How far the Positivists' formula of the high ardor for humanity can carry the Settlement movement, Mrs. Humphry Ward's house in London may in course of time illustrate. Paul's formula of seeking for the Christ which lieth in each man and founding our likenesses on him seems a simpler formula to many of us.

If you have heard a thousand voices singing in the Hallelujah Chorus in Handel's "Messiah," you have found that the leading voices could still be distinguished, but that the differences of training and cultivation between them and the voices of the chorus were lost in the unity of purpose and the fact that they were all human voices lifted by a high motive. This is a weak illustration of what a Settlement

attempts to do. It aims, in a measure, to lead whatever of social life its neighborhood may afford, to focus and give form to that life, to bring to bear upon it the results of cultivation and training; but it receives in exchange for the music of isolated voices the volume and strength of the chorus. It is quite impossible for me to say in what proportion or degree the subjective necessity which led to the opening of Hull House combined the three trends: first, the desire to interpret democracy in social terms; secondly, the impulse beating at the very source of our lives urging us to aid in the race progress; and, thirdly, the Christian movement toward Humanitarianism. It is difficult to analyze a living thing; the analysis is at best imperfect. Many more motives may blend with the three trends; possibly the desire for a new form of social success due to the nicety of imagination, which refuses worldly pleasures unmixed with the joys of self-sacrifice; possibly a love of approbation, so vast that it is not content with the treble clapping of delicate hands, but wishes also to hear the bass notes from toughened palms, may mingle with these.

The Settlement, then, is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of a city. It is an attempt to relieve, at the same time, the over-accumulation at one end of society and the destitution at the other; but it assumes that this over-accumulation and destitution is most sorely felt in the things that pertain to social and educational advantage. From its very nature it can stand for no political or social *propaganda*. It must, in a sense, give the warm welcome of an inn to all such *propaganda*, if perchance one of them be found an angel. The one thing to be dreaded in the Settlement is that it lose its flexibility, its power of quick adaptation, its readiness to change its methods as its environment may demand. It must be open to conviction and must have a deep and abiding sense of tolerance. It must be hospitable and ready for experiment. It should demand from its residents a scientific patience in the accumulation of facts and the steady holding of their sympathies as one of the best instruments for that accumulation. It must be grounded in a philosophy whose foundation is on the solidarity of the human race, a philosophy which will not waver when the race happens to be represented by a drunken woman or an idiot boy. Its residents must be emptied of all conceit of opinion and all self-assertion, and ready to arcuse and interpret the public opinion of their neighborhood. They

must be content to live quietly side by side with their neighbors until they grow into a sense of relationship and mutual interests. Their neighbors are held apart by differences of race and language which the residents can more easily overcome. They are bound to see the needs of their neighborhood as a whole, to furnish data for legislation, and use their influence to secure it. In short, residents are pledged to devote themselves to the duties of good citizenship and to the arousing of the social energies which too largely lie dormant in every neighborhood given over to industrialism. They are bound to regard the entire life of their city as organic, to make an effort to unify it and to protest against its over-differentiation.

Our philanthropies of all sorts are growing so expensive and institutional that it is to be hoped the Settlement movement will keep itself facile and unincumbered. From its very nature it needs no endowment, no roll of salaried officials. Many residents must always come in the attitude of students, assuming that the best teacher of life is life itself and regarding the Settlement as a class-room. Hull House from the outside may appear to be a cumbrous plant of manifold industries, with its round of clubs and classes, its day nursery, diet kitchen, library, art exhibits, lectures, statistical work and polyglot demands for information, a thousand people coming and going in an average week. But viewed as a business enterprise it is not costly, for from this industry are eliminated two great items of expense—the cost of superintendence and the cost of distribution. All the management and teaching are voluntary and unpaid, and the consumers—to continue the commercial phraseology—are at the door and deliver the goods themselves. In the instance of Hull House, rent is also largely eliminated through the courtesy of Miss Culver, the owner. Life is manifold and Hull House attempts to respond to as many sides as possible. It does this fearlessly, feeling sure that among the able people of Chicago are those who will come to do the work when once the outline is indicated. It pursues much the same policy in regard to money. It seems to me an advantage—this obligation to appeal to business men for their judgment and their money, to the educated for their effort and enthusiasm, to the neighborhood for their response and co-operation. It tests the sanity of an idea, and we enter upon a new line of activity with a feeling of support and confidence. We have always been perfectly frank with our neighbors. I have never tried so earnestly to set forth the gist of the Settlement movement, to make clear its reciprocity, as I have to them. At first we were often asked

why we came to live there when we could afford to live somewhere else. I remember one man who used to shake his head and say it was "the strangest thing he had met in his experience," but who was finally convinced that it was not strange but natural. There was another who was quite sure that the "prayer-meeting snap" would come in somewhere, that it was "only a question of time." I trust that now it seems natural to all of us that the Settlement should be there. If it is natural to feed the hungry and care for the sick, it is certainly natural to give pleasure to the young and to minister to the deep-seated craving for social intercourse all men feel. Whoever does it is rewarded by something which, if not gratitude, is at least spontaneous and vital and lacks that irksome sense of obligation with which a substantial benefit is too often acknowledged. The man who looks back to the person who first put him in the way of good literature has no alloy in his gratitude.

I remember when the statement seemed to me very radical that the salvation of East London was the destruction of West London; but I believe now that there will be no wretched quarters in our cities at all when the conscience of each man is so touched that he prefers to live with the poorest of his brethren, and not with the richest of them that his income will allow. It is to be hoped that this moving and living will at length be universal and need no name. The Settlement movement is from its nature a provisional one. It is easy in writing a paper to make all philosophy point one particular moral and all history adorn one particular tale; but I hope you forgive me for reminding you that the best speculative philosophy sets forth the solidarity of the human race, that the highest moralists have taught that without the advance and improvement of the whole no man can hope for any lasting improvement in his own moral or material individual condition. The subjective necessity for Social Settlements is identical with that necessity which urges us on toward social and individual salvation.

JANE ADDAMS.

WHAT WE REALLY KNOW ABOUT MARS.

THE observations of Mars for 1892 are nearly over at the time this paper is being written. The circumstances under which the planet has been seen have been very unfavorable in Europe, owing to the low altitude of Mars, and almost equally so in America. Professor Schiaparelli tells me that he has not been able to use a magnifying power of even 200 with advantage, and at the Lick Observatory, where the planet has been assiduously followed by Messrs. Schaeberle, Barnard, Campbell, Hussey, and myself, the power usually employed has not been above 350. In spite of all drawbacks a great many careful measures and drawings have been made at Mount Hamilton (more than one hundred good drawings), and we have every reason to be satisfied with the results, which we shall publish as soon as practicable.¹

It may not be undesirable to give here a few considerations of a general character relating to the observations of Mars and to their interpretation, especially as the subject will be fresh in the minds of those readers who have seen the newspapers of the past summer.

The telegrams to the press have usually dealt either with the details of observation, which, of necessity, can scarcely be weighed at their proper value except by specialists, or else they have discussed the very wide questions whether the planet was inhabited by beings like ourselves, or even whether such beings were not actually engaged in making signals to astronomers on the earth for the purpose of

¹I should like to call attention to the fact that the history of the great telescopes at Mount Hamilton and at Washington will serve to lay away finally a widely published opinion which we used to hear repeated every few weeks—namely, that great telescopes are of little use. The work of these two great telescopes (not to speak of many others) has conclusively shown their great superiority over less powerful instruments in every field of astronomy, in the observations of planets, nebulae, stars, comets, satellites, in spectroscopy, and also in those departments of astronomical photography for which they are adapted. Smaller instruments have their appropriate fields, and in some of these they will always be more convenient than larger ones. But the great telescope, when properly used, is and will always be pre-eminent. The proof is easy to give, and I trust that we shall not hear any more idle detraction of the work of our great instrument-makers, the Clarks, or of their European rivals.

opening communication with them. There is certainly no more important question in planetary astronomy than to determine whether our neighboring planets are or are not inhabited; but, as I have previously had occasion to remark, the problem of astronomy is at present far narrower. This problem is to determine whether or no any of the planets are fit for habitation. To solve this question it is necessary to construct the most accurate map of the planet's surface and to observe with the greatest care all the phenomena presented to the observer, and then to interpret the significant phenomena as well as possible by means of terrestrial analogies, if this be possible, or at least by means of analogies with other bodies in the solar system.

When this is done the conclusions so far reached will be disappointingly limited. It is necessary to remember, however, that even this narrow problem is amazingly difficult. Mars never approaches nearer to us than thirty-six million miles, and even with the magnificent telescopes of the present day it requires great skill and great patience to record the details which are visible to the practiced observer. An observer with little practice will find it extremely difficult even to verify what is already known. To make positive additions to our knowledge is no easy matter.

The average distance of the earth from the sun is about ninety-three million miles and the average distance of Mars from the sun is about one hundred and forty-two million miles. If, then, Mars, the earth, and the sun are in the same straight line and if the earth is *between* the sun and Mars (opposition), the distance of Mars from the earth will be about fifty million miles. The distance of the earth from the sun at different times varies very little from its average value. The earth's orbit about the sun is nearly a circle. The orbit of Mars, on the other hand, is quite eccentric. Its smallest distance from the sun is about one hundred and twenty-nine million miles and its greatest distance about one hundred and fifty-five million. Hence Mars at some oppositions may be as far as sixty-two million miles from the earth, while at others it will be as close as thirty-six million. The latter oppositions are called "favorable," and the term is correct if we regard the distance of Mars only. To a telescope properly placed on the earth the features of Mars will be best seen when the planet is nearest us. But, unfortunately, most of the large telescopes of the world are in the northern hemisphere, while Mars at "favorable" oppositions is very far south; so that to the largest telescopes available (Washington, Princeton, University of Virginia, Mount Hamilton in America;

Pulkowa, Milan, Paris, Nice in Europe) the planet will appear at a very low altitude. Good vision in a powerful telescope requires that the line of sight shall not pass near the heated surface of the ground, since every disturbance of the earth's atmosphere is magnified in precisely the same ratio as the magnification of the object viewed. Hence it is that the truly favorable opportunities for viewing Mars with our present large telescopes are those when the planet is tolerably near us and at the same time pretty well north in the sky. The opposition of 1892 was very "favorable" as far as distance was concerned, but the altitude of the planet at Mount Hamilton was about 30° ; in 1894 the planet will be considerably more distant, but its altitude will be about 61° , and we expect considerably more satisfactory opportunities then.

Professor Pickering, Director of the Harvard College Observatory, has recently called attention to the need for the permanent establishment of a very large telescope in the southern hemisphere, and the facts just cited show how important this suggestion is. There is probably no way in which a gift of three hundred thousand dollars could be made more useful to astronomy than in the establishment of a very large telescope in a favorable situation in South America. Its work would supplement and complete that of the great telescopes of the northern hemisphere in very many ways.

From the time of Galileo measures of all kinds have been made upon Mars, and many data relating to its motion, its dimensions, etc., are now well known. It will be convenient to collect these in a paragraph and to compare them with the corresponding data for the earth.

The diameter of Mars in miles is about forty-two hundred, so that its surface is about three-tenths that of our earth and its volume about one-seventh. Its mass is about one-ninth of the earth's mass and its density is some seven-tenths. Its gravity is thirty-eight-one-hundredths; that is, a body weighing one hundred pounds on the earth would weigh but thirty-eight on Mars. It rotates on its axis in twenty-four hours thirty-seven minutes and twenty-three seconds, that is, in about the same time as the earth; it is flattened at the poles like the earth; and its equator is inclined to its orbit just as the earth's is and by something like the same amount. It receives about three-sevenths as much of the sun's light and heat as falls upon the earth. It seems to be certain, moreover, that the atmosphere of Mars contains a considerable amount of watery vapor. The researches of M. Gerigny show that the tides on Mars have little to do with the

changes observed on its surface. These figures show, on the whole, a family likeness between Mars and the earth. Mars is considerably smaller than our planet, but it apparently presents many analogies to it.

In some respects Mars appears in the telescope to be very much like the earth as we know it. There are certain markings, both reddish and dark-colored, which are, in a general way, fixed in position, in outline, and in color, and they are distributed so that a map of Mars does not at once appear to be violently unlike a map of the earth. If we take the dark areas on Mars for "seas" and the red areas for "land" (which has been done since the time of Galileo), the chart of the planet shows a southern hemisphere which is nearly all sea and a northern which is composed of many rounded islands or continents deeply intersected with gulfs and lakes and "canals" (long, straight, river-like markings some fifty to one hundred miles wide and often many hundred miles in length). There are also "polar-caps" of a brilliant white color (near the poles) and also certain "islands" in the southern hemisphere, which are often brilliantly white. At times brilliantly white dots appear in the continents also; and there are small dark areas which we may call "lakes."

I have said that the surface of Mars is not unlike that of the earth *as we know it*. But it is very unlike the surface of the earth as it would appear when viewed from another planet—from Mars itself, for example. The atmosphere of the earth is often completely filled with clouds. Certain regions like Alaska are nearly always cloudy. Now, nothing of this kind is to be seen on Mars. Its surface features are always equally well seen except at its poles and just along its borders. If the red areas on the planet are indeed land, the "coasts" are nearly always equally sharp when they are situated anywhere near the planet's centre. At the edges they appear to be covered with a dense absorbing medium which blots out the details. The dark areas are visible nearer to the edges than the red ones.

If the earth were to be viewed from a distant planet we should certainly see its envelope of clouds: and its continents and seas could only be seen in the clear regions. The earth would appear far more like the planet Venus than like the planet Mars. The analogies of telescopic appearance are thus very slight between the earth and Mars. It is only when we compare the appearance of the latter with what lies beneath the earth's envelope of air and clouds that any marked resemblance between the two can be traced.

Moreover, when we come to the smaller details of the surface of

Mars the analogies become less and less striking. For example, what feature of the earth can be compared to one of the Martial "lakes" (*Fons Juventæ*), which was a single body of "water" in 1877, which vanished in 1879, which was two lakes in the early part of 1892, and which is again single? Where do we find on the earth long "canals" or "rivers" sixty miles wide, extending for hundreds of miles in nearly straight lines? And, on Mars, these "canals" are sometimes single and sometimes double!¹ There is still another feature of Mars which has long seemed to me to be almost impossible of explanation on the ordinarily received theory. I refer to extensive curved streaks of pale yellow matter which underlie or overlie the dark Martial "oceans" (e.g., the regions called by Schiaparelli *Deucalionis Regio*, *Hesperia*, etc.). If the dark areas in which they lie are water what may these be? Are they shoals like the Grand Banks of Newfoundland? Are they clouds overlying certain ocean currents? (It is to be noted that these streaks curve in a direction *opposite* to that of the planet's rotation.) Neither explanation seems to be tenable; nor can we readily see how such faint colored areas (presumably "land" since they are colored) can lie in the midst of the dark "water."

Galileo observed Mars in 1632 and suggested that the red areas of the planet's disc were land and the dark areas water. The planet was also observed by Huyghens (1656), Cassini and Hooke (1666), Maraldi (1706), Herschel (1781), Schroeter (1787), and by others. Their attention was given chiefly to determining the rotation-period, however.

Herschel concluded that the markings on Mars were of constant and determined shape and were permanently fixed to the body of the planet, and that the "planet has a considerable atmosphere, so that its inhabitants probably enjoy a situation in many respects similar to ours." Herschel's conclusions were generally received without examination until the time of Beer and Maedler (1830-39). They studied the planet assiduously, having for part of the time the use of the Berlin equatorial of nine inches aperture. The "polar-cap" which had been seen by Maraldi in 1716 was found to undergo variations in size; and when these changes were compared with the advance of the seasons on Mars they concluded that this cap was in fact snow and ice and that it waxed and waned as a snow-cap on the earth must do. Certain changes in the darker markings (which they considered to be water) seemed to them to be accounted for by the melting of the

¹ These double canals have been observed at Mount Hamilton both in 1890 and in 1892.

Martial snows. The red areas ("land") seemed to have no direct analogies with our clouds, but yet seemed to show traces of obscuration at times, as if by clouds. These red regions were more definite and of deeper color in the Martial summers, paler and less definite in the winters. An atmosphere to Mars showed itself by causing the markings to appear less sharply defined at the planet's borders. Their general conclusion was a very conservative one, namely, that while there were resemblances between Mars and the earth, they did not dare to pronounce them very similar.

The map of Beer and Maedler remained the best representation of the planet until about 1862. From 1862 onward a very great number of excellent drawings were made by Secchi, Dawes, Kaiser, Lockyer, Terby, Knobel, Green, Flammarion, Loehse, Lassell, and others. But a new epoch in the study of the planet began with the work of Professor Schiaparelli in 1877. This work he has continued to the present day with both small and large telescopes.

Professor Schiaparelli has fixed the positions of the principal points of the planet's surface by a survey, and he has shown that they have remained constant since the time of Maedler and Kaiser. By a series of drawings he has constructed a most admirable map of the planet. On this map he has located the "continents" and the "seas" and has traced a very large number of "canals" (narrow, dark, straight lines) and shown that many of the latter appear at times to be doubled.¹ The elegant nomenclature which he has adopted in his map will be a pleasure to the classical student who may examine it. It is a scholar's review of antiquity. Professor Schiaparelli has, however, been very chary of hypotheses. I understand him to incline to the idea that the dark areas are probably water, and he has given some excellent reasons for his opinion. But most of his writings have been concerned with the pure results of observation, and he has scrupulously refrained from generalizations.

The object of the present paper is to present some of the views which have been advanced to explain the various phenomena seen on Mars, and I have selected three generalizations which all deserve attention. The first is by M. Flammarion, who has devoted a great deal of attention to the subject and has himself made a telescopic study of the planet. The next is by Mr. Brett, the distinguished artist of London. It is also founded on telescopic study and is espe-

¹ It is to be remarked in passing that certain features of the surface of Jupiter appear in pairs. The analogy is significant.

cially interesting as being the interpretation by a painter of what nature presents to him. The last is by Professor Schaeberle, of the Lick Observatory, who has observed the planet under the best conditions at Mount Hamilton.

In the second volume of the "Bulletin" of the Astronomical Society of France, M. Flammarion has made an elaborate study of the drawings of Mars from 1659 to 1888, and at the close of this examination he feels authorized to draw these conclusions as established facts:

"There are markings on the surface of Mars which in all probability represent seas, lakes, regions of water of various kinds. These markings are permanent; they are seen to-day in the same regions where they were observed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are not atmospheric products, then, like the markings on Jupiter. While they are permanent, they are, however, not invariable. They change both in dimensions and in depth of tone in different years and without doubt at different times of the seasons of Mars. There are some regions which are specially variable. These appear to hold a middle place between continents and seas and to be marshy lands, which are, in turn, elevated above and submerged beneath a thin layer of water. The continents of Mars appear to be flat and subject to inundations in nearly all their extent. The northern hemisphere is more elevated than the southern; the seas are chiefly in the latter, and they do not appear to be deep. The evaporation on Mars is without doubt rapid and considerable. Water is perhaps not the only agent concerned in the changes on Mars. The general order of things is very different on the planet and on our earth."

I may be allowed to quote here a paragraph which I wrote in 1889 concerning the conclusions of M. Flammarion just given:

"This is not the place to examine his conclusions critically. In a general way they all depend upon the assumption that the darker markings upon Mars represent bodies of water. As this is quite probable (though by no means proved as yet), the theorems given above may serve as points of departure in the further working out of this plausible hypothesis."

I learn from M. Flammarion that he is just about to publish a book relating entirely to Mars, upon which he has been engaged for many years, and I understand that his conclusions will not be very different from those just quoted. I believe that he is satisfied that the dark markings on Mars can still be best explained by supposing them to be water. The observations which I have been able to make since 1889 seem to me to render this conclusion even still more doubtful than I then considered it.

A paper by Mr. John Brett, F.R.A.S., which appeared so long ago as 1877, has not, I think, received the attention it deserves. It is

worth summarizing here in order to accent the very wide difference of views which may be held by observers and because of its suggestiveness in many regards. Mr. Brett begins by pointing out that Mars does not show the same delicacy of detail as Jupiter, for example, under like conditions; and he attributes to Mars on this account an atmosphere of considerable opacity. As the details of the surface generally vanish before they come to the edge, while they are best seen at the centre, and as the borders of the planet are the brightest, his conclusion is that the markings themselves lie beneath a tolerably dense atmosphere. It appears to me that this is a very important point and that it has not always been kept sufficiently in mind. Mr. Brett goes on to say that as the chief topographical features on Mars are permanent, the body of the planet must be solid. There are few or no clouds on Mars. This fact alone is fatal to the belief that the "land" and "water" on Mars act as on the earth. A whole opposition of Mars may pass and no changes in its atmosphere be made out.

It is certain (from spectroscopic observations) that watery vapor exists in the atmosphere of Mars. It does not necessarily follow that the vapor is anywhere condensed into visible clouds. If the polar-caps are veritable snow-caps, then visible clouds *must* exist in the atmosphere. Chilled water-vapor *must* produce clouds. As no evidences of clouds exist on the equatorial regions of the planet, Mr. Brett's conclusion is that the so-called "snow-caps" cannot be snow-fields at all. They are, he thinks, themselves clouds in the higher and colder regions of the atmosphere. The dark patches near them he supposes to be their shadows. He assumes that the regions near the poles are the only ones cool enough to condense the invisible water-vapor into visible clouds. Moreover, it follows that the general surface of the planet is hot—hot enough to make the formation of clouds impossible; and it is likely, consequently, that the "seas" are not water. I understand that the conclusions of the Potsdam observers favor Mr. Brett's theory.

The above summary compared with other theories indicates the wide difference between plausible explanations of the phenomena observed on Mars. The fact that such differences of opinion are even possible displays the unsatisfactory nature of our knowledge of this planet—and we know more of this planet than of any other.

Professor Schaeberle says: "Schiaparelli, Flammarion, and observers of Mars in general agree in calling the darker areas of Mars water and the brighter portions land. My own observations of 1890

and 1892 have led me to just the opposite view." Some of his reasons for coming to such a conclusion are given below.

If the dark markings are water, how are we to explain the irregular gradations of shade in these parts, which, according to observation, are fixed surface features? If the dark markings are land, just such observed gradations would naturally be expected. Light reflected from a spherical surface of water would vary uniformly in intensity from the planet's centre toward its borders, the centre being the brightest, and the observations of the bright areas agree with this. If the dark areas are water, they should then be least dark toward the centre; but observations show that they are most conspicuously dark and the contrasts between light and shade are most strong at the centre of the disc. At certain times, which cannot be predicted, certain regions of limited extent, which are portions of bright areas, are seen to be more brilliant than other portions of the disc, as though the reflecting surface were in a state of agitation. These phenomena are like the reflections of light from a calm and from an agitated water surface respectively. Crossing the darker areas are still darker streaks which often extend hundreds of miles in nearly straight lines. The so-called "canals" in the red areas seem to be continuations of these darker streaks. The fainter markings called "canals" would correspond to the ridges of mountain chains which are almost wholly immersed in water, and the doubling of the canals would correspond to parallel ridges, of which our earth furnishes many examples. Professor Schaeberle gives several other examples of phenomena on Mars which go to show that the dark areas are more likely to be land than water, and he refers to a striking instance which is constantly visible from the summit of Mount Hamilton. We are here forty-two hundred feet above the neighboring valley, and San Francisco bay extends to within a few miles of us. Now, at all hours of the day and under all circumstances of sun and shadow the surface of the bay is brighter than the surface of the land surrounding it. The bright areas of this terrestrial landscape are water.

The observations of Professor Schaeberle are entirely independent, and the great number of admirable measures and drawings which he has made will bear witness to his skill and assiduity when they are published, as they soon will be. While his observations were going on I have myself examined the planet every night and I have compared its appearance with former drawings of my own. It appears to me that there are two very important remarks to be made in regard to

his conclusions. I should not be inclined to say so strongly as he does that the dark areas of Mars are very much darker and better seen at the planet's centre than at its disc, and I should wish to insist strongly on a point first brought out by Professor Schiaparelli with regard to the canals; namely, that all the canals of the bright areas originate and end in the darker regions which are called "seas" or "lakes," or else terminate in other canals. In so far this seems to be a proof that they may be water. Mountain chains would not necessarily exhibit this peculiarity, while canals must do so. Again, while it is in general true that the red areas are brightest at the planet's centre, there are many notable exceptions to this. Certain "islands" in the southern hemisphere (Hellas, Argyre) I have often seen brightest at the borders, and the same phenomenon has been remarked with respect to some continental regions of the northern hemisphere. This remark, also, was first made by Professor Schiaparelli, and the results of Professor Schaeberle and myself, and so far as I know of all the Mount Hamilton observers, entirely agree with it. While the rule is as has been stated, there are then, I think, so many exceptions to it that it is difficult to come to a final judgment at present.

The three views which have just been given are representative; all of them are based on serious study, and at least two of them may be taken as authoritative. M. Flammarion regards it as very probable that the dark areas of Mars are water and the bright ones land. Professor Schaeberle's observations with the greatest telescope in the world, under the best possible conditions, lead him to precisely opposite conclusions. Mr. Brett doubts if land and water exist on Mars at all, and gives good reasons for deciding that the planet is in a heated state—as we suppose Jupiter to be, for example. Telescopic observations show that the planet Venus appears to a distant observer far more nearly like the earth than does Mars. When we come to an examination of the particularities of Mars' surface we find dissimilarity and not likeness to details of the earth's. Under these circumstances, and so long as such widely divergent views can be advocated by competent observers, it appears to me that the wise course is to reserve judgment and to strive for more light. I feel certain that when a satisfactory explanation is finally reached, the Lick Observatory will be found to have contributed its share to the solution.

EDWARD S. HOLDEN.

THE LIBRARY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE cardinal object of a National Library should be the collection and preservation of the nation's literature. This postulate once granted, it follows that the method or law of its growth should be inclusive, not exclusive. The library of the Government, that is, the only one belonging to the whole people, is to contain all the books which the smaller and more select libraries have neither the room nor the means nor the motive to accumulate. The citizen in quest of any American book ever published should be assured of finding it in the one national repository provided as the conservator of the product of the nation's mind in every department of science or literature.

In this view, the Congressional or Government Library at Washington has been made by law the depository of all books and periodicals protected by copyright. All such publications are to be preserved, irrespective of their merit, some as works of reference, some as chronicles of the times, and not a few, doubtless, as models to be avoided. The apprehension is sometimes expressed that the National Library may become overloaded with trash, and so fail of its usefulness. "'Tis a lost fear." There is no act of Congress requiring all the books to be read. The reading world is perpetually winnowing and sifting the multifold productions of the press, and every book sooner or later finds its proper place and destiny, whether that destiny be a swift passport to oblivion or a certificate of immortality. The sense of the world is keen, and the survival of the fittest is as certain as that art is long. If it be objected that multitudes of books are not worth shelf-room, and that a wise selection from the mass should be made, thus adding value to the collection by weeding out the valueless, the answer is two-fold: First, there can be no critical authority competent to select, whose judgment would not be constantly called in question by authorities equally competent. What is trash to one may contain what another prizes as pure gold. Secondly, the assembling of all the works which the country has produced on any subject gives opportunity to all would-be writers to examine what has already been done in any field, and thus save countless misdirected

efforts. The land is full of ambitious authors burning for utterance. The knowledge that what they are so anxious to say to the public has not only been said before, but a great deal better said than they can say it, might save them the mortification of publishing a neglected volume. Besides, one may learn as much from the failures of his predecessors as from their successes. An experienced educator, having occasion to compile a new spelling-book, went through the large collection of such school-books in the library at Washington and produced a better work, both as to selection and arrangement, than could ever have been done by his unaided efforts. This is one example among thousands, and it proves, *instar omnium*, the unexpected but undeniable utility of conserving every book, even of a class commonly and thoughtlessly deemed not worth preserving. The many books which have disappeared, even since the invention of printing, from the small editions printed, the ravages of fire, etc., serve to show how many publications may owe to a government library, charged by law with that duty, their sole chance of preservation.

While thus constituted the great repository of the nation's literature, our National Library has other and wider functions to discharge. As the library founded primarily for the use of our national legislature, it has always been a leading aim to render it as complete as may be in political science, in history, and in jurisprudence. Out of its 650,000 volumes, some 100,000 appertain to law and legislation, while in history, political economy, finance, statistical science, and sociology its stores are being constantly increased. At the same time, there being almost no subject treated in books which may not at some time be found important to the legislator in his labors, the collection has become one of almost universal range, though with very numerous gaps to be filled in every department. With all its deficiencies, most marked in the literature of foreign tongues, it may be said that the collection has been formed with a view to the highest utility and with some general unity of plan. By assiduous selections from sale catalogues and from the many private libraries constantly poured into auctions at home and abroad, many rare and valuable books are annually added and the more important new books of the day are secured. The appropriation of about \$11,000 a year for this purpose (nearly \$3,000 of which is required to keep up the continued serial publications which must be taken) seems ridiculously small when compared with the \$60,000 annually devoted to the increase of the British Museum Library, or even with the sums expended by public

libraries in some of our large cities. A want of room for increase, heretofore pleaded as an obstacle to more liberal appropriations, will shortly cease to stand in the way.

Brief reference may be made to some of the special collections which go to make up the aggregate of the Congressional Library. In books which are known as *Americana*, its treasures, while far from complete, are rich, and represent a goodly share of original editions and many of the *rarissima* so much prized by collectors. As the representative library of America, it is constantly sought to render it complete in all that relates to the discovery, settlement, history, biography, topography, natural history, etc., of the continent. The narratives of early voyages as well as of later travellers and observers, in whatever language, are mostly in the collection. A large share of the books produced in America in early days is to be found here, and the first editions of our writers of later times, now so much sought for, are well represented, though the existing copyright law has not been long enough in existence to bring in the larger share of them, many of which have been purchased. A long series of early American imprints, many of them representing places in which books are no longer printed, has been gathered.

The library is specially rich in newspapers and periodicals, both American and foreign. The only complete file in this country of the London "Gazette," from its origin in 1665, the London "Daily Times" from 1796, the German "*Allgemeine Zeitung*" from 1798, the Paris "*Moniteur*" and the "*Journal des Débats*" from their first issues in 1789, with full sets of most of the British reviews and magazines, are here, while in American periodicals a century and a half are represented. Of newspapers alone there are about 15,000 bound volumes, and no department of the library is more constantly used. The American journals include complete sets of several New York, Washington, Philadelphia, and Southern newspapers, from the beginning of the century, and of those printed prior to 1800 there are about 300 volumes, being more than any library, except one, possesses. For many years it has been the usage to bind up files of at least two journals from each State and Territory in the Union representing each political party. All important American reviews and magazines are of course in the collection, and sets of numerous technical, literary, religious, legal, agricultural, pictorial, and miscellaneous journals are preserved.

Particularly important are the collections representing the publi-

cations of foreign and American scientific associations. These were mainly added to the National Library through the Smithsonian Institution, and embrace some 50,000 volumes of the transactions, proceedings, and journals of most societies devoted to scientific or literary research, procured through the liberal system of exchanges of that institution. They embrace many rare and valuable series, some of which are now quite unattainable in complete form, and they furnish to students in every field of investigation invaluable material not readily to be found elsewhere.

The pamphlet collections of the library are varied and extensive, embracing some 250,000 English, American, and European pamphlets (not reckoned in the aggregate of books before given). The stores of American pamphlets of the last and the present century are especially rich, embracing among others the collections formed by William Duane and Ebenezer Hazard respectively, the latter an ardent Federalist and the former an equally ardent Republican, who preserved and bound most of the pamphlet literature of their time. To those who appreciate the very characteristic lights so frequently cast upon the politics and social elements of any period by the pamphleteers of the time, and the large use made of such materials for history by the most able and philosophical of modern historians, these treasures will be regarded as of high value.

While no American library outside of some few historical societies is rich in manuscripts, the library of the Government possesses a collection of some historical value. It embraces about seventy volumes of scrap-books filled with original military papers and letters, mainly of the period of the American Revolution, by generals and other army officers, letters of statesmen, etc. There are also eleven volumes of original papers of Commodore Paul Jones, two volumes of Major-General Greene's papers, two original journals of George Washington, about thirty Orderly books of the Revolutionary army, the original papers of the Marquis de Rochambeau, manuscript copies of several unpublished works on Spanish America by Las Casas, Duran, Panez, and Teniente, the MS. Records of the Virginia Company, 1619 to 1624, and many other manuscripts of interest.

The collection of maps comprises more than 10,000, among which early maps relating to America and many original MS. maps and plans by British, French, and American engineers, illustrative of camps, battles, and campaigns in the Revolutionary war, occupy a conspicuous place.

The special library known as the Toner collection was presented to the United States in 1882 by Dr. J. M. Toner, of Washington. It embraces some 30,000 volumes of medical, historical, and miscellaneous books and a great mass of unbound material illustrative of American biography. As the first instance of the donation to the Government of the large library of a private citizen, it is worthy of special mention.

In the history of most public institutions there may usually be traced certain epochs or periods of foundation and of development. There have been several marked epochs in the progress of our National Library. Beginning in 1800, with the removal of Congress and the several departments of the Government to Washington, by the small appropriation of \$3,000 for the purchase of books required for the use and reference of Congress, the entire collection was destroyed with the burning of the Capitol by the British in 1814. The purchase of ex-President Jefferson's library of 7,000 volumes followed, as the nucleus of a new collection, which had grown by slow accretion to 55,000 volumes in 1851, when a fire in the library rooms consumed all but 20,000 volumes of the collection. Congress at once voted \$75,000 in one sum for the increase of the library, and \$72,500 for rebuilding its apartments in solid iron—the first instance of the application of that material to form the interior of a public building in America. The next notable epoch in library history was the acquisition of the large historical library of Peter Force in 1867, together with the removal to the Capitol a little earlier of the scientific and miscellaneous library of the Smithsonian Institution. The collections were more than doubled in extent by these additions, although still numbering less than 165,000 volumes. In the year 1870 came by far the most important step forward in the annals of the library, through the enactment of the amended copyright law, by which all the records of American copyrights, as well as all deposits of copies of books and other publications in evidence of copyright, were transferred to Washington. This far-reaching measure secured prospectively to the library of the Government the whole annual product of the American press, so far as protected by copyright, thus endowing it with that fruitful source of increase which has been enjoyed from early times by the great government libraries of Europe. The law of growth thus established differentiates this collection from other American libraries, however well endowed.

The next important epoch was the provision for erecting a new

and separate library building, to contain the invaluable stores of publications which the Capitol has long been inadequate to accommodate. The agitation for this indispensable necessity, begun in Congress as early as 1873, led to so great a variety of plans and to such conflict of opinion as to site, architects, and ultimate cost that its consummation was delayed, by repeated disagreements between the two Houses of Congress, until 1886, when the bill for the purchase of a site became a law. The building thus provided for, fire-proof in all its parts, has been planned with a view to the ultimate accommodation of nearly five million volumes. With a central reading-room one hundred feet in diameter, which will contain the more important and constantly used books of the collection, the outlying book repositories, in which the system of iron stacks with abundant space between is employed for the storage of books, will be gradually filled by the accessions of each advancing year.

When it is considered that the largest existing public library, that of the French government at Paris, contains as yet but 2,300,000 volumes, and that ample space exists in the edifice now rising on Capitol Hill for storing more than twice that number, it will be perceived that the wants of the future are well cared for. While nearly every government edifice appears to have been built only for a generation and its uses have long overgrown its limits, this one, through the far-sighted liberality of Congress, will provide room for the nation's books for nearly two centuries to come. The ultimate cost is limited to six millions of dollars, a sum somewhat less than half the cost of the Capitol or of the large building erected for the accommodation of the State, War, and Navy departments. The library building covers very nearly the same space as each of these government buildings (about three acres), and is constructed of solid granite, with iron, brick, and marble interior. Its ample interior courts and numerous windows will render it the best-lighted and best-ventilated library of large proportions yet erected.

There is no government institution of any considerable cost which is not frequently required to answer the inexorable query—" *Cui bono?* " To what end does it exist and what does it accomplish? In a popular government this is more peculiarly a pertinent inquiry, since every citizen has a voice in the making of the laws through which all government agencies perform their functions. He is, moreover, directly interested in the proper expenditure of the money raised by taxation from the whole people. Can the government library,

then, justify its existence and the cost of its maintenance by its actual utility to the nation? This question is but partially answered in what has gone before. Viewed in a closer light, the value of a comprehensive national library to Congress, in its varied and responsible functions as the legislator for 65,000,000 of people, cannot be overrated. In the vast and complicated range of its powers are embraced all the questions of public welfare and economic science, the methods of taxation, the proper sphere of government, the foreign policy of the country, the surveys and explorations of public lands, the questions of immigration, quarantine, naturalization, inter-State commerce, internal revenue, customs, tariff, the postal system, patents and copyrights, education, agriculture, pensions, the military and naval establishments, territorial government, lighthouses and coast surveys, the policy toward Indians and the treatment of the Chinese, the fiscal system and the people's money, the public debt and its management, State rights and national supremacy, the fisheries, mining, manufactures, merchant shipping, foreign mails, the conduct of the civil service, and an infinitude of questions, new and old, constantly arising in our complex system of government. To say that every member of Congress is well informed upon all these subjects would be as far from the truth as to deny that many Senators and Representatives make an earnest and intelligent study of each question involved in their public labors. When the subject of restricting Chinese immigration is up, all the literature upon the races, from the fifteen-volume "*Mémoires concernant les Chinois*" of the early French missionaries in the flowery kingdom to Minister Seward's latest pamphlet on the Chinese question, is drawn upon. When Charles Sumner prepared the notable speech on Russian America which so largely influenced the purchase by the United States of the vast territory of Alaska, he drew nearly all the materials for his argument from the great arsenal in the Congressional Library. Not a problem in national or international policy is ever grappled with but has its lights or illustrations in the history or experience or discussions of other nations, which only the ample stores of a collection rich in books, pamphlets, and periodicals can supply. Of all nations the Americans are perhaps the most persistent in their search for precedents, although candor may require us to add that none is more ready to disregard them when found. The almost innumerable reports of committees in both houses of Congress often require on the part of those preparing them a breadth of information little comprehended by those who think the daily work of the legislator is light and easy.

The administrative officers of the Government, in their various departments, have to deal with a range of subjects so comprehensive as to require access to the largest collections, legal, political, and scientific, for facts and references. They have in the limited store of books gathered in the departments and bureaus resources often found wholly inadequate to answer the numerous inquiries that arise. A great national library is the only means of supplying these constant calls for information in the many fields of research which have to be explored. The newspaper files of the principal cities here gathered have supplied large materials for detailed reports upon strikes and other labor difficulties, epidemics, etc., while the thousands of town and city and trade directories furnish other classes of information.

The uses made of the law department of the library are of cardinal importance. As the seat of the judicial tribunal of last resort, the Supreme Court of the United States, Washington should furnish the most comprehensive library of jurisprudence which can be assembled, while at the same time its stores in other directions should be rendered more and more complete every year. The judgments of the Court of Claims, the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and the Supreme Court, all located at the national capital, involve investigations which demand the widest range of authorities. And the bar of Washington and other cities, having causes before the Federal tribunals, find in the extensive collection which is at once the library of Congress and of the Supreme Court, professional aid which it is no misuse of words to term invaluable.

As to the general public use and frequentation of the Government Library, it may be said that it increases in a greater ratio than even the rapidly growing treasures of the collection itself. While there may be found persons narrow-minded enough to insist that it is no proper function of our democratic Government to provide a great library for the use of the citizens and visitors at the capital, the fact remains that the library has been gathered, primarily for the use of the national legislature and the judicial and executive branches of the Government, and in great part (through the copy-tax) without expense to the nation. Not to open so rich and extensive a collection to public use and reference just as freely as is consistent with its safety and preservation would be a monstrous perversion of the objects for which national libraries exist. Accordingly, the Congressional Library has from the beginning been open to adult readers, without formality or introduction, by an unwritten law which takes the place of statutes

and makes the people partakers in its benefits. The government libraries of Europe, in like manner, though with more restrictions, are all accessible to students, and form one of the foremost attractions of the capitals in which they are found.

The readers who frequent the library at Washington form a composite class, in which, however, serious students predominate. There will be found, pursuing each his independent theme, readers from nearly all parts of the globe. The industrious compiler of facts and statistics, the searcher after quotations in poetry or prose, the ever-present person who has the genealogical fever in a mild, or acute, or chronic form, the student of history, the lover of art, the devotee of music, the editor who seeks topics or illustrations, the grubber of Greek roots, the naturalist exploring the vast field of the vegetable or animal kingdom, the student of social science, the lawyer comparing authorities and cases, the enthusiast who reads the mystics, the sporting man who follows up the pedigrees of horses, the preacher in search of homilies or commentaries, the investigator of heraldry, the devourer of French novels, the peruser of the daily newspaper or the literary serials, the young lady in quest of costumes, the old soldier renewing his memories of the civil war, the hunter after anecdotes and *bon mots*, the physician studying the history of epidemics, the reader who pursues the military art or naval science, the lover of biography, the youth who is hungry for books of adventure, the explorer who delights in voyages and travels, the absorbed admirer of poetry, the student of metaphysics, the reader of political or economic science, the architect in search of designs or models, the inquirer after the latest application of electricity—all these and many more come daily or hourly before the librarian or his assistants. Every great library must be one of universal range, to answer the multifarious demands upon it for ideas and information.

One of its uses must not be overlooked, namely, the facilities supplied to students in the many colleges and seminaries of learning, public and private, at the national capital. On a Saturday holiday the schools transfer many of their pupils to the library in quest of knowledge not elsewhere found upon the numerous topics of study or of composition which engage their attention. Its narrow and overcrowded halls would be still more thronged by this class of students were room to be found—a want which will be amply met in the new library building at a time not far remote. Frequent are the inquiries received by letter from all parts of the country, to learn whether cer-

tain books are to be found in the collection; and it is gratifying to find that in the great majority of cases the authorities sought for can be consulted at Washington.

The legal requirement of two copies of each publication, as a condition of valid copyright, has been sometimes, though rarely, objected to as an exaction which might be dispensed with. A careful consideration of the *rationale* of the case, however, will vindicate the wisdom of the requirement. Obviously it is in the interest both of authors and publishers that every book or other publication should be somewhere preserved by law in a fire-proof accessible repository. It is equally in the interest of the people that the government library should possess for reference a complete collection of the products of the American press. It is no unreasonable condition for the Government to stipulate thus with authors and publishers: "Your country gives you the sole privilege of printing and selling your work, at your own price, for forty-two years; give the country, in consideration of this, two copies, one for the use and reference of Congress and the public in the National Library, the other for preservation in the copyright archives, in perpetual evidence of your right." In view of the valuable monopoly conferred by copyright, does not the Government in fact give much more than a full equivalent for the publications required? It is not a case of compulsory taxation: no one need furnish any copies unless he demands exclusive right to multiply them. Obviously, it would not be just to exact even one copy of publications not secured by copyright (the daily journals, for example). In this case the Government gives nothing and receives nothing; but the requirement of the protected publications, unfelt as it is by publishers, is manifestly in the interest of the public, as well as of authors and publishers themselves. In England five copies of every book published are exacted, for five different libraries, which appears somewhat unreasonable.

By the act of 1870, providing for the registry of all copyright titles in the office of the Librarian of Congress, the removal of the collection of copyright books from the overcrowded Patent Office to the Congressional Library was provided for. These publications were the accumulation of about eighty years, received from the United States District Clerks' offices all over the country (where copyright entries were made from 1790 to 1870). These deposits were found to number about 23,000 volumes, a much smaller number than had been anticipated, in view of the length of time during which the law of copy-

right had been in operation. But the observance of the acts requiring deposits of copyright publications with the clerks of the United States Courts had been very defective (no penalty being provided for non-compliance) and, moreover, the Patent Office had failed to receive from the offices of original deposit large numbers of publications which should have been sent to Washington. From one of the oldest of the Eastern States not a single book had ever been sent in evidence of copyright. The books, however, which were thus added to the library, although consisting largely of school-books and the minor literature of the last half-century, comprised many valuable additions to the collection of American books.

The whole number of entries of copyright in the United States since we became a nation considerably exceeds three-quarters of a million. It may be of interest to exhibit the progress of American enterprise as shown in the aggregate number of publications registered for copyright in each year since the removal of the entire records to Washington in July, 1870.

1870.....	5,600	1878.....	15,798	1886.....	31,241
1871.....	12,688	1879.....	18,125	1887.....	35,083
1872.....	14,164	1880.....	20,686	1888.....	38,225
1873....	15,352	1881.....	21,075	1889.....	40,777
1874.....	16,283	1882 ...	22,918	1890.....	42,758
1875.....	14,364	1883.....	25,273	1891.....	48,908
1876....	14,882	1884.....	26,893		
1877.....	15,758	1885.....	28,410	Total...	525,261

The reduced number of entries from 1875 to 1878 was owing to a removal, by act of 1874, of the registration of all prints and labels (previously copyrighted) to the Patent Office. The records of copyright had been encumbered with a great mass of so-called publications having no relation whatever to literature, but belonging to the mechanic arts, as illustrating articles of manufacture. The number of these was about 5,000 annually, and notwithstanding their withdrawal, the increase in the aggregate of other publications has been so extensive as to exhibit a marked advance in the publishing activities of the country.

Of course this large exhibit of copyrights (now annually more than double the average registry of patents) is far from representing books alone. Many thousands of entries are periodicals, claiming copyright protection and required by law to register every separate issue just as the volumes of books are entered. These embrace a great variety of

weekly journals, literary, scientific, religious, pictorial, technical, commercial, educational, agricultural, sporting, humorous, musical, dramatic, etc., including a number in foreign languages. The registry of serials also includes nearly all the largely circulated monthly and quarterly magazines and reviews, with many devoted to specialties, *e.g.*, sociology, law, finance, education, art, fashion, mechanics, theology, metaphysics, trade, manufactures, stock-raising, and the arts and sciences generally. The next largest class of copyrights, embracing some 8,000 a year, consists of musical compositions, many of which are held as valuable property. There are also accumulated, under the law of copyright, a great number and variety of works of graphic art—engravings, lithographs, photographs, photogravures, etchings, chromos, prints, and drawings. Many of these are of great beauty and value, and representing, as they do, many years of the progress of the arts of design, they will form in the new library building, where a gallery of ample proportions is to be devoted to their arrangement, an art exhibition both interesting and instructive.

Through the enactment in 1891 of the law of International Copyright, the receipts of new publications of all kinds at the Congressional Library will be largely increased. The foreign accessions have hitherto been most extensive in musical compositions and fine-art publications; but with the growth in literary production which an extension of the area of copyright may in time induce, many books will flow in to the collection from Great Britain and from some of the continental nations. This experimental act is yet to be fully tried, and the conflicting opinions upon its merits await the results of actual experience. In any event, a literature which has exhibited such evidences of growth and vigor as that of America is in no danger of arrested development. And as the various libraries of the departments and bureaus of the Government are steadily enriching the most extensive collection which the country possesses by such of their accumulations as are not needed for their special uses, it will grow continually more worthy of the title first bestowed upon it by Mr. Jefferson, "The Library of the United States."

AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD.

THE MATTER WITH THE SMALL FARMER.

WHATEVER may be the condition of agricultural interests elsewhere, there is no doubt that the small farmer who plants cotton in the South is embarrassed, and the future holds out little hope of relief through established methods. He knows what it is to work hard and live scantily, for from choice or necessity he has tried it for years. Every Spring he has set to work with all the hope that is inseparably connected with the turning up of the mellow soil with the plough and the new birth of nature, and yet every Autumn his chief harvest has been disappointment. He finds himself in Summer with a mortgage on his land and his mule and a lien on his growing crop, while "futures" are quoted at less than the cost of production. He is not a theoretical economist; indeed, his ideas of economics are often as crude as the crudest raw material he produces; yet he knows that he cannot go on losing year after year without winding up in the almshouse. Hence his restlessness, his willingness to listen to any plan of redemption, provided it has never been tried before. He has heard, he thinks, enough of the old ways. They cannot help him.

If he has toiled faithfully all these years, as many farmers have, and is yet penniless, he feels that misfortune has come not through his remissness, but is the result of some extrinsic baleful influence. There is injustice somewhere; some one is walking off with the surplus that he sees accumulating and believes should be his. The next step is to catch the thief. The small farmer believes he has found him skulking in Wall Street, or hiding behind railway embankments, or lurking in the vaults of national banks. The plutocrats of the land, leagued with "debauched and bamboozled" politicians, have so managed the Government and manipulated the finances that the poor man has no chance. He is told that if he can capture the strongholds of political power and use the Government for his behoof, as his oppressors have used it for theirs, he can solve the problem and make himself and everybody else happy by coining plenty of silver dollars to lend to agriculturists at nominal interest. Hence his eagerness to leave the harvest for the political field, and to seek through legisla-

tion a panacea for his ills. This seems to be a just presentation of the problem of the Southern small farmer to-day. It is well to see whether his solution of it is correct.

No one can successfully deny that legislation by Congress for the past generation has not been in the interest of agriculture or of the small farmer. Other classes have been helped, other interests built up. That this was a necessity to preserve the Government at a critical period must, to a certain extent, be admitted. But it is no less true that in accomplishing some good results this legislation ushered in a brood of evils. Simple justice requires that political inequalities be abolished, and that class legislation not in the interest of the farmer be repealed, and that class legislation in his interest must not be attempted. He must have his equal rights before the law. Indeed, as he cannot enter into combinations so easily as other classes can, it may be proper to provide that they be watched in his behalf. This is all he should demand or receive from the law.

But grant all the remedial legislation necessary to put the farmer on equal terms before the law; abolish artificial monopolies, prevent illegal combinations, increase to its proper volume the currency—and yet the problem is not solved. There are natural causes operating more potent than alleged plutocratic legislation for good or ill to the farmer. So long as they exist he may be relieved of the injustice of man, yet his prosperity is not assured. His effort must also be to strengthen those forces that aid him and to counteract those that operate to make him poor. Without attempting to advance any new truths, I desire to point out how some embarrassments have come about regardless of legislation, and how some facts adduced to prove discriminations against the farmer are actually to some extent proofs of improvement in his condition and productive power. It is well to begin with this latter class.

It has been held as proof of the fact that the farmers are growing poorer that farm values were seventy per cent of all the wealth of the country in 1850, about fifty per cent in 1860, and are less than twenty-five per cent now. Absolutely, the value of farms increased from four billion dollars in 1850 to eight billion dollars in 1860, eleven billion dollars in 1870, and twelve billion dollars in 1880. The statistics for the last census have not been computed. While I am firmly convinced that the tariff has been a very potent factor in this comparative diminution of agricultural values, and that other legislation also has contributed to the same result, yet natural causes are

enough to account for a large share of the change. In a new country the industries are chiefly extractive, because of the fertility of the virgin soil. As civilization progresses industry is diversified and wealth is turned to other investments. The most prosperous country is one that has both a town and a country population for the interchange of commodities. Yet here the proportion of farm values cannot be as great as in a community purely agricultural. It does not follow that the farmer is worse off than his father merely because his proportion of the total wealth is not so great. In all that makes for comfort and all that goes for wealth he may be much more prosperous. The aggregation of men into cities wonderfully enhances the value of real estate; so that one acre in New York is balanced against hundreds of thousands of acres in South Carolina. But this great cost of city lots is rather a burden on the people than an advantage.

The diversification of industry leads to division of labor between man and man and man and machinery. To the extent to which machinery can be introduced, it will swell the amount of wealth invested in an industry. Agriculture, especially on a small scale, cannot use as much machinery as other industries, and its fixed capital cannot be increased in the same way. It will never appear on the census in its full power as a factor of production. Were all the persons who engaged in agriculture counted as fixed wealth, as slaves were before the war, the sum invested in farming would be greatly increased in the census. In South Carolina in 1860 there were, in round numbers, four hundred thousand blacks, rated on the tax-books as two hundred million dollars. The emancipation proclamation struck off every dollar from the books, but left every muscle and every sinew as before. Though wealth disappeared, productive power of labor was untouched. To-day, were every one of the eight million of agricultural producers of the land touched with a wand and transformed into automata moving perfectly, yet without life, how greatly would the wealth of the land be swelled! At least four billions would be added to the agricultural column of the census. Yet would the world be richer or agriculture better off?

Is it true that the increase of capital in other occupations is a menace to the farmer? Is he worse off than when he owned seventy per cent of the wealth of the country? My grandmother was a girl ten years old when the embargo destroyed foreign trade. She was taught to spin and to weave, as all "notable housewives" of the time were. She learned from her mother the song—

“ I eat my own ham,
My mutton and lamb,
I weave my own cloth
And I wear it.”

When the war of 1860 broke out and the Federal fleet was magnanimously aiding Confederates to “establish infant industries” by cutting them off from the pauper products of Europe, this good old lady, recalling her experience of a half-century before, called a number of her female servants around her, stocked a “loom house,” and organized a factory for the clothing of the whites and blacks on the place. Her plant might have been valued as follows: A dozen spinners, eight hundred dollars each; a dozen outfits, cards, wheels, etc., ten dollars each; and two looms, etc., twenty-five dollars each; total, nine thousand seven hundred and seventy dollars. Emancipation reduced the value of the plant to one hundred and seventy dollars. Was the community poorer than before? Was the farm worse off because the opening of communication allowed its dwellers to buy better cloth at less price, or because in consequence of the principle of division of labor the spinning and weaving came to be placed in another category than farm production? By fitting up the farm factory with looms and spindles run by machinery, this part of production might still have gone to swell the aggregate of farm values. But all persons concerned were glad enough to drop the manufacture of cloth. Reflection will convince any thoughtful farmer that this very differentiation of property by manufacturing, always provided he has not to pay extra for it, is one of the chief benefits that have accrued to him through the spread of industrial civilization.

The fact that railroad values are nearly equal to farm values in the United States is cited as another proof that somebody is swindling; else how can an industry that was not known to the census of 1820 rival one that existed from the time of Cain? Let us see what this means. In primitive civilizations goods and effects are moved on the backs and heads of persons. The introduction of draught animals was a vast stride forward. But when through differentiation one class of bread-winners undertake to do all the hauling for others, it does not follow that the rest are swindled, although the census does not “show up” on the “right side.”

I have a copy of a letter written in 1814 by Capt. Samuel Johnson, of Winnsboro', S. C., to the Hon. David R. Evans, member of Congress from the same place, then in Washington. The embargo had

shut up cotton in the interior towns, and there was a glut of it. Mr. Evans is asked to go out and see some factor or merchant in Washington or Philadelphia and try to sell him about two hundred and fifty bales for Captain Johnson. But the buyer must send down his own wagons for the cotton, as all the wagons about Winnsboro' are already engaged. An old citizen of Winnsboro', Mr. J. M. Elliott, distinctly remembers seeing Mr. Adger and others starting from Winnsboro' in wagons, hauling cotton to Philadelphia. At that time these mules and wagons were estimated as a part of farm values. Since then the railroad has made its appearance, and farmers no longer are required to keep horses and wagons to haul their crops to seaports. The property thus invested has gone into another category, that of "Trade and Transportation," and is cited as an instance of injustice to the farmer. Once, indeed, the sons of those old farmers hauled goods from Winnsboro' in wagons—when the close of the war left the railroad destroyed. They were quite willing to transfer the capital invested in teams into something else as soon as the railroad was running again.

In the War of 1812 the price of cotton varied at least twenty cents a pound between Winnsboro', S. C., and Philadelphia. This difference was swallowed up in the mire and mud of the dirt roads. It did nobody any good. Now, since so much capital engaged in transportation is transferred to the other side, the difference in price is not more than a cent. This should not be accounted a wrong to the farmer. Of the same nature is the investment of capital in the telegraph, in banks, and in other devices by means of which the farmer can be made cognizant of prices all over the world and may send and receive money from all quarters at a minimum cost. One other case may be cited. Is it a wrong that great sewing-machine factories have sprung up, transferring capital, it is true, from the farm, but enabling one woman to do the work of a dozen? The mother of the family is emancipated from a grinding slavery. Her machine is valued at forty dollars, while the woman set free does not appear in the dollars-and-cents column of the census. It may be remarked that the introduction of labor-saving machinery in any industry not only helps it, but also aids other industries, by allowing opportunity for the introduction of abundant manual labor where machinery cannot be introduced. These are instances of the beneficial effects to the farmer of differentiation. Now let us consider some of his disadvantages.

Smaller returns are required from those processes into which fixed

capital enters. Where all the operations are performed by manual labor, an expenditure of one thousand dollars must all be paid back with a profit at every process, whereas if five hundred dollars have been invested in a machine and five hundred dollars in wages and material, it is necessary to return only five hundred dollars with a profit and enough more to pay for wear and tear of machinery. As the farmer's expenses are largely for wages and materials, his gross proceeds must be larger in proportion than those from manufactures.

Possibly the most serious drawback to the small farmer of the South-Atlantic coast arises from the law of diminishing returns from land. The soil of most of the older States long ago lost its original powers. Farms at present productive have been built up by application of capital and labor. They yield not economic rent, but profit from capital, and therefore returns from them must be divided between the original investment and the special application for the immediate crop. The difference is the same as that between finding a barn already built and building one. Yazoo bottoms and Red River lands need only to be tickled to smile with such abundant crops that the problem is to gather them. Carolina uplands must be tilled and fertilized and fertilized again, and the average yield is a bale to three acres. No legislation will equalize this natural difference.

Ordinarily, the nearer a producer comes in contact with the original powers of the land in his production, the less the additional value imparted by his efforts. Unskilled labor and crude materials are too much open to competition to enjoy great exchange value. A pound of sugar or of cotton or of iron is worth but a few cents; yet woven into delicate fabrics, or made into choice confections, or fabricated into Damascus blades, the increase is such that the cost of the raw material scarcely enters into consideration. Less physical effort is required to make a watch than to raise a bale of cotton, but there is no comparison between the wages of the jeweller and of the field-hand. The remuneration of labor depends largely on the extent to which the skill of the workman can be applied to the raw material. This most important point is apparently overlooked by all those who so vehemently affirm that the farmer is the only producer and that his labor is not properly paid.

As a compensation for all this it may be said that free competition tends to bring things into market at a price proportioned to their cost of production. The tendency is always for extractive industries to rise and manufactured goods to fall in proportion as civilization ad-

vances and population increases. The condition of England before the tariff on corn was repealed is an example of this. Were there no new lands and no large farms in the Union, it is possible the farmers would gain in increased prices for food and necessities all they might lose in diminished production. With a population as dense as that of Japan they would be the prosperous class. Right here comes in the tariff to prevent this free trade. Cotton is not protected, while goods needed by the farmer are protected. This cannot be successfully denied—but it is no part of this article to discuss the tariff.

But we should investigate the conditions inherent in agriculture itself. A still more formidable drawback to the small farmer is the competition of the huge plantations of the West. Fertile lands admit of production at little cost; and cotton can be sold at prices that cannot be other than ruinous to the small farmer. There is little more in common between the wheat king of the West and the one-horse farmer of the East than between Mr. Carnegie and Longfellow's "village blacksmith." In olden times the want of intercommunication often permitted large difference in prices of the same thing in different places; but the farmer feels that this is not true now. The law can hardly be held responsible for this competition, nor would it be removed should Congress see fit to enact a free-coinage bill or even to establish a warehouse in every county.

The competition among producers must grow stronger every year as methods of production are improved. Under a *régime* of manual labor, the cost of picking or hoeing would be the same whether one hand or a hundred be at work. But wherever steam-driven gang-ploughs and cotton-harvesters can be used the small farmer will be at still greater disadvantage. In the West the problem is not so much to raise cotton, but to pick it out, and much lint is left in the fields. It would pay to run a machine over the field and extract three-fourths, whereas on poor lands it is necessary to extract the fruit of the last boll, and this is tedious and costly work. The Yazoo delta is said to be capable of producing the cotton supply for the world; and here machinery can be applied. To talk of limiting production is idle. The tendency will be rather to increase it; and many well-informed persons believe that the cotton problem will be solved when the production of the Gulf States is so great as to bring prices down to three or four cents, and thus to run all the poorer farms out of the business. This is the chief danger to the small farmer. Congress cannot prevent this competition with the large planter.

But the most important factor in this problem seems not to have been properly considered in discussions of this subject. It is what may be called the Fixed Charge of the Family. "A poor man for children," runs the old adage. These blessings swarm around the small farmer's door, healthy, happy, and always hungry—omnivorous as so many ostriches. The support of these must come from the proceeds of the crop, whether large or small. This fixed charge cannot be approximated with any degree of certainty in the absence of statistics. Reports of the Bureau of Labor for the iron industry apportion an expenditure of four hundred dollars as follows: food, one hundred and eighty-five dollars; clothing, eighty-five dollars; fuel and lights, thirty dollars; furniture, taxes, insurance, sickness, amusements, religion, etc., one hundred dollars. It is a sad truth that very many farmers are compelled to live on much less than this. But if we assume four hundred dollars as the income of the farmer, it will be seen that if he devotes himself exclusively to cotton in order to secure advances based on cotton—the only cash crop he can make—it will not be enough to charge against the crop the amount expended in legitimate production, such as ploughing, hoeing, picking, ginning, rent, etc. The bill for the support of the non-producing members of the family must also be paid. Cost of production thus becomes a very different thing from the cost of the family.

No absolute figures can be given as to the cost of production proper. A planter in Georgia says that after the land has been brought to a high pitch of cultivation, a pound of cotton can be made for four cents. This is far below the average cost. The most successful culture is about twenty bales to the mule, but the average is probably less than ten. Taking the most favorable case claimed, a cost of four cents and a selling price of eight, there will be a profit of two hundred dollars on ten bales. Assuming a profit of ten dollars a bale, this crop would yield but one hundred dollars for the family charge. At the present state of the market the profit is still less. In mathematical terms it may be said that for any fixed standard of living the farm burden equals the cost of production (comprising the outlay of all kinds needed to make the crop) plus the cost of the family. As the latter charge is to some extent constant, it follows that the smaller the farm the heavier the burden on the farmer. While a profit of ten dollars each on forty bales will meet a charge of four hundred dollars, such a profit on ten bales means exceedingly straitened circumstances. When the standard of living is lower

the fixed charge is less, and for this reason the white farmer is pressed by his black neighbor, who, though less skilful generally, has fewer needs. In the same way, with a given standard, the larger the crop the less the proportion of the fixed charge. Here comes another advantage to the large planter. Not only can he make his crop cheaper per pound through improved facilities, but a smaller profit on each bale suffices for outside needs. Such laws of inequality come from above. They are not found on our earthly statute-books.

Yet no one can say that farming does not pay in the sense that other occupations and trades pay. If a pound of cotton can be produced for five cents and sold for seven, here is a profit of forty per cent. What other business pays more? The owner of a share in a national bank thinks he is doing well if he receives a dividend of eight per cent; but he does not hope to live entirely on an investment of five hundred dollars in bank stock. In the cotton-spinning business an individual will buy a share of stock, and then he will hire himself to the concern for wages or go into some other business. The farmer is at once landlord, capitalist, and laborer. He makes full wages as laborer and a fair rent and fair profit on his investment; but the trouble is that his investment is too small for his family. The fixed charge of the family falls heavily on all small producers. But in other industries the forces of production are generally classified and the workers are paid in wages. When they suffer the cause is easily seen, and the remedy is a rise in wages. But the small farmer cannot strike against himself for higher wages.

Enough has been said to show that many of the most serious burdens resting on small farmers are imposed by natural causes. The object of this paper is to diagnose the disease rather than to prescribe a remedy. Those economic physicians that have faith in their ability to cure all diseases may prepare their legislative lotions and political panaceas. When they give them to the patient, his best plan will be to take them and throw them out of the window. Then he must come out and face nature and grapple with her for the mastery.

It may be suggested, in conclusion, that the small farmer should more and more endeavor to leave the production of the staple crops to large planters and devote himself to "small farming" indeed. He has muscle and he has land in plenty. He greatly needs capital to utilize them to the best advantage. Denunciation of railroads, factories, and banks will hardly make him more prosperous.

R. MEANS DAVIS.

FOR WHOM I SHALL VOTE AND WHY.

MR. SCHOULER'S PREFERENCE.

THE present campaign is a singular one, and in one important respect unprecedented. Each candidate of the two great parties in opposition has served as President already and seeks the honor of a second official term. Both candidates are in personal character above reproach. Both are true to political principles as they understand them; Harrison somewhat bigoted in his loyalty, Cleveland disposed to extend the blessings of conciliation and harmony to the whole country. Both have proved themselves competent at least, as administrators. Each of the two disfavours the latest cheap-money heresy of "free silver"—at the same time that Harrison has yielded much already to the schemes of our silver kings for unloading their mines upon the Treasury. In either case the current of sentiment has compelled a renomination rather than the wishes of the managers. Each candidate has antagonized mischievous elements within his party which cannot honorably be pacified. In neither instance can we regard the possible succession of a Vice-President, in case of death or constitutional disability, without grave apprehension.

This is not, then, a Presidential canvass for rampant imagination over newly discovered candidates nor for enthusiasm born of folly. Campaign biographers may well be dispensed with, and better still, the whole brood of campaign vilifiers. The next President constitutionally chosen will be, if he lives, a President who has served the people already; and by his past record he should be judged. Viewing the canvass from such a stand-point, I prefer to give my independent ballot to Cleveland. I think the honor of a second term belongs to him rather than to Harrison, because the country dealt unjustly by him four years ago and because, furthermore, of his sturdier character, his broader vision, and the superior strength of the political principles which he represents. There is no man in the whole Union who in person, speech, and example embodies so thoroughly the ideal of a political leader—of a man of the people who is not a flatterer of the people. He is a sound Democrat because he seeks the good of

the Democracy; a sound American because his policy is to bind up the old wounds of civil strife and to unite the country. Under oppressive discouragements of his former term of office he proved himself a wise, sagacious, and forbearing chief magistrate, and above all a courageous one. New to national experience, he made his chief appointments with rare discretion, and no suspicion of jobbery attached to his executive circle at the capital. In the conduct of our foreign relations, though checked and thwarted, as in official patronage, by a hostile Senate, his efforts were fair and friendly; he did not bully the weaker powers nor entangle his country with the stronger ones. Internal affairs he managed with honest prudence and good sense; liberal in all expenditures which might redound to the general safety and welfare, he was the lion of the Treasury in the interest of the whole community, against the parasites of class and corrupt legislation; he even risked the wrath of soldier claimants, who asked to bankrupt what they had defended, whose spoliation was in the name of uncommuted loyalty. He encouraged no mercenary alliance between monopolists and the military such as brought to ruin the old Roman republic, but taught while he could that the richest reward of patriotic devotion in times of public danger is its sacrifice. He faithfully reduced the public debt and accumulated a handsome surplus. He left the country more prosperous under his direction than he found it. Had he not led heroically to a higher plane of needful achievement, where bloated and pampered industries were coiled up to oppose him, his re-election was certain. Unlike the meaner brood of politicians who skulk for popularity, he held and still maintains the lead in a great national party by praising right principles and striving, through good or ill report, to advance them.

As for the party principles at issue, my preference is not less decidedly for those which Cleveland represents. His cause is that of the consumers, of the community, of all who wish free opportunities in life, as opposed to paternal government and privileged monopolies. The McKinley bill taxes the whole people arbitrarily and outrageously for the necessities of life in order that the investors in American manufactures may control the market and charge higher prices. No tariffs before the Civil War imposed such exorbitant rates or even approached them. In some instances these new rates are prohibitory; and even the raw materials of our native manufacture are burdened with taxation which falls upon the customer. It is not free trade that offers the alternative to this iniquitous contrivance for shutting out all for-

eign commodities—we shall never have free trade while this Union requires an annual revenue—but it is liberal trade with the world as opposed to close trade and to the Chinese wall of a home market. Where in all the legislation favored by our earlier Presidents and statesmen was protection practically treated as more than an incident to needful revenue? The fostering of our infant industries after the War of 1812 was the last step taken in freeing ourselves from our long colonial dependence upon Great Britain; and close trade was at that era, moreover, the policy of England and of all the great European powers. Reciprocity was thoroughly tried in those times, and the result pronounced unsatisfactory; for it made complex trade relations, binding us to powers we cared little about and repelling those whose intercourse we most desired. What were the maximum duties of protection under Clay's "American system," as compared with the present? The act of 1828, known as the "tariff of abominations," fixed the rate at forty to forty-five per cent for woollen and other native industries, to please the manufacturers; and so great was Southern discontent in consequence that Clay himself came forward to reduce what in these days would be thought a moderate scale. When, still later, Great Britain repealed her corn laws, throwing open her ports to free trade and her markets to American farm products, we met her with the low-tariff act of 1846; and so advantageously did that new policy work for American interests, manufactures with the rest, that the people, down to the Civil War, had no wish to change it. War tariffs succeeded for producing revenue in a terrible emergency; Northern manufacturers were enriched, but the American commerce which had lately whitened every sea was dispersed.

Now that the exhausting conflict is over and finances are reduced to a peace basis, these war duties should be reduced again in the interests of the people. But the present situation is far worse. Subsidies and war gratuities are massed together to dissipate the accumulating surplus; and launching into extravagances of every kind to empty the Treasury, Congress strains the war tariff to still higher and unprecedented rates for the prime benefit of mill-owning capitalists and the pretended advantage of American labor. For the first time the pernicious and unconstitutional theory is put into full practice, that instead of making protection incidental to a revenue the revenue may be made incidental to protection. Had we, on the other hand, commerce and agriculture less burdened and manufactures left more to their natural condition, we should have fewer of

those insurrectionary strifes between labor and capital which call for military suppression and force.

So far as "free silver" may be considered at this time a national issue, I trust most a President who is fearless and outspoken and whose words carry popular weight; for if we are to reach right soundings on the metallic question, we shall need a leader who can give to public opinion not merely a negative but a positive direction. And of two evils, I would rather take my chance with honest folly than the contrivers of selfish advantage. I do not depreciate the difficult situation of Democratic politics in New York State; and I should be glad to have Cleveland owe his election, as he did his nomination, to votes from elsewhere. But the attraction of vicious support to a good and uncorrupt candidate ought not to repel the honest and intelligent; on the contrary, the best assurance of good administration consists, under such circumstances, as it seems to me, in strengthening the candidate's hands.

JAMES SCHOULER.

MR. SCHIFF'S PREFERENCE.

I INTEND to cast my vote for Benjamin Harrison and Whitelaw Reid, the nominees of the Republican party, because experience has taught that, while the Democratic party has its good and healthful uses as an opposition party, the moment it gets into actual power it is apt to become a threat to the substantial interests of the country.

Mr. Cleveland stands, as is emphasized by his most ardent supporters, far above his party; but he has in the past frequently been unable to control and to restrain it. Moreover, I could not conscientiously vote for a Vice-President for whom I should not be prepared to vote were he nominated for the Presidency. The Democratic nominee for the second place, or, as it might properly be expressed, the party's candidate for possible President, stands upon record as having sought re-election to Congress upon the distinct claim of having voted against the Resumption Act, for the full remonetization of silver without limitation of coinage, and for an unlimited supply of legal-tender currency to be receivable in payment of all debts, public and private. If, as is claimed, he has recently modified his views, I must necessarily assume that he is prompted therein by the same motives which induced him to cater to financial anarchism when he sought election to Congress as the representative

of the Greenback party, and I cannot convince myself that it is safe to make a man who has ever held these views the possible arbiter of the weal and prosperity of sixty millions of people.

It is the avowed purpose of the Democratic party, as expressed in its National Platform, to facilitate a return to an obnoxious bank-note system, through which in years passed wide-spread loss, misery, and disaster were inflicted upon our people and commerce: upon the abolition of the prohibitory tax upon State Banks we should again have to deal with all the complications of a chaotic currency. With a great majority in the Democratic party appearing unsound upon far-reaching financial questions, with the eventuality existing of its nominee for the Vice-Presidency, if elected, being called upon to fill the Presidential chair, with the power he acquires as presiding officer of the United States Senate, having there the final decision on any tie vote, Democratic success in the coming election would, in my opinion, become a perpetual menace to the prosperity of the country.

The present tariff was, after exhaustive consideration, adopted by the votes of the representatives of the nation; to change it radically after so short an existence after commercial and industrial affairs have only just adjusted themselves to the basis of the new tariff, or even to create the probability of the imminence of such an attempt through the election of a Democratic administration and Congress, would necessarily lead to an immediate unsettlement of all commercial and industrial affairs and to consequent wide-spread depression.

Solely through President Harrison's continuous and firm declarations that no Free-Coinage bill should receive his support or signature, the country was saved from the financial panic which would have been unavoidable when an overwhelming majority of the Democratic representatives in Congress, immediately after and in spite of the party's declaration in its Chicago platform, attempted and came very near passing a Free-Coinage law; this attempt was alone frustrated (if the direct representatives of the silver States are excepted) through the firm action of the Republican Representatives and Senators.

President Harrison's administration has proven entirely satisfactory; his nominations for judicial offices, the most important at the Executive's disposal, have been quite unexceptional, far above those made under Mr. Cleveland's administration.

The Republican nominee for the Vice-Presidency is a man of superior qualities, sound upon financial questions, in whose keeping, should he be called to the Presidential chair, the interests of the

country will be as safe as they are certain to be in the hands of President Harrison should he again be elected to the high office he now occupies.

JACOB H. SCHIFF.

MR. MACVEAGH'S PREFERENCE.

I INTEND to vote for Grover Cleveland because, in the first place, I am profoundly interested in tariff reform and consider it the duty of every man who believes in this reform to place it above party associations of however long standing, and to follow it wherever it leads. So much enlightenment has come into the public mind upon the subject of party fealty, that there is no longer excuse for a man who belongs to a party that does not represent his principles, or who ignores the immorality of voting party tickets from mere habit. I shall vote for Grover Cleveland because, in the next place, I want for the following reasons to see the Democratic party in power:

1. It is the only party through which tariff reform can be achieved, the Republican party having burned its bridges behind it.

2. A sound currency is at least as safe in the hands of the Democratic party as in the hands of the Republican party.

3. While neither of the parties heartily supports civil-service reform, the masses of the Democratic party have certainly approved of what Grover Cleveland has done for it; and that party is the only one that has ever selected for the Presidency a conspicuous civil-service reformer.

4. It opposes the reactionary Force Bill.

5. It is the party of ideas. Nothing could be more stagnant than our public life was before the Democratic party, with Grover Cleveland as its candidate, took up the work suggested by Tilden and sought to put itself in the forefront of American life. But from that time public life began to stir, and ideas began to take their place in it. The Democratic party is not an ideal party by any means. It has a great many men in it who do not care much for ideas and who care a great deal for spoils. In certain parts of the country the old system dies hard; but in those very parts of the country the new life, side by side with the old, is unquestionably at its highest point of development. And, taken all in all, the Democratic party has done exceedingly well, and is at any rate the only American party of ideas and progress. The result is that on all hands we see men of ideas, men of patriotic impulses, young and old, flocking to it; and none taking the vacant places in the Republican ranks.

Nothing could more distinctly and emphatically prove the growing elevation of the Democratic party than its latest nomination of Cleveland. That is a high-water mark. Politics since the war have not before reached so high a point. It has made the fortune of the Democratic party.

I shall vote for Cleveland because, in the third place, I believe that he is the best man in America for the Presidency, and that he can be more useful to the people than any other man.

1. His election will determine the policy of the country as to tariff reform. If he is elected it cannot be pretended that the country will longer consent to go on on the lines laid down by McKinley. On the other hand, it will be equally certain that no extreme or over-hurried measures in the direction of free trade will be taken.

2. He would be a much greater influence in the currency controversy than President Harrison could possibly be.

3. Mr. Cleveland is the only civil-service reformer who has ever been nominated for the Presidency. I know what has been said of some things which he did when he was President. When elected in 1884 he was so much a civil-service reformer that it was practically his one political idea, and he doubtless intended to carry it into practice more completely than he afterward carried it. He soon found that there were other things to be done. Even before he got to Washington he had to take a hand in the silver question; and it was not very long after he was in the White House that he discovered that he had to be the leader of his party—a thing which he probably never contemplated. This meant that he could not do all he wished to do for civil-service reform. But it remains true that he did so much that no fair-minded civil-service reformer doubts to-day that Mr. Cleveland stands as to this reform precisely where he stood in 1884.

4. Mr. Cleveland could be more useful to the people than any other man because his personal position would be stronger than that of any other President since Lincoln; and we all know that all his power and influence and strength will be used absolutely for the people. Public office being with him a public trust, every increase of authority helps the people. Nothing is wasted on personal ambition; nothing on the machinery of the party—all goes directly to the people. This is a part of the change wrought by Mr. Cleveland in our public life. The atmosphere of public life, the air we breathed, was stagnant and unwholesome, and he has made it circulate and filled it with health. He has already helped as no other man has done the substitution of ideas

for mere habits. He substituted, almost alone, the habit of thinking of the people for the habit of thinking of the party. He has revived patriotism as a constant virtue. Of course, patriotism is not something to be pigeon-holed and brought out only on great occasions. It is something for daily, hourly, and habitual use in all the affairs of life. It is the practical application of this truth that constitutes Cleveland's greatest single service to the nation. His mind and his speech are always filled with the sense of citizenship and with the obligations of patriotism. He is leading the people of his country to be daily patriots.

These are a few of the reasons why I shall vote for Cleveland.

FRANKLIN MACVEAGH.

MR. CLAFLIN'S PREFERENCE.

THE trade of the country has adjusted itself to the present tariff; labor is well employed, and the remarkably small number of failures reported for the current year shows that business is uncommonly prosperous. If the Democratic party should be successful next month a low tariff would logically follow; some manufactories would then be closed; many would curtail their production; considerable distress would be felt by the laboring classes, their purchasing power would be decreased, and I cannot doubt that hard times would be upon us; hard times, too, that would not mend quickly.

A low tariff would, for a time at least, be sure to stimulate imports of merchandise and tend to increase exports of gold. The Democratic majority in Congress has repeatedly shown its unsoundness on the currency question; if reinforced by new elections it probably would give fresh cause for alarm to the vast foreign capital invested in the United States, and the menace of a free-silver bill conjoined with the experience of a low tariff might cause exports of gold to a very dangerous extent. I believe Mr. Cleveland would veto a free-silver bill; but a hot contest between him and his party, the majority led by a United States Senator from New York, would disturb the complacency of foreign investors to an unmeasurable degree.

These are evident dangers which might follow Democratic success. Republican success, on the other hand, would assure comparative financial safety. A majority of the Republican legislators can be counted upon to oppose all hazardous financial experiments, and if the Repub-

lican party be continued in power, there seems every reason to believe that our present national prosperity will increase rather than diminish.

I shall vote for Harrison and Reid.

JOHN CLAFLIN.

MR. MCCLURG'S PREFERENCE.

WHILE I cannot suppose that it is of any great importance to the public how I may intend to vote in the coming presidential election, I cannot refuse a request to state the reasons which will govern me in casting my vote for one of the candidates in preference to the other.

The coming election must be regarded by all as one of unusual importance. It used to be said, not many years ago, that there was but little difference between the doctrines, policy, and purposes of the Republican and the Democratic parties. This can no longer be said, for the difference is now radical. At last the platforms of the two parties make clearly defined issues and use language that cannot be misunderstood. The two candidates just as clearly represent the issues which are made in the platforms. Mr. Harrison has long been and still is an ardent supporter of a high protective tariff; he has been and, unless he has greatly changed his opinions, he still is an advocate of what is known as a force bill; he is also in favor of lavish pension legislation, for he signed the dependent pension bill.

Mr. Cleveland, on the contrary, has been the leader of his party to a strong and definite opposition to high protective duties; he is unmistakably against the so-called force legislation; he is opposed to extravagant pension legislation, for in the face of an overwhelming majority in both houses of Congress he vetoed a dependent pension bill. These three issues at least are clearly and fairly joined, and they are so important as to call for the careful consideration of every intelligent voter. The course of legislation on these subjects is likely to be fixed not only for the next four years, but probably for many years to come, by the result of this presidential election. The man who believes in high and increasing protective duties, who thinks that more good than ill would come from the enactment of a force bill, and who looks without apprehension on our rapidly increasing pension expenditure, must vote for Mr. Harrison; while the man who believes that our tariff duties are already too high for the interests of the mass of the citizens, who thinks that much evil would come from the interference of the National Government in elections in the separate States, and who believes that the pension laws are already much too lax and

extravagant, and who would deprecate further reckless progress in the same direction, must as certainly vote for Mr. Cleveland.

These are simple questions of policy, easily understood by common minds, and should be settled by careful and intelligent discussion. It is not a campaign in which there should be need on either side of brass bands, uniformed marching clubs, and Roman candles. What is needed is straightforward discussion and conscientious and fearless voting. While parties are unquestionably useful and necessary in a popular government like ours, they can never be safely trusted as constant mentors and guides of the intelligent voter when new questions of policy force themselves to the front; and assuredly, with such questions before us as those to be settled in the present campaign, this is no time for any man to follow blindly the lead of his party on either side, if that party represents a policy on these vital questions different from that which his judgment approves. The past glories of Democracy have nothing to do with the questions whether we should have higher or lower custom duties or greater or less expenditures for pensions, nor have the noble achievements and the brilliant record of the Republican party in the trying days of the war anything to do with these momentous questions. Let them be settled by the intelligence and conscience of to-day just as the great questions of the past have been settled by the intelligent and conscientious action of the voters of the past.

For myself, while reared in the school of strict protection, I have long believed that the high protective duties of recent years ought to be gradually lowered. The old doctrine of the protectionist was that high duties could and should be reduced when the home industries had become firmly established. To-day that idea seems to be abandoned, and the McKinley bill must be taken as an indication that duties are to be limited only by the abilities of the lobbies of the protected interests to secure further increase. These interests have grown so strong that they are now the greatest menace to the purity of our elections. They are naturally called upon for lavish contributions to campaign funds, on the ground that the party is doing everything for them. When these large contributions have been made and the friendly party is again in power, additional favors in the way of higher protection are demanded of the party and must be granted. And so the reciprocal benefits go on and must go on until a halt is called by the determination of the people, expressed at the polls, that the time has come when duties must decrease instead of increasing.

It is impossible in a brief paper to go into any extended discussion of the force legislation which came so near being enacted and which Mr. Harrison ardently approved. The evils which it was intended to cure are undoubtedly great, but they are gradually curing themselves. Such troubles under such conditions are inevitable so long as human nature is what it is; and similar troubles would, in my opinion, have occurred in any section of the country under similar conditions. The proposed legislation would be almost certain to aggravate instead of curing the evils, and would be full of danger to the Republic.

It is unquestionably true that many Republicans, as well as Democrats, view with much alarm the recent progress of pension legislation. For myself, I can never think that the man who has lost a leg or an arm or has been otherwise really incapacitated by wounds or sickness incurred in the war of the rebellion is now overpaid by any pension he receives; nor would he be overpaid if that pension were doubled; but the ability even adequately to pension such men is curtailed by the loose, extravagant, and reckless legislation which has enabled hundreds of thousands of men to draw pensions who are in no way entitled to them. The dependent pension bill can be looked upon only as a reckless bid for votes. Its extravagance is condemned by thinking men in both parties and by those who were soldiers as well as by those who were not. It is in its temptations destructive to self-respect and to manhood. It is a bid for the profession of imbecility and for dishonesty. It is an insult to the self-respecting soldier. Think of a bill which has enabled claim agents to send out, as they now do, to those veterans whose chief glory in life it is that they unselfishly and faithfully served their country in the hour of her supreme danger, circulars containing in large, bold, and black type, "Soldiers or officers dishonorably discharged or dismissed from the service can now get pensions." Can disgraceful legislation now go further?

These three issues seem to me the vital ones upon which the intelligent voter must decide his action. So far as the candidates are concerned, they are both thoroughly good men and represent the best elements of their parties. The nomination of each was a victory for the best element of each party, while that of Mr. Cleveland was splendid evidence of the admiration of the masses of a party of bold and rugged honesty and capacity in a party leader. Both candidates are eminently safe on the important subject of silver legislation; and yet I cannot help thinking that Mr. Cleveland in the presidential chair will have far more influence in guiding legislation on this sub-

ject than Mr. Harrison, for Mr. Cleveland has shown himself to be an unusual leader and moulder of men.

After this detailed statement it is scarcely necessary for me to say that I look forward hopefully to the election of Mr. Cleveland, and shall not only vote for him but will do all a private individual can to secure his election.

ALEXANDER C. McCLURG.

MR. SWING'S PREFERENCE.

I WOULD express here my intention to vote for Mr. Harrison. The pleasure of casting such a vote will be much lessened by the fact that he is a candidate for a second term. When many noble men ought to be honored by a call to that one high office, it does not seem generous in Mr. Harrison or Mr. Cleveland to ask an *encore* from their country.

In voting for Mr. Harrison I shall not be oppressed by the feeling that the nation will be ruined should Mr. Cleveland be elected. To very many Republicans he seems a man of honesty and ability. Nor shall I be elated by the notion that the Republican party, if successful in November, will usher in the long-expected golden age.

Mr. Harrison possesses personal merit, ability, and integrity, and to these virtues he adds the merit of entire faithfulness to that party which has always seemed the friend of mankind. The progress of wisdom resulted many years ago in the creation of a Whig party. In England it brought about the abolition of the slave-trade, it set free the Catholics, and repealed the corn laws. It supplied with great truth such men as Burke and Fox, and, making at last our Republic, it has supplied it with a long line of statesmen, orators, and soldiers. It has written down in history many names between those of Edmund Burke and Abraham Lincoln.

It adds to the claim of Mr. Harrison that his party stood firmly by these great truths in all those years of peril which ended in 1865, and that when those great world-wide ideas culminated in war he offered his own life to the peril of battle. He comes as a "plumed knight" in a vivid realism, and thus wins the vote of many a man who has developed that acumen which can distinguish the plumed cap of a soldier from the silk hat of a gentleman.

The tariff and free trade do not with me figure in the pending case. Both the great parties are bound to the practice of the protective doctrine. The nation ought to have begun its career with free

trade, but now that it has created artificially a group of powerful industries and almost a group of States, it is bound to keep active the philosophy that gave these objects being. It will cost less to go on than to retreat. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Cleveland seem fully committed to this past policy. The manufacturing regions are too populous and too rich to be esteemed lightly by the Democrats of 1892 or 1896.

The apathy which the Republican party has shown toward the African citizens in the South forbids us all from confounding its statesmen with any of the ideal thinkers and actors who figure in old or recent history. The indifference and composure at Washington have fully equalled all the wrongs done the Negro for twenty-five years. No bold effort has been made to secure for the Negro "a republican form of government." Meanwhile the Republicans have spent money with a lavishness which would have amazed Washington and Hamilton; still, we must keep on voting and voting for the Republicans in a time when no modern possesses imagination enough to paint the Democrats as falling in love with "Jim Crow" or as reaching any delicacy as to the wasting of the national money. Not to vote at all is foolish and perhaps wicked. It remains for each voter to seek out carefully the lesser of two imperfections.

The thoughtful men of the country are pleased with the dignified character of the campaign. There is a wonderful absence of noise and of abusive editorial and abusive stump-speaking. It is quietly assumed that the candidates for the high office are honorable men, and it is also well known that the vast brotherhood of States is fully pledged to a nationality, industry, and a general progress which do not depend upon the outcome of November. DAVID SWING.

MR. CANNON'S PREFERENCE.

I SHALL vote for Benjamin Harrison for President because, as the candidate of the Republican party, he represents the principles upon which the best form of government for this country is based, viz., reasonable protection to American industries, which insures equitable return for all labor; a sound currency which is redeemable at all times in coin on demand; national supervision when necessary for the public good; reciprocity in dealing with other nations; a foreign policy that commands respect and maintains the peace; encouragement of our commerce with foreign nations, and, generally, a policy of progress and action.

I shall vote for Benjamin Harrison because he is a representative American by birth and education and thoroughly American in his principles and actions. His record in the National Legislature is consistent and above reproach. At a time when our Government was threatened with dissolution he personally fought for our flag and to maintain the Union.

I shall vote for Benjamin Harrison because his record as President of the United States is clean, honest, and most capable, and I believe that he will do everything in his power as an earnest, conscientious man to enforce the laws of this country and use his best endeavors to promote the welfare of all its people.

I shall vote for Benjamin Harrison because the country would gain nothing whatever by the election of the opposing candidate and his election would unsettle business and values. The platform of the Democratic party and the utterances of its candidate give no assurance that, if elected, any possible gain would accrue to the country from the change or from the policy proposed. H. W. CANNON.

MR. FIELD'S PREFERENCE.

THE editor of the FORUM has asked for the reasons of my choice between the candidates of the two principal parties in the forthcoming presidential election, which is as much as to ask whom I will vote for and why. I answer that I shall vote for Mr. Cleveland, and these are my reasons.

I assume that the two candidates and the two parties are equally sincere and patriotic, and my choice is determined by the policy which each represents. In my view, Mr. Harrison represents paternal government, Mr. Cleveland constitutional government; Mr. Harrison industrial monopoly, Mr. Cleveland industrial freedom; Mr. Harrison holds, or his party hold for him, that the Government should take care of the people; Mr. Cleveland holds, and his party hold, that the people should take care of themselves and of their Government. Of course there are citizens in each party who do not agree to the theory to which the party is committed, but the leaders and the majority of their followers do believe it, or act as if they believed it.

In support of these definitions I take for example (and there needs but one) the McKinley Act, the latest and most defiant venture of monopoly that the country has ever witnessed. It begins with a deceptive title: "An act to *reduce* the revenue and *equalize* duties on

imports, and for other purposes." (The italics are mine.) These ends were to be attained by free trade in certain imports which the monopolists did not care for and excessive taxation on others that they did care for, and as to *equalizing* duties on imports, that was a false pretence, as the act fairly bristled with inequalities. The people repudiated the scheme, at their first opportunity, by returning to the House of Representatives 236 Democrats against 76 Republicans. The Republicans profess to think that the American people are so fickle as to reverse this majority now. We shall see.

In constitutional governments the first question on a pending measure is whether it is constitutional; the second whether if constitutional it is wise. The power is contained in these words: "*The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, but all taxes, duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.*" Three or four other clauses are sometimes mentioned in connection with this, but I think it is generally agreed among judges and lawyers that the question involved in the McKinley Act depends upon the words I have quoted. Now, the Democrats contend that these words give Congress authority to lay taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for revenue, in order to meet the expenses of the Government. The Republicans contend that they authorize the taxes and other burdens to be laid in order to lessen or prevent the importation or production of the articles charged, that is to say, that there may be a tax in name in order to prevent a tax in fact. There is no parallel to this contention, so far as I know, except the answer of Talleyrand to the question, "What is non-intervention?" "Non-intervention," he answered, "non-intervention is much the same as intervention."

Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that the power to lay taxes is a power to lay them with a view to defeat their collection, I pass first to what may be called the historical argument. Let us ask ourselves, What have been heretofore the theory and practice of this nation? The founders of our institutions established free trade between the States. Was that a good thing or a bad thing, considered merely as a question of political economy? There were no doubt other considerations also taken into account upon determining the conditions of federal union, but as to this one, did it tend to make us richer or poorer? Imagine what might have happened if industrial freedom between the States had not been assured by the organic act.

Some McKinley of our State and age might have arisen to contend for New York industries against the industries of Pennsylvania. "See now," he would have said, "let us tax the coal and oil of our sister State, and thus pay the expenses of our State government, build our court-houses and our roads." Pennsylvania would of course have done the same by New York, and so the good work of mutual taxation and beneficence would have gone on through all the States. The ideal of the founders of our Union appears to have been absolute free trade between all our Commonwealths, with taxation and excise nevertheless, to pay the common expenses of all. Even so Rhode Island held out to the last against the Union because of its free trade, and the plucky little State stands now for monopoly by natural inheritance. Was it ever heard of before, that the principal object of a tax was to drain the sources of taxation? In the early history of the country, and in order to sustain an infant industry, a tax or impost was sometimes so adjusted that while yielding revenue as its chief object, it offered a moderate industrial protection against competition from abroad. But the difference is as wide as the poles between taxation as chief purpose with incidental protection and protection as chief purpose with incidental taxation.

What is the true theory of American government in general and of our Federal Government in particular? The great object is to keep the peace between man and man, State and State, defend each when attacked, leave each to the pursuit of happiness as most desired, prevent warring tariffs, maintain those public works to which the power of the individual is unequal, and care for those feebler members in whose behalf public relief is a public duty.

What is a tax? What did Dr. Johnson mean by it when he published his pamphlet against the American colonies, "Taxation no Tyranny"? What did our great forefathers mean by it when they took up arms against England in defence of their principle, "No taxation without representation"? A tax is an enforced contribution in money or kind to a public fund. That is its primal significance and so it is understood wherever our mother tongue is spoken.

For a sharp contrast between the professions and the acts, take the arguments of the advocates for McKinley protection. It will make foreigners pay our taxes, they say. It is amazing that so intelligent a person as the Governor of Ohio does not know that the consumer, not the producer, pays the taxes. But suppose it were the producer: how about the American who ships our products to the

other side of the sea? If the German pays our American taxes when he comes here, does not the American pay the German taxes when he goes there? Still more, where would be the honesty of compelling the foreigner to pay our debts if we could? Still another argument of our Republican brethren is that the tariff benefits the American at the expense of the foreigner; for what else can this expression mean as it was used at the late Republican presidential convention: "We go for the American man, for the American woman and the American child"? So do we all; but do we go for their good at the cost of evil to others? The Australian goes for the Australian man, woman, and child. The Chinese and the Japanese are ahead of us in the game of isolation and exclusiveness. Japan would have none of us until the guns of Perry's fleet opened the gates of the inland sea, upon the demand, as of right, that no nation can justly isolate itself; and the people of the "central flowery land" to this day call us "outside barbarians." Even Arabi Pasha, before the bombardment of Alexandria, took for his motto: "Egypt for the Egyptians." We proclaim with our lips "peace on earth, good-will to men," we boast of human brotherhood, and we have been foremost in demanding free intercourse with the rest of the world; but we have enacted the most anti-social law ever enacted by a Christian people—an act of hostility against the whole human race except ourselves.

The McKinley Act is indeed an act of war. There may be a war not of battles and bombardments, but of peaceable hostilities. If one nation cuts off the supplies of another nation or seeks to divert the industry of another to itself, it acts an un-Christian part in the intercourse of men. The newspapers have told the story of an Austrian village whose special industry was the manufacture of pearl buttons, an industry broken up and the workmen brought to despair by our new decree of commercial hostility. The existence of this village may not have been even known to the statesmen who enacted our law, but the motive and the effect were the same as if they had known it. They could not march an army to the Carpathians and transport this village with all its people bodily from the banks of the Danube to the banks of the Monongahela, but they could accomplish the same end by votes in the Capitol at Washington. Was the act any more humane in the one case than in the other? Even the President in accepting a renomination felicitated his party in driving Welsh miners over to us. I hope they were not of the kind that made Tennessee howl with murderers and liberated convicts, or those who proved too

strong for the young State of Idaho and obliged the President to send Federal troops to quell them. In these latter days our Republican newspapers have been chuckling over the news that the Saltaire workmen in England have been obliged to take refuge in America.

A paternal government is one which pretends to take care of its people. There are two such governments in Europe: one enthroned at Moscow, whose sovereign calls himself the father and the millions who dwell between the Gulf of Finland and the Behring Sea his children; the other sits at the Bosphorus and calls himself the "Commander of the Faithful" over all who live eastward to the walls of Bagdad. Who are *our* fathers? Are they the three hundred and seventy-four gentlemen who meet yearly in the wings of the Capitol? Are we their children?

These are reasons, sufficient as I deem them, why I mean to cast my vote with the Democratic party in November. I am in favor of a tariff for revenue and nothing else; I am against monopoly, however disguised as protection; I am against paternal government, except in the family home; I am for the greatest liberty compatible with social order; I prefer the reciprocity of the counting-room to the reciprocity of the State Department; I would trust the trading merchant rather than the trading politician; I would welcome ships and their cargoes from all lands, coming not through the allurements of bounties, but the free competition of merchants seeking to exchange the products of our domain for theirs, whether these be for our necessities, our comforts, or our luxuries, tea from China, coffee from Brazil, silks from France, cinnamon from the groves of Ceylon, or from Zanzibar tusks of ivory.

Some of our Republican friends contend that the return to a revenue tariff will disturb existing establishments. That is the old cry of vested interests in defence of existing abuses. The American people may be safely trusted not to do a new wrong in suppressing an old one. They will make changes with moderation and justice.

There are two other questions which would determine my vote if the overshadowing McKinley Act were out of the way. One is the Force Bill and the other the taxation of State banks. Nobody struggled harder than I, within the limits of my ability, for the emancipation of the slaves. That was a sublime act of humanity. But giving them the suffrage was a different thing, and in my judgment was a crime against civilization. The suffrage is the symbol and weapon of sovereignty. To bestow it is to make the receivers rulers over us to the extent of their numbers. I contended as best I could for the

enfranchisement, never for the enthronement of the Negroes. It stands for an everlasting reproach to the statesmanship of the Republican party that it could find no better way for the defence of emancipated slaves than to make them partakers in the government of our country; joint rulers in our proud household. But we have them here, partners in sovereignty. What is to be done now? Nothing. Let the problem alone, until in the workings of an inscrutable Providence some way be made clear for our deliverance. To deal with it now is to pander to demagogues and stir up strife, of which he must be a very wise man who can foresee the end.

As to the taxation of the State banks, the all-sufficient objection to it is that it is a scheme not to build up, but to destroy. It is a perversion of the taxing power to purposes of which it is not conceivable that the founders of the Republic ever dreamed. There is a maxim of logic, universal and inexorable, that a proposition which proves too much proves nothing. Applying this maxim to the question of taxation, we cannot but see that extending the power of taxation to any other purpose than that of raising revenue is to make it omnipotent. It would be useless to talk of limited government or of restraining the legislature by any bonds whatever, if it may tax to any extent it pleases, for any purpose whatever, to raise money or to prevent money from being raised, to stimulate an industry or to extinguish it. Many of the State banks were undoubtedly nuisances. Our national banks as issuers of credits are vastly to be preferred. But there is a surer way of promoting the one and preventing the other than the way of taxation. To do evil that good may come is always dangerous and always wrong. The State banks should never have been allowed to issue notes for circulation as money. We see now how much better it would have been to hold, as many of the thoughtful men of the time did, that the prohibition upon the States to "emit bills of credit" prohibited not only the emission of bank-notes by the States themselves, but by their agents—the banks which they created. That step, however wrong as it now appears, has been taken, and perhaps cannot be retraced. But surely the skill of our financiers can devise a means of restraining State banks by Federal interference, if need be, safer and therefore wiser than by stretching the Constitution beyond the limits of its just interpretation.

The reasons I have given are my own. Nobody else is responsible for them, nobody has prompted them. I express them solely because they are mine.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

WRITERS FOR THE NOVEMBER FORUM.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (*Municipal Institutions in England and America*), born in 1836, was educated at University College School, London. He was Mayor of Birmingham in 1873-76, and in 1876 he entered Parliament. He was a member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet in 1880-86. In 1886 he broke with Mr. Gladstone on the question of Home Rule and became the leader of the new party of Liberal-Unionists.

MR. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS (*Lessons from the Experience of Quincy, Mass.*), born in Boston, 1835, was graduated at Harvard in 1856 and admitted to the bar in 1858. He won the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers for his services in the Civil War. He has since devoted himself chiefly to railway interests. In 1869 he was made a member of the Board of Railroad Commissioners of Massachusetts, and in 1884 he was elected president of the Union Pacific. He has published several books.

DR. J. M. RICE (*Our Public-School System: the Schools of Buffalo and Cincinnati*), born in Philadelphia in 1857, was graduated from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1881. He took a course in Psychology and Pedagogy at the Universities of Jena and Leipzig, after which he visited the schools of various European countries. Dr. Rice, in the service of the FORUM, has this year visited the public schools in thirty-six cities, spending every school-hour in school-rooms, making the investigations upon which he has based these articles.

SIR THOMAS HENRY FARRER, Bart. (*English Views of the McKinley Tariff*), born in London in 1819, was educated at Eton and at Balliol College, Oxford. He was called to the bar in 1844 and became a member of the English Board of Trade in 1850. In 1883 he was created a baronet. He has written "Free Trade *versus* Fair Trade," published by the Cobden Club; "The State in its Relation to Trade," and other economic works.

LORD MASHAM (*Has England Profited by Free Trade?*), born about 1814, is better known as Samuel Cauliffe Lister. He was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom last year. He is the founder of the celebrated Manningham Mills of Bradford, the largest textile manufactory in the kingdom. During the past twelve years he has taken the lead in the Fair-Trade movement in England. He was one of the founders of the Fair-Trade League.

MME. HELENA MODJESKA (*Endowed Theatres and the American Stage*), born in Cracow, Poland, at an early age became one of the leading players of the country. After winning a high position in her profession in Europe, she came to the United States in 1876 and made her home in California. She is a scholar of the drama as well as a great artist.

MISS JANE ADDAMS (*A New Impulse to an Old Gospel*), daughter of Hon. John H. Addams, for many years State Senator from Northern Illinois, has since her graduation at Rockford College, Ill., in 1881, been a trustee of the institution. In 1889, with Miss Ellen G. Starr, she opened Hull House.

PROF. EDWARD S. HOLDEN (*What We Really Know About Mars*), born in St. Louis in 1846, was graduated at the Scientific School of Washington University in 1866 and in 1870 at the United States Military Academy. In 1886 he was made President of the University of California and Director of the Lick Observatory on Mt. Hamilton, San José.

MR. AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD (*The Library of the United States*), born in 1825, became in 1861 first Assistant-Librarian of Congress at Washington, and three years later Librarian. His able administration of affairs of the library for more than a quarter of a century has made for him a wide reputation. He is a member of many historical and philosophical societies.

PROF. ROBERT MEANS DAVIS (*The Matter with the Small Farmer*), born in South Carolina in 1849, was elected in 1882 to the chair of History and Political Science in the reorganized South Carolina College, which he still holds. He has written frequently on political and economic subjects.

MR. HENRY WHITE CANNON (*For Whom I Shall Vote and Why*) was born at Delhi, N. Y., in 1850, and in 1884 was appointed Comptroller of the Currency. He resigned in 1886 to re-enter a bank in New York. He is president of the Chase National Bank.

MR. FRANKLIN MACVEAGH is the head of the large mercantile establishment in Chicago of Franklin MacVeagh & Co., wholesale grocers, and a man of public spirit and independent mind.

MR. JOHN CLAFLIN, born in Brooklyn in 1850, was graduated at the College of the City of New York in 1869, entered business in 1870, and is now president of the H. B. Claflin Company, a great mercantile corporation in New York.

GENERAL A. C. MCCLURG is the head of the publishing and book-selling firm in Chicago of A. C. McClurg & Co.

MR. JAMES SCHOULER, born in West Cambridge, Mass., in 1839, was graduated at Harvard in 1859, studied law, practised his profession in Boston, and since 1884 has lectured in the Boston University Law School and in the National Law School at Washington. He is best known as the author of a "History of the United States of America under the Constitution."

THE REV. DAVID SWING, born in Cincinnati in 1830, was Professor of Languages in Miami University for twelve years. In 1866 he became pastor of a Presbyterian church in Chicago. He was tried for heresy in 1874, was acquitted, and he then withdrew from the Presbyterian Church. He is now independent of denominational relations.

MR. JACOB H. SCHIFF is a member of the well-known New York banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and one of the most prominent bankers in New York.

HON. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, born in 1805, was admitted to the bar in 1828. He is one of the most eminent living authorities on law. He has received several appointments for the work of law-reform, among them one in 1857 to prepare a political, penal, and civil code for the State of New York. In 1873 he prepared for the Social Science Congress "Outlines of an International Code." This led to the formation of an association for a revision of the law of nations, and Mr. Field became its first president.

NOTE.—When invitations were sent to these gentlemen to express through the FORUM their preference for a Presidential candidate, it was not known for which candidate they would vote. The effort was to obtain expressions of opinion from representative men outside the range of active politics.

The Forum.

DECEMBER, 1892.

WHEREIN POPULAR EDUCATION HAS FAILED.

It cannot be denied that there is serious and general disappointment at the results of popular education up to this date. Elementary instruction for all children and more advanced instruction for some children have been systematically provided in many countries for more than two generations at great cost and with a good deal of enthusiasm, though not always on wise plans. Many of the inventions of the same rich period of seventy years have greatly promoted the diffusion of education by cheapening the means of communicating knowledge. Cheap books, newspapers, and magazines, cheap postage, cheap means of transportation, and free libraries have all contributed to the general cultivation of intelligence, or at least to the wide use of reading matter and the spread of information. In spite, however, of all these efforts to make education universal, all classes complain more than ever before of the general conditions of society.

Now, if general education does not promote general contentment, it does not promote public happiness; for a rational contentment is an essential element in happiness, private or public. To this extent universal education must be admitted to have failed at the end of two generations of sincere and strenuous, if sometimes misdirected, effort. Perhaps it is too soon to expect from public education any visible increase of public contentment and happiness. It may be that general discontent is a necessary antecedent of social improvement and a preliminary manifestation of increased knowledge and wisdom in all

classes of the community. Yet after two whole generations it seems as if some increase of genuine reasonableness of thought and action in all classes of the population ought to be discernible. Many persons, however, fail to see in the actual conduct of the various classes of society the evidence of increasing rationality. These skeptical observers complain that people in general, taken in masses with proper exclusion of exceptional individuals, are hardly more reasonable in the conduct of life than they were before free schools, popular colleges, and the cheap printing-press existed. They point out that when the vulgar learn to read they want to read trivial or degrading literature, such as the common newspapers and periodicals which are mainly devoted to accidents, crimes, criminal trials, scandals, gossip, sports, prize-fights, and low politics. Is it not the common school and the arts of cheap illustration, they say, that have made obscene books, photographs, and pictures, low novels, and all the literature which incites to vice and crime, profitable, and therefore abundant and dangerous to society? They complain that in spite of every effort to enlighten the whole body of the people, all sorts of quacks and impostors thrive, and that one popular delusion or sophism succeeds another, the best-educated classes contributing their full proportion of the deluded. Thus the astrologer in the Middle Ages was a rare personage and usually a dependent of princes; but now he advertises in the popular newspapers and flourishes as never before. Men and women of all classes, no matter what their education, seek advice on grave matters from clairvoyants, seers, Christian scientists, mind-cure practitioners, bone-setters, Indian doctors, and fortune-tellers. The ship of state barely escapes from one cyclone of popular folly, like the fiat-money delusion or the granger legislation of the seventies, when another blast of ill-informed opinion comes down on it, like the actual legislation which compels the buying and storing of silver by Government, or the projected legislation which would compel Government to buy cotton, wheat, or corn and issue paper money against the stock.

The educated critics of the practical results of public education further complain that lawless violence continues to break out just as it did before common schools were thought of, that lynch law is familiar in the United States, riots common from Berlin to Seattle, and assassination an avowed means of social and industrial regeneration. Even religious persecution, these critics say, is rife. The Jews are ostracized in educated Germany and metropolitan New York, and in Russia are robbed and driven into exile by thousands. Fur-

thermore, in spite of the constant inculcation of the principles of civil and religious liberty, new tyrannies are constantly arising. The tyrant, to be sure, is no longer an emperor, a king, or a feudal lord, but a contagious public opinion, a majority of voters inclined to despotism, or an oppressive combination of owners, contractors, or workmen. From time to time the walking delegate seems to be a formidable kind of tyrant, all the more formidable because his authority is but brief and his responsibility elusive. Popular elections and political conventions and caucuses provide another set of arguments for the skeptics about the results of universal education. Have these not been carried on with combined shoutings, competitive, prolonged howlings, banners, torches, uniforms, parades, misrepresentations, suppressions of truth, slanders and vituperation, rather than with arguments and appeals to enlightened self-interest, benevolence, patriotism, and the sense of public duty? Are votes less purchasable now than they were before the urban graded school and the State university were known? How irrational is the preparation made by the average voter for the exercise of the function of voting! He reads steadily one intensely partisan newspaper, closes his mind to all information and argument which proceed from political opponents, distrusts independent newspapers and independent men, and is afraid of joint debates. Such are some of the allegations and doubts of the educated critics with regard to the results of popular education.

On the other hand, the least-educated and most laborious classes complain that in spite of universal elementary education, society does not tend toward a greater equality of condition; that the distinctions between rich and poor are not diminished, but intensified; and that elementary education does not necessarily procure for the wage-earner any exemption from incessant and exhausting toil. They recognize indeed that machine labor has in many cases been substituted for hand labor; but they insist that the direction of machines is more exacting than old-fashioned hand work, and that the extreme division of labor in modern industries is apt to make the life of the operative or mechanic monotonous and narrowing. They complain that the rich, though elaborately instructed in school and church, accept no responsibilities with their wealth, but insist on being free to break up their domestic or industrial establishments at their pleasure, or in other words, to give or withhold employment as they find it most convenient or profitable. They allege that the rich man in modern society does not bear, either in peace or in war, the grave responsi-

bilities which the rich man of former centuries, who was a great landowner, a soldier, and a magistrate, was compelled to bear; and that education, whether simple or elaborate, has not made the modern rich man less selfish and luxurious than his predecessor in earlier centuries who could barely sign his name. They admit that the progress of science has made mankind safer from famine and pestilence than it used to be, but they point out that wars are more destructive than ever, this century being the bloodiest of all the centuries; that European armies are larger and more expensively equipped than ever before, and hence are more burdensome to the laboring populations which support them; while in the American Republic the annual burden of paying the military and naval pensions which result from a single great war is heavier, twenty-seven years after the war ended, than the annual burden of maintaining the largest standing army in Europe. Clearly, the spread of education has not enabled the nations to avoid war or to diminish its cost either in blood or treasure. If universal education cannot abolish, or even abate, in seventy years, the horrible waste and cruelty of war, can anything great be hoped from it for the laboring classes?

They complain also that the education of the employer and the employed has not made the conditions of employment more humane and comfortable; that almost all services and industries—agricultural, domestic, and manufacturing—are organized on the brutal principle of dismissal on the instant or with briefest notice, and that assured employment during good behavior and efficiency, which is almost a prerequisite of happiness for a reasonable and provident person, remains the privilege of an insignificant minority of well-to-do people, like judges, professors, and officers of financial and industrial corporations. How much has all this boasted education increased the intelligence and insight of even the best-educated and most capable people, if they still cannot devise just and satisfying conditions of employment in their own households, shops, ships, and factories? It is much more important that fidelity, constancy, loyalty, and mutual respect and affection between employer and employed should be fostered by the prevailing terms of employment than that more yards of cotton cloth or more tons of steel should be produced, more miles of railroad maintained, or more bushels of wheat raised. Those fine human qualities are the ultimate product to be desired. Have they been developed and fostered during the two generations of popular education? Or have dishonesty in labor, disloyalty, mutual jealousy

and distrust between employer and employed, and general discontent increased?

These indictments against universal education as a cure for ancient wrongs and evils are certainly formidable; but they exaggerate existing evils and leave out of sight great improvements in social condition which the last two generations have seen. It is only necessary for us to call to mind a few of the beneficent changes which the past seventy years have wrought, to assure ourselves that some powerful influences for good have been at work in the best-educated nations. Consider, for example, the mitigation of human miseries which the reformation of penal codes and of prisons, the institution of reformatories, the building of hospitals, asylums, and infirmaries, and the abolition of piracy and slavery have brought about. Consider the positive influence toward the formation of habits of industry and frugality exerted by such institutions as savings-banks, mutual-benefit societies, and life-insurance corporations. Unanswerable statistics show that during the past seventy years there has been a steady improvement in the condition of the most laborious classes in modern society, the wage-earners, and this improvement touches their earnings, their hours of labor, their lodgings, their food and clothing, and the means of education for their children. Consider how step by step terrors have been disarmed, superstitions abolished, the average duration of human life lengthened, and civil order extended over regions once desolate or dangerous. Think how family and school discipline have been mitigated within two generations, and how all sorts of abuses and cruelties are checked and prevented by the publicity of modern life, a publicity which depends on the universal capacity to read.

Let us remember that almost all business is nowadays conducted on trust, trust that the seller will deliver his goods according to sample and promise, and trust that the buyer will pay at the time appointed. Now, this general trustworthiness is of course based on moral qualities which inhere in the race, but these qualities are effectively reinforced and protected by the publicity which general education has made possible. Consider how freedom of intercourse between man and man, tribe and tribe, nation and nation has been developed even within a single generation; how the United States have spread across the continent, how Italy has been made one nation, and Germany one, and the Austrian Empire confederated from three distinct nationalities. Every one of these great expansions or consolidations has resulted in greater freedom of intercourse and in the re-

moval of barriers and of causes of strife and ill-will. Moreover, on taking a broad view of the changes in civilized society since 1830, do we not see that there has been great progress toward unity,—not indeed toward uniformity, but toward a genuine unity? The different classes of society and the different nations are still far from realizing the literal truth of the New Testament saying, “We are members one of another,” but they have lately made some approach to realizing that truth. Now, unity of spirit with diversity of gifts is the real end to be attained in social organization. It would not be just to contend that popular education has brought to pass all these improvements and ameliorations; but it has undoubtedly contributed to them all. Moreover, we find on every hand evidences of increased intelligence in large masses of people. If war has not ceased, soldiers are certainly more intelligent than they used to be, else they could not use the arms of precision with which armies are now supplied. The same is true of all industry and trade—they require more intelligence than formerly in all the work-people. While, therefore, we must admit that education has not accomplished all that might fairly have been expected of it, we may believe that it has had some share in bringing about many of the ameliorations of the social state in the past two generations.

It is somewhat comforting to recall, as we confess to disappointment with the results of universal education, that modern society has had several disappointments before of a nature similar to that it now experiences. There was a time when it was held that a true and universally accepted religious belief would bring with it an ideal state of society; but this conviction resulted in sanguinary persecutions and desolating wars, for to attain the ideal state of society through one true religion was an end so lofty as to justify punishing and even exterminating all who did not accept the religion. Again, when modern representative institutions were first put into practice it seemed as if the millennium were near—popular government seemed of infinite promise for the happiness of mankind. Were not all despotisms to be done away with? Were not all men to enjoy liberty, equality, and fraternity? It was a painful surprise to discover that under a *régime* of general liberty a few could so use their freedom as to gain undue advantages over the many. It was a disappointment to find that superior shrewdness and alertness could secure, under public freedom and public law, a lordship such as superior force could hardly win when there was little freedom and little law. How high were the expectations based on universal suffrage, that exaltation of

man as man without regard to his social condition, that strong expression of the equality of all men in political power! Yet all these successive hopes have proved in a measure delusive. On the whole, the most precious and stable result of the civilized world's experience during the past three hundred years is the doctrine of universal toleration, or liberty for all religious opinions under the protection of the state, there being as yet no such thing in Christian society as one true and universal religion. We have all had to learn that representative institutions do not at present necessarily produce good government—in many American cities they coexist with bad government—and that universal suffrage is not a panacea for social ills, but simply the most expedient way to enlist the interest and support of us all in the government of us all. Never yet has society succeeded in embodying in actual institutions a just liberty, a real equality, or a true fraternity.

It was reasonable, however, to expect more from universal education than from any of the other inventions to which I have alluded. Public education should mean the systematic training of all children for the duties of life; and it seems as if this systematic training could work almost a revolution in human society in two or three generations, if wisely and faithfully conducted. Why has it not? It seems to provide directly for a general increase of power to reason and, therefore, of actual reasonableness in the conduct of life. Why is it possible to doubt whether any appreciable gain has thus far been made in these respects? I think I perceive in popular education, as generally conducted until recently, an inadequacy and a misdirection which supply a partial answer to these disquieting questions.

The right method of developing in the mass of the population the reasoning power and general rationality which are needed for the wise conduct of life must closely resemble the method by which the intelligence and reasoning power of an individual are developed. Let me next, therefore, present here in some detail the main processes or operations of the mind which systematic education should develop and improve in an individual in order to increase his general intelligence and train his reasoning power. The first of these processes or operations is observation; that is to say, the alert, intent, and accurate use of all the senses. Whoever wishes to ascertain a present fact must do it through the exercise of this power of observation, whether the fact lie in the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdom; whether it be a fact of physics, physiology, sociology, or politics. Facts, diligently sought for and firmly established, are the only foundations of

sound reasoning. The savage has abundant practice in observation; for he gets his daily food only by the keenest exercise of this power. The civilized man, whose food is brought to him on a railroad, is not forced by these elementary necessities to keep his observational powers keen and quick, and many of his occupations call for only a limited use of the observing organs; so that systematic education must provide in his case against the atrophy of these faculties. For the training of this power of observation it does not matter what subject the child studies, so that he study something thoroughly in an observational method. If the method be right, it does not matter, among the numerous subjects well fitted to develop this important faculty, which he choose, or which be chosen for him. The study of any branch of natural history, chemistry, or physics, any well-conducted work with tools or machines, and many of the sports of children and adults, such as sailing, fishing, and hunting, will develop this power, provided thorough exercise of the observational powers be secured. For the purpose we have now in view, it is vastly better that he study one subject thoroughly than several superficially. The field within which the power is exercised may be narrow or special; but these words do not apply to the power. During this training in accurate observation, the youth should learn how hard it is to determine with certainty even an apparently simple fact. He should learn to distrust the evidence of his own senses, to repeat, corroborate, and verify his observations, and to mark the profound distinction between the fact and any inference, however obvious, from the fact.

The next function, process, or operation which education should develop in the individual is the function of making a correct record of things observed. The record may be either mental only, that is, stamped on the memory, or it may be reduced to writing or print. The savage transmits orally to his children or his tribe such records as his brain contains of nature's lore and of his experience in war and the chase; but civilized man makes continuous and cumulative records of sifted, sorted, and grouped facts of observation and experience, and on these records the progress of the race depends. Hence the supreme importance that every child be instructed and drilled at every stage of his education in the art of making an accurate and vivid record of things seen, heard, felt, done, or suffered. This power of accurate description or recording is identical in all fields of inquiry. The child may describe what it sees in a columbine, or in the constellation of Orion, or on the wharves, or in the market, or in the Children's Hos-

pital, and its power of description may be exercised in speech or in writing; but for the benefit of the community, as distinguished from the satisfaction of the individual and the benefit of his family or associates, the faculty should be abundantly exercised in writing as well as speech. In this constant drill the conscience cannot fail to be refined and instructed; for to make a scrupulously accurate statement of a fact observed, with all needed qualifications and limitations, is as good a training of the conscience as secular education can furnish.

The next mental function which education should develop, if it is to increase reasoning power and general intelligence, is the faculty of drawing correct inferences from recorded observations, a faculty which is almost identical with the faculty of grouping or coördinating kindred facts, comparing one group with another or with all the others, and then drawing an inference which is sure in proportion to the number of cases, instances, or experiences on which it is based. This power is developed by practice in induction. It is often a long way from the patent fact to the just inference. For centuries the Phœnician and Roman navigators had seen the hulls of vessels disappearing below the blue horizon of the Mediterranean while their sails were visible; but they never drew the inference that the earth was round. On any particular topic or subject it may take generations or centuries to accumulate facts enough to establish a just inference or generalization—the earlier accumulations may be insufficient, the first grouping wrong, or the first samplings deceptive—and so the first general inference may be incorrect; but the method, rightly understood and practised, leads straight to truth. It is the patient, candid, impartial, universal method of modern science.

Fourthly, education should cultivate the power of expressing one's thoughts clearly, concisely, and cogently. This power is to be procured only by much practice in the mother tongue, and this practice should make part of every child's education from beginning to end. So far as a good style can be said to be formed or created at all, it is ordinarily formed by constant practice under judicious criticism. If this practice and criticism are supplied, it is unimportant whether the student write an historical narrative, or a translation from Xenophon, or a laboratory note-book, or an account of a case of hypnotism or typhoid fever, or a law-brief, or a thesis on comparative religion; the subject-matter is comparatively indifferent, so far as the cultivation of accurate and forcible speech or writing is concerned. In cultivating any field of knowledge this power of expression can be won if the

right means be used, and if these means be neglected it will not be won in any field. For cultivating the habit of reasoning justly, however, there is one kind of practice in expressing one's thoughts which has special importance, namely, practice in argumentative composition—in the logical and persuasive development of an argument, starting from well-selected premises and brought to a just conclusion.

Let no one imagine that I am omitting poetry from systematic education. In that highest of all arts of expression, the art of poetry, the four mental functions or operations we have now considered—observing, recording, comparing and inferring, and expressing—may be seen in combination, each often exhibited to high degree. The poet's power of observation often supplies him with his most charming verses. Tennyson noticed that the ash put out its leaves in spring much later than the other trees, and this is the exquisite use he made of that botanical observation:

“Why lingereth she to clothe her heart with love,
Delaying, as the tender ash delays
To clothe herself, when all the woods are green?”

The poet's power of describing, and of stirring and inspiring by his descriptions, depends on the combination in him of keen observation, rare susceptibility to beauty and grandeur, spiritual insight, and faculty of inferential suggestion. In four lines Emerson puts before us the natural and spiritual scene at the Concord River on the 19th of April, 1775:

“By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattl'd farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.”

In twenty-eight words here are the whole scene and all the essential circumstances—the place and season, the stout actors, their rustic social state, the heroic deed and its infinite reverberation. What an accurate, moving, immortal description is this! Even for logical and convincing argument poetry is often the finest vehicle. If anybody doubts this let him read again the twenty-third Psalm from its opening premise, “The Lord is my shepherd,” to its happy conclusion, “Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life”; or let him follow the reasoning of God with Job from the inquiry, “Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?” to Job's conclusion, “Wherefore I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes.”

These, then, are the four things in which the individual youth

should be thoroughly trained, if his judgment and reasoning power are to be systematically developed: observing accurately; recording correctly; comparing, grouping, and inferring justly, and expressing coherently the results of these mental operations. These are the things in which the population as a mass must be trained in youth, if its judgment and reasoning power are to be systematically developed.

Let us now consider whether the bulk of the work done in free public schools for the mass of the children contributes materially to the development of the mental capacities just described. More than ninety per cent of the school-children do not get beyond the "grades," or the grammar school, as we say in New England. Now, what are the staples of instruction in the "grades," or in the primary and grammar schools of New England? They are reading, spelling, writing, geography, and arithmetic. In very recent years there has been added to these subjects some practice in observation through drawing, manual training, kindergarten work in general, and lessons in elementary science; but these additions to the staple subjects are all recent, and have not taken full effect on any generation now at work in the world. Moreover, it is but a small proportion of the total school-time which is even now devoted to these observational subjects. The acquisition of the art of reading is mostly a matter of memory. It is of course not without effect on the development of the intelligence; but it does not answer well any one of the four fundamental objects in an education directed to the development of reasoning power. The same must be said of writing, which is in the main a manual exercise and one by no means so well adapted to cultivate the powers of observation, the sense of form, and the habit of accuracy as many other sorts of manual work, such as carpentering, turning, forging, and modelling. As to English spelling, it is altogether a matter of memory. We have heretofore put too much confidence in the mere acquisition of the arts of reading and writing. After these arts are acquired there is much to be done to make them effective for the development of the child's intelligence. If his reasoning power is to be developed through reading, he must be guided to the right sort of reading. The school must teach not only how to read, but what to read, and it must develop a taste for wholesome reading. Geography, as commonly taught, means committing to memory a mass of curiously uninteresting and unimportant facts.

There remains arithmetic, the school subject most relied on to train the reasoning faculty. From one-sixth to one-fourth or even one-third of the whole school-time of American children is given to the subject of

arithmetic—a subject which does not train a single one of the four faculties to develop which should be the fundamental object of education. It has nothing to do with observing correctly, or with recording accurately the results of observation, or with collating facts and drawing just inferences therefrom, or with expressing clearly and forcibly logical thought. Its reasoning has little application in the great sphere of the moral sciences, because it is necessary and not probable reasoning. In spite of the common impression that arithmetic is a practical subject, it is of very limited application in common life, except in its simplest elements—the addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division of small numbers. It indeed demands of the pupil mental effort; but all subjects that deserve any place in education do that. On the whole, therefore, it is the least remunerative subject in elementary education as now conducted.

But let us look somewhat higher in the hierarchy of educational institutions. It has been roughly computed that about five per cent of the school-children in the United States go on to the secondary schools. In these schools is attention chiefly devoted to the development and training of the reasoning faculty? By no means. In most secondary schools of a high class a large part of the whole time is given to the study of languages. Thus in the Cambridge Public Latin School twenty-eight hundred and twenty lessons are devoted in the course of six years to the languages; to all other subjects ten hundred and seventy. At the Ann Arbor High School, in the seven distinct courses all taken together, there are twenty-seven hundred and forty-six lessons in languages, against forty-one hundred and eighty-four in all other subjects,—and this although many options are allowed to the pupils of the school, and the variety of subjects not linguistic is large. In the Lawrenceville School, a well-endowed preparatory school in New Jersey, twenty hundred and thirty-three lessons are devoted to languages, against nineteen hundred and seventeen devoted to all other subjects. Now, the teaching of a language may be made the vehicle of admirable discipline in discriminating thinking; but it is a rare language-teacher who makes it the vehicle of such thinking. The ordinary teaching of a foreign language, living or dead, cultivates in the pupil little besides memory and a curious faculty of assigning the formation of a word or the construction of a phrase to the right rule in the grammar—a rule which the pupil may or may not understand. The preponderance of language lessons in many secondary schools presents, therefore, great dangers. Moreover, in most second-

any schools, among the subjects other than languages, there will generally be found several which seem to be taught for the purpose of giving information rather than of imparting power. Such are the common high-school and academy topics in history, natural history, psychology, astronomy, political economy, civil government, mechanics, constitutional law, and commercial law. These subjects, as they are now taught, seldom train any power but that of memory. As a rule, the feebler a high school or academy is, the more these information subjects figure in its programme; and when a strong school offers several distinct courses, the shorter and weaker courses are sure to exhibit an undue number of these subjects. I need not say that these subjects are in themselves grand fields of knowledge and that any one of them might furnish the solidest mental training. It is the way they are used that condemns them. The pupil is practically required to commit to memory a primer or a small elementary manual for the sake of the information it contains. There can be no training of the reason in such a process.

If now we rise to the course which succeeds that of the high school or academy, the college course, we find essentially the same condition of things in most American institutions. The cultivation of the memory predominates; that of the observing, inferring, and reasoning faculties is subordinated. Strangest of all, from bottom to top of the educational system, the art of expressing one's thought clearly and vigorously in the mother tongue receives comparatively little attention.

When one reviews the course of instruction in schools and colleges with the intention of discovering how much of it contributes directly to the development of reasoning power, one cannot but be struck with the very small portion of time expressly devoted to this all-important object. No amount of *memoriter* study of languages or of the natural sciences and no attainments in arithmetic will protect a man or woman—except imperfectly through a certain indirect cultivation of general intelligence—from succumbing to the first plausible delusion or sophism he or she may encounter. No amount of such studies will protect one from believing in astrology, or theosophy, or free silver, or strikes, or boycotts, or in the persecution of Jews or of Mormons, or in the violent exclusion of non-union men from employment. One is fortified against the acceptance of unreasonable propositions only by skill in determining facts through observation and experience, by practice in comparing facts or groups of facts, and by the unvarying habit of questioning and verifying allegations, and of distinguishing

between facts and inferences from facts, and between a true cause and an antecedent event. One must have direct training and practice in logical speech and writing before he can be quite safe against specious rhetoric and imaginative oratory. Many popular delusions are founded on the commonest of fallacies—this preceded that, therefore this caused that; or in shorter phrase, what preceded, caused. For example: I was sick; I took such and such a medicine and became well; therefore the medicine cured me. During the Civil War the Government issued many millions of paper money, and some men became very rich; therefore the way to make all men richer must be to issue from the Government presses an indefinite amount of paper money. The wages of American workingmen are higher than those of English in the same trades; protection has been the policy of the United States and approximate free trade the policy of England; therefore high tariffs cause high wages. Bessemer steel is much cheaper now than it was twenty years ago; there has been a tariff tax on Bessemer steel in the United States for the past twenty years; therefore the tax cheapened the steel. England, France, and Germany are civilized and prosperous nations; they have enormous public debts; therefore a public debt is a public blessing. He must carry Ithuriel's spear and wear stout armor who can always expose and resist this fallacy. It is not only the uneducated or the little educated who are vanquished by it. There are many educated people who have little better protection against delusions and sophisms than the uneducated; for the simple reason that their education, though prolonged and elaborate, was still not of a kind to train their judgment and reasoning powers.

Again, very few persons scrutinize with sufficient care the premises on which a well-formed argument is constructed. Hence a plausible argument may have strong influence for many years with great bodies of people, when the facts on which alone the argument could be securely based have never been thoroughly and accurately determined. The great public discussion now going on throughout the country affords a convenient illustration. For generations it has been alleged that high tariffs are necessary in this country in order to protect American workmen from the competition of European workmen, whose scales of living and of wages are lower than those of the American; but until within four years no serious attempt has been made to ascertain precisely what the difference really is between the cost of English labor and of American labor on a given unit of manu-

factured product in the several protected industries. Such inquiries are complicated and difficult, and demand extensive and painstaking research with all the advantages governmental authority can give.

The publication made in 1891 by the Commissioner of Labor at Washington concerning the cost of producing iron and steel is the first real attempt to determine the facts upon which the theory of a single group of important items in our tariff might have been based. This admirable publication is a volume of fourteen hundred pages—mostly statistical tables. One of Mr. Wright's carefully-stated conclusions is that the difference between the direct labor-cost of one ton of steel rails in the United States and in England is three dollars and seventy-eight cents. If we allow the large margin of fifty per cent each way for possible error in these figures, we arrive at the conclusion that the excess of the direct labor-cost of producing from the assembled materials one ton of steel rails in this country lies somewhere between one dollar and eighty-nine cents and five dollars and sixty-seven cents, with the probability in favor of three dollars and seventy-eight cents. Now, the duty on one ton of steel rails is thirteen dollars and forty-four cents; so that it is obvious that the amount of this tax stands in no close relation to the difference between the cost of the American and the English labor, and that some other motive than the protection of American *labor* determined the amount of the tax. Yet the argument that the high-tariff taxes exist for the protection of American wage-earners has long had great weight in the minds of millions of Americans who can read, write, and cipher. For my present purpose it is a matter of indifference whether the assumption which underlies this argument, namely, that workmen are not productive and valuable in proportion to their scale of wages and standard of living, be true or false. What I want to point out is that the argument has no right to much influence in determining the amount of taxes which burden the entire population, inasmuch as the facts on which alone it can be securely based are as yet wanting for a great majority of the protected industries. Is it not quite clear that the people, as a whole, have not been taught to scrutinize severely the premises of an argument to which they are inclined to give weight, and that popular education has never afforded and does not now afford any adequate defence against this kind of unreason?

Let me further observe that throughout all education, both public and private, both in the school and in the family, there has been too much reliance on the principle of authority, too little on the progres-

sive and persistent appeal to reason. By commands, or by the authoritative imposition of opinions, it is possible for a time to protect a child, or a generation or nation of childish men, from some dangers and errors; but the habit of obedience to authority and of the passive reception of imposed opinions is almost inconsistent with an effective development of reasoning power and of independence of thought.

What, then, are the changes in the course of popular education which we must strive after if we would develop for the future more successfully than in the past the rationality of the population? In the first place, we must make practice in thinking, or in other words the strengthening of reasoning power, the constant object of all teaching, from infancy to adult age, no matter what may be the subject of instruction. After the most necessary manual and mental arts have been acquired, those subjects should be taught most which each individual teacher is best fitted to utilize for making his pupils think, or which develop best in the individual pupil his own power to reason. For this purpose the same subject will not be equally good for all teachers or for all pupils. One teacher can make her pupils think most eagerly and consecutively in the subject of geography, another in zoölogy, and another in Latin. One pupil can be induced most easily to exercise strenuously his powers of observation and discrimination on the facts of a language new to him, another on the phenomena of plant life, and another on the events of some historical period. If only this training could be everywhere recognized in daily practice as the supreme and ultimate object in all teaching, a great improvement would soon be wrought in the results of public instruction.

Besides recognizing in practice this prime object of all education, we can make certain specific changes in the common subjects or methods of instruction which will greatly further this object, and we can promote such useful changes as have already been introduced. Thus we can give wise extension to the true observation studies already introduced into the earlier years of the school system. Again, we can give much more time than is now given to the practice of accurate description and argumentative composition in writing. This practice should begin in the kindergarten and be pursued through the university. We expect to teach children to write English with a very small part of the practice they get in speaking English. With all the practice and criticism of their speech that school-children get every day, correct speech is by no means common. Should we expect to get correct writing with much less attention than we give to speech?

We must also teach elaborately in schools those subjects which give practice in classification and induction. The natural sciences all lend themselves to this branch of school work; but they must be taught in such a way as to extract from them the peculiar discipline they are fitted to yield. It is of no use to commit to memory books on science. A little information may be gained in this way, but no power. They must be taught by the laboratory method, with constant use of the laboratory note-book, and with careful study of trains of experimentation and reasoning which in times past actually led to great discoveries. Yet to study the natural sciences is not a sure way to develop reasoning power. It is just as easy to teach natural science, even by laboratory methods, without ever making the pupils reason closely about their work, as to teach Latin or German without cultivating the pupils' powers of comparison and discrimination. Effective training of the reasoning powers cannot be secured simply by choosing this subject or that for study. The method of study and the aim in studying are the all-important things.

For the older pupils, the time devoted to historical studies ought to be much increased; not that they may learn the story of dynasties or of wars, but that they may learn how, as a matter of fact, arts came into being, commerce was developed by one city or nation after another, great literatures originated and grew up, new industries arose, fresh discoveries were made, and social conditions were ameliorated. They should discover through what imagining, desiring, contriving, and planning, whether of individual leaders or of masses of men, these great steps in human progress came to be taken. They should study the thinking and feeling of past generations for guidance to right thoughts and sentiments in the present and future. It is a disgrace to organized education that any nation should refuse, as our own people are so apt to do, to learn from the experience of other nations; the schools must have failed to teach history as they should have done. As Benjamin Franklin said, "Experience keeps a dear school; but fools will learn in no other, and scarce in that."

In the higher part of the system of public instruction two difficult subjects deserve to receive a much larger share of attention than they now obtain,—political economy and sociology. They should be studied, however, not as information subjects, but as training or disciplinary subjects; for during the past thirty years the means of using them as disciplinary subjects have been accumulated in liberal measure. They can now be studied in their elements on broad foundations of fact, the

results of scientific research; and many of their fundamental principles can be placed within the reach of minds not yet adult.

Finally, argumentation needs to be taught systematically in schools; not in the form of a theoretical logic, but in concrete form through the study of arguments which have had weight in determining the course of trade, industries, or public affairs, or have made epochs in discovery, invention, or the progress of science. The actual arguments used by the participants in great debates should be studied, and not the arguments attributed to or invented for the actors long after the event. Books preserve many such epoch-making arguments; and during the present century many which were only spoken have been preserved by stenography and the daily press. For these uses, arguments which can be compared with the ultimate event, and proved true or false by the issue, have great advantages. The issue actually establishes, or disproves, the conclusion the argument sought to establish. As examples of instructive arguments I may cite Burke's argument on conciliation with the American colonies, and Webster's on the nature and value of the Federal Union; the debate between Lincoln and Douglas on the extension of slavery into the Territories; the demonstration by Sir Charles Lyell that the ancient and the present system of terrestrial changes are identical; the proofs contrived and set forth by Sir John Lubbock that the ant exhibits memory, affection, morality, and cooperative power; the prophetic argument of Mill that industries conducted on a great scale will ultimately make liberty of competition illusory, and will form extensive combinations to maintain or advance prices; and that well-reasoned prophecy of disturbance and disaster in the trade of the United States written by Cairnes in September, 1873, and so dramatically fulfilled in the commercial crisis of that month. Such arguments are treasuries of instruction for the rising generation, for they furnish safe materials for thorough instruction in sound reasoning. We have expected to teach sound reasoning incidentally and indirectly, just as we have expected to teach young people to write good English by teaching them foreign languages. It is high time that we taught the young by direct practice and high examples to reason justly and effectively.

Such are some of the measures which we may reasonably hope will make popular education in the future more successful than it has been in the past in developing universal reasonableness.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ST. LOUIS AND INDIANAPOLIS.

IN my previous articles I discussed our public-school system in general and the schools of Baltimore, Buffalo, and Cincinnati in particular. In the general discussion I stated that I had found upon my tour of investigation that the schools had advanced in proportion to what had been done by the superintendents and their assistants toward raising the standard of the teachers in their charge. As licenses to teach are in the vast majority of instances granted to persons whose preparation for their work is entirely inadequate, it is but natural that the schools in charge of those superintendents who do most toward training the teachers after their appointment should attain the highest degree of excellence. In regard to the schools of Baltimore, Buffalo, and Cincinnati, I gave a description of some of my class-room experiences which led me to the conclusion that the schools of those cities were upon an extremely low level, and I pointed out that this unfavorable condition of affairs corresponded with the fact that the supervision was very scanty. While in writing about the schools of those three cities supervision was considered mainly from the standpoint of quantity, the purpose of the present article will be to show that a school's advancement does not depend alone upon the amount, but also upon the method, of supervision. All forms of supervision do not tend to improve the teachers. There are indeed, in my opinion, two diametrically opposed methods, one of which has an elevating and the other a depressing tendency, and it is only that form of supervision the direct aim of which is to improve the mind of the teacher that leads to the advancement of the schools.

I have selected for the purpose of pointing out the results of these two widely differing methods of supervision the schools of St. Louis and of Indianapolis, as I know of none better adapted to show where these methods lead when followed for any considerable period. But before entering upon the detailed discussion of these schools, I shall consider the philosophy of the two methods of supervision and their

natural consequences, so that the reason why the method of supervision is so important an element in determining the character of the schools may be clearly seen.

In one form of supervision the superintendent does little if anything beyond observing that the teachers succeed in putting the child through the studies prescribed for the grade. He visits every school from time to time in order to examine classes, which examination is intended as an examination of the teachers, and the teachers are judged by the results. The important factor to be noted is that the results alone are considered, the manner in which they are reached being left entirely out of consideration. What follows? The teacher strives beyond all else to secure such results as will tell in her favor. Since nothing, as a rule, tells so well at an examination as a knowledge of facts—mental power and moral strength being incapable of measurement—the aim of the teacher becomes to load the memory of her pupils with facts. An ideal teacher will, in spite of the fact that she is judged by results alone, endeavor to secure the desired results without converting her pupils into automatons or robbing them of their happiness. But when, under these conditions, a teacher is wanting in professional skill or sympathy, or both, her teaching will be likely to present a picture of a pure, unadulterated, old-fashioned grind. Her ability is judged by the number of facts which her pupils retain, and she spends all her time in crowding the memory of her pupils with facts. To introduce into a lesson an illustrative story which contains no food for the examination, to allow the child to study an object when the facts relating to that object can be learned so much more quickly by words alone, to allow the pupils time to think or time to move, are things which simply waste the time of the teacher; and why should she waste her time at her own peril?

Reading now becomes the art of recognizing printed or written words at sight without regard to the thought expressed; arithmetic the art of computing numbers without regard to the relation of things; geography and history, physics and physiology simply represent so many words to be memorized by the pupils. If compelling pupils to memorize words be teaching, then indeed is all training superfluous, as any one equipped with the knowledge of the three R's, a sound pair of lungs, and a stout rattan is able to compel children to memorize words. And as long as words alone are taught and the teacher can read words, the teacher is able to secure results regardless of what the subject may be. To her a page consists of a collection of words and

a book a collection of pages, and with her views upon education there is no reason why she should not teach Spinoza's "Ethics" as well as "Mother Goose's Melodies," "Physiological Chemistry" as well as "Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures," "Kant's Critic of Pure Reason" as well as "What I Know About Farming."

When supervision is conducted upon such principles, though the children be rendered motionless and the room as silent as the grave, the school is entirely lawless, because the only laws which the school should obey—the laws of mental development—are entirely ignored. The superintendent here reigns supreme; his rulings are arbitrary; his word is law. But in exercising his license he deprives the child of his liberty. The child is twisted and turned or made immobile to suit the pleasure of the teacher, and the fact that the child is a frail and tender, loving and lovable human being is entirely disregarded. The innocent child is thrust into bondage, the years of childhood are converted into years of slavery.

The second form of supervision differs from the first in so far as two elements are considered instead of one, the manner in which the results are obtained being regarded as well as the fact that they are obtained. To teach the child by methods approved by the educational scientists, to educate him without destroying his happiness, to allow him to feel that centuries of labor have not been performed in his behalf in vain, is now the aim of the school. In thinking of the future man and woman, the child is not forgotten. It is recognized that the school exists for the child, and that superintendents and teachers are not employed to use, but to serve, the child. Where this sentiment prevails the order of things is entirely reversed. The mind is no longer compelled to suit the methods, but the methods are made to suit the mind. The mind of the child—not the will of the superintendent—is now the ruling spirit of the school, and instead of turning and twisting their pupils at their pleasure superintendent and teachers turn and twist themselves in their endeavors to obey the laws of the mind.

What follows now? Throughout there is an elevating tendency, a tendency on the part of those in charge of the children to strive for professional strength. The teachers study the minds of their pupils as well as works on education in order that they may receive the benefit of the labors of others, and they look to the superintendent for guidance. The attitude of the superintendent becomes changed from that of examiner to the attitude of teacher, and as the teacher of the

teachers he labors to improve his own mind so that he may keep beyond his students.

In studying the child the teacher strives to learn his innermost thoughts so that she may be able to render her guidance intelligible to him. As she learns to understand him she begins to sympathize with him and in return she secures his love: once his love is secured, he will follow her to the end of the earth and the examinations will take care of themselves. Thus the weight of oppression becomes removed from the child; he becomes free and happy in his freedom, and the school is converted into the loveliest of homes.

In St. Louis we have an example of how sad the lot of the child may become when the superintendents not only do practically nothing toward raising the standard of the teachers by instructing them in the science of education, but where they do much to depress them by examining their classes and judging them by results alone. This form of supervision results in greater depression in St. Louis than in Baltimore or Buffalo or Cincinnati, for the reason that here supervision is no longer nominal (there being four supervising officers to oversee the work of twelve hundred teachers), the larger size of the supervisory staff enabling its members to visit the schools more frequently. The consequence is that the teacher at all times labors under a high degree of pressure for results. To secure the desired results is now her aim, and to secure them the child is ever relentlessly pushed. The fact that the child is a child is entirely forgotten, and the characteristic feature of the St. Louis schools—absolute lack of sympathy for the child—ensues. The unkindly spirit of the teacher is strikingly apparent; the pupils, being completely subjugated to her will, are silent and motionless; the spiritual atmosphere of the class-room is damp and chilly.

In one regard the treatment of the children cannot be considered otherwise than barbarous. During several daily recitation periods, each of which is from twenty to twenty-five minutes in duration, the children are obliged to stand upon the line, perfectly motionless, their bodies erect, their knees and feet together, the tips of their shoes touching the edge of a board in the floor. The slightest movement on the part of the child attracts the attention of the teacher. The recitation is repeatedly interrupted with cries of "Stand straight," "Don't bend the knees," "Don't lean against the wall," and so on. I heard one teacher ask a little boy, "How can you learn anything with

your knees and toes out of order?" The toes appear to play a more important part than the reasoning faculties. The teacher never forgets the toes; every few moments she casts her eyes "toe-ward."

That such a barbarous procedure should be tolerated in a civilized community to-day is surprising; and when we consider that it exists in a city which may be called the home of the kindergarten, it becomes truly marvellous. In spite of the fact that the kindergarten has been a part of the public-school system of St. Louis for some fifteen years, its spirit has not extended beyond the kindergarten itself, the children in the lowest primary grade being treated with as little consideration as those in the higher grades. The fact that color work has been introduced into the primary grades does not, in my opinion, alter the matter in the least, although it does alter it in the minds of the teachers of St. Louis. The mere introduction of a branch of study into a curriculum is no indication whatever that the proper spirit will enter with it. The spirit lies in the teacher and not in the subject. When the true pedagogical spirit is wanting the instruction will be mechanical whatever the subject be. On the other hand, when the teacher possesses the proper spirit she has the ability to endow the most mechanical subject with life. I witnessed in a Boston primary school a simple phonic drill which was so full of life that it made the children thoroughly enthusiastic.

The methods of instruction followed in the schools of St. Louis, though much less rife with absurdities than those in Baltimore, Buffalo, and Cincinnati, and though concert recitations (to my knowledge) do not exist, are nevertheless mechanical and calculated to crowd the memory with cut-and-dried facts. As they are not very suggestive, I shall not describe them in detail. The results from a quantitative standpoint are, in my opinion, exceptionally good. That they should be so is but the natural consequence of the fact that the children work constantly under pressure. Though the children learn a large number of facts, the price which they pay for them is a terrible one. During the recitations I found all spontaneity on the part of the child suppressed. When a pupil endeavored to give vent to his thoughts he was cut short by some such remark as "Speak when you are spoken to," "Don't talk, but listen," "You mustn't raise your hands."

Arithmetic is taught mechanically and abstractly almost from the start. Objective work is at a minimum. The recitations in geography are so formal that the children themselves frequently keep the ball rolling, the teacher's part in the lesson being limited to saying,

"Right," "Wrong," "Next," "Don't lean against the wall," "Keep your toes on the line." One thing, however, may be learned of St. Louis, namely, that when phonics are well taught—and they are well taught in that city—the children make very rapid progress in overcoming the mechanical difficulties in reading. At St. Louis the children certainly read as well at the end of four or five months as those attending many of the schools where no phonics are taught read at the end of two years.

When the lot of the St. Louis school-child will become a happier one, it is indeed difficult to predict. The method of supervision, as we have seen, is certainly not calculated to advance the schools, its tendency being to lower rather than to raise the standard of the teachers, to suppress rather than to encourage attempts to teach naturally—in fact, to reduce the trained to the level of the untrained teacher. Another circumstance that does much to prevent the St. Louis schools from advancing is the fact that they are almost exclusively in the hands of teachers who were brought up under the St. Louis system, and who, from actual experience, know practically nothing of what is going on in the educational world outside of their own city.

The scene presented in the Indianapolis class-room differs so widely from the scene presented in the school-room of St. Louis that it would scarcely appear that these two institutions had anything in common. This striking contrast is due to the fact that the Indianapolis schools abound in the element which in St. Louis is so obviously lacking—consideration for the child, sympathy. The cold, hard, and cruel struggle for results is here unknown. The teacher uses every means at her command to render the life of the child happy and beautiful, without endangering its usefulness.

I entered one of the rooms containing the youngest children at the time of the opening exercises. The scene I encountered was a glimpse of fairyland. I was in a room full of bright and happy children, whose eyes were directed toward the teacher, not because they were forbidden to look in any other direction, but because to them the most attractive object in the room was their teacher. She understood them, sympathized with and loved them, and did all in her power to make them happy. The window-sills were filled with plants, and plants were scattered here and there throughout the room. The teacher's desk was strewn with flowers, and upon each of the children's desks flowers had been placed to welcome the little ones to school.

After the children had sung a few little songs the first lesson of the day was in order. This was a lesson in science; its subject was a flower. It began with the recitation of a poem. The object of introducing these poems into the plant and animal lessons is to inspire the child with love for the beautiful, with love for nature, and with sympathy for all living things. In the lower grades of the schools of Indianapolis much more stress is laid upon the life of the plant and the relation of the child to the plant than upon its structure; and the child is taught rather how to preserve and to protect it than how to dissect it, so that lessons upon plants (and animals) partake as much of moral as of science lessons.

Before the teacher endeavored to bring out the points to which she desired to direct the special attention of the class, the children were urged to make their own unaided observations and to express them. As each child was anxious to tell what he had observed in relation to the plant itself, what he otherwise knew of it, how it grew, where it grew, and perhaps some little incident which the flower recalled to him, the class was full of life and enthusiasm. A few minutes sufficed to bring the children to the point beyond which they could not proceed unaided. When this point was reached the teacher came to the rescue, and by careful questioning led the children to observe the particular things to which she had decided to call their attention that morning. Her questions were not put to individual children, but to the whole class, so that every question might serve to set every pupil observing and thinking. That they did observe and think was shown by the number of hands that were raised in answer to every question. In all, fifteen minutes were devoted to this lesson. When the science lesson was over, some of the children were called to the front of the room to read; and silent or busy work was assigned those remaining at their seats.

The book used during this reading-lesson was the book of nature—the plant they had just been studying. The scene presented by the happy little children each with a flower in his hand, surrounding the teacher who was smiling upon them, was truly beautiful. For reading-matter the children were called upon for sentences expressing thoughts concerning their flowers. The sentences were written upon the board by the teacher, and when a number of them had been written the pupils began to read them. The children were interested because they all took an active part in the lesson from the beginning to the end. They were all observing, all thinking, they all had some-

thing to say and were glad of an opportunity to tell what they had to say. The teacher was fully as enthusiastic as her pupils, and as much pleased as they when the children made a bright remark. That, in spite of her gentleness, she had them completely under her control was shown by the fact that they were more than willing to do anything she asked them to do.

How shocked some of our so-called disciplinarians would have been had they witnessed this lesson! The children were expected to talk and they had much to say, and their hands were ever in sight. Our disciplinarian calls the child orderly only when he has nothing to say, when he has no thoughts to express, and when his hands are nowhere in sight. The children's toes were not on the line, but were so arranged that they might be as near their teacher as possible. Some of the little ones even committed the crime of laying their hands upon the teacher, and she so far forgot herself as to fondle them in return. Yet the discipline was perfect. What is perfect discipline in the class-room but perfect attention? There was no noise, there were everywhere signs of life, and such signs of life as become a gathering of young children.

Meanwhile the pupils who had remained at their seats, though practically left to themselves, were far from idle. They had no time for idleness or mischief; they were too deeply absorbed in their work for that. They as well as the others were studying the book of nature, and these little six-year-olds and seven-year-olds were doing thoughtful work even without the aid of the teacher. They were not only reading from their flowers, they were painting them, writing little stories about them, utilizing them for number, form, and color work, and exercising their powers of observation and thought upon them; and, strange to say, every child was doing nearly all of these things at one and the same time.

How can these little pupils perform such miracles? There are no miracles involved. The teacher had simply given the children each a box of paints, a brush, and a flower, and had told them to paint the flower and write a story about it. That all these things resulted is shown by the illustrations on the next page, which represent the busy-work of various schools.¹

What has been described represents the work performed during

¹ The child is permitted to alternate between the use of letter cards and the pencil in forming his words, so that he may be relieved of the physical strain consequent upon writing.

the first twenty-five minutes of the morning session in the lowest primary grade. I regret that space will not permit me, in the present article, to enter further upon the detailed description of these charming schools. Enough, however, has been said to demonstrate the educational principle upon which they are conducted. The spirit that is



One butterfly
has four wings.
How many
wings have
two butterflies?

come again
buttercup
Where did you grow little flower



Ray Spill man

This is an apple leaf

This leaf does not look like the

geranium leaf

it is the shape of an egg



A pansy has five petals.

A tulip has three petals.

How many more has the pansy?

manifested in the room I have described is typical of the Indianapolis schools.

Although the work is rendered beautiful, the final results are certainly not below the level of those attained at the mechanical schools, the useful being by no means neglected. The differences in this re-

gard between schools such as those of Indianapolis and schools of a mechanical order are that in the former the children learn to think while memorizing facts, and that they are educated without being deprived of their happiness. Reading-books are used as well as the book of nature, but the teachers endeavor to use these books in such a manner that the child will receive the benefit of the thoughts expressed in them as well as an exercise in recognizing words. I attended a lesson when the children were reading from the book the story of the snail. The pupils became intensely interested during the lesson, and they became interested simply because the teacher had brought a living snail to school with her that morning in order to give the pupils an opportunity to follow its movements while reading about it. The attention was absolutely perfect. Phonics also are taught, but the phonic drill is kept apart from the reading-lesson.

In all the work throughout the schools, whether the subject be geography, history, language, or science, the thought is the main thing considered, purely mechanical cram-work when found being immediately stopped by the superintendents. In geography the moulding-board is ever in use, and occasionally, though not with sufficient frequency, geographical excursions are taken. The "busy-work" above illustrated is simple, because it represents the work of the first school-year, but the idea upon which it is founded is utilized in all the grades, and the development of the child's powers is thus at the same time beautifully demonstrated.

The vast difference between the schools of St. Louis and Indianapolis can, in large part, be accounted for by the difference in their methods of supervision. While in St. Louis practically nothing is done by the superintendents toward improving the minds of their teachers, at Indianapolis the education of the teachers is the all-important aim of the supervision. Indeed, the school system of Indianapolis represents a training-school of which the class-teachers are the students and the supervising officers the teachers. The exact nature of the work done by the superintendents of Indianapolis will be best described by quoting their own words from letters which they were kind enough to write to me in answer to definite inquiries upon this point. Mr. L. H. Jones, who has been superintendent of the schools of Indianapolis for eight years, writes as follows:

"My work of guidance is broadly divided into two parts: first, that done in clubs, teachers' meetings, grade meetings, etc.; and, secondly, that which is accomplished in conversation with individual teachers. The most important of

all is the principals' club. This meets every Tuesday evening during the school year, and the entire evening is devoted to the discussion of some phase of the science of education. I lead the discussion. We all find that the best thoughts evolved at the discussions soon unconsciously permeate the practice of all of us. Some of the most serviceable discussions have been upon such subjects as 'The Rights of the Child in School,' 'How to Treat Children,' 'How to Manage a School so that its Administration Shall of Itself Enforce Ethical Laws.' These have led to numerous sub-topics, and we have taken time to follow each into its minutest ramifications. Much of our inspiration and many helpful things have come from books. The club has read during the years since its organization, 'The Philosophy of Education,' by Rosenkranz, Froebel's 'Education of Man,' Harris' 'Educational Psychology,' Painter's 'History of Education,' Bain's 'Education as a Science,' and others. The whole system of school management for the city has been modified, tempered, and directed by the discussions of this club.

"Next, the monthly (Saturday) meetings of teachers have given me an opportunity to lecture upon these and similar topics. At these meetings, too, I have discussed the philosophy of instruction, and have talked at length upon the teaching of the various subjects of the course of study. At these meetings we have also frequently had lectures from prominent teachers of this and other States."

Miss N. Cropsey, the assistant superintendent, whose special work is to supervise the primary schools, writes:

"First, I try to keep in touch with the children and to make such tests as will give the facts upon which to base judgment of progress. I try to have as thorough a knowledge as possible of each school and each individual teacher. My noon hour and the time from 4.30 P.M. to 6 o'clock I spend talking with teachers individually. Secondly, I meet with the teachers for a philosophic study of the science of education and its application to our work. I have felt that teachers and superintendents should be learners, and have experienced what Dr. Arnold of Rugby felt to be a necessity—that his pupils should 'drink from a running stream rather than from a stagnant pool.' We have always had meetings of this kind since I have been engaged in this work. For the past six years I have met the teachers one afternoon of each week, to study for an hour (from 4.30 to 5.30) some great master in education. Two years were spent upon Froebel's 'Education of Man'; one year upon Rosmini's 'Method in Education'; one year upon Emerson's 'Nature Essays,' taking the whole series; part of one year upon the little book called 'Apperception,' by T. G. Rooper. This gives you some idea of the authors we have studied.

"Our method has been to read slowly and carefully, and to let no difficulty pass unchallenged, to bring to these profound thoughts our closest attention, feeling that we should get from them mental training of the severe kind.

"Thus we get our general view of education, which gives color to all we do in every school exercise. In our discussions we try to make an application to the subjects we teach and to determine what the environment of the child should be. Once a month we give Saturday forenoon to grade meetings. Some one of the school subjects is discussed. Sometimes we have a class of children present. I also call grade meetings after school during the week. Sometimes (not often) I have had a meeting during the forenoon. I have met one section of the

teachers at one of the schools. We have observed the work until recess, and after dismissing the children discussed it. We have found this very helpful. For grade work I meet the teachers in sections; for the study of psychology or the science of education, in much larger section, taking two or three grades together. These last-mentioned meetings are voluntary, but all teachers come.

"The teachers' meeting is by all means the greatest instrumentality for making progress. Teachers are not unwilling, as a rule, to attend meetings if something of value is to be done. When I first began this work we made much more of formal methods. I found that we fell into formal teaching and that we needed a broader view of the human being. It is easy to lay out formal lessons. It is not easy to give such training as shall make self-active, powerful, helpful, beautiful, happy human beings—what we call in our school law 'good citizens' in the best and true sense. I think the teachers are truly alive and working from the thought side. We know that we know very little about the science of education, but we are trying very hard to learn something."

Miss Cropsey has held her present position for six years, though she has been connected with the schools of Indianapolis for a very much longer period. Besides the superintendent and the supervisor of primary schools, there are nine supervising principals whose work partakes much of the same nature as the work of the critic-teachers of the normal school. They attend the lessons of the class-teachers, criticise them, and themselves frequently give model lessons which are freely discussed. Throughout the normal-school plan is retained. Each school also has a principal of its own, but the duties of the principals do not, I believe, extend beyond teaching a class of their own and exercising a general supervision over the building and the discipline of the school. As in other cities, there are special teachers. In all, there are some three hundred and fifty teachers.

In regard to the appointment of teachers, although the power of appointing them lies legally in the hands of the Board of Education, their selection has been left in the hands of the superintendent. *In no way have politics ever come into play in relation to the selection and discharge of teachers, nor have they interfered in any other way with the management of the schools.* The number of teachers appointed annually is about thirty-five. Of these some twenty are graduates of the Indianapolis normal school, the others being selected from the schools of other cities. The educators of Indianapolis entertain an exceptionally high regard for the services rendered by Miss Nicholson, the principal of the normal school.

So each in his own sphere endeavors, to the best of his ability, to contribute his share toward the advancement of the schools, and great credit is due Superintendent Jones for the firmness with which his

forces are combined and for the absolute harmony that prevails among them. To speak in detail of the philosophy of the work of the Indianapolis schools would require a volume upon the science of education. I shall, therefore, be able to do no more than touch upon the principles involved. The underlying principle is what is known in education as *the idea of unification*, which means the combination of the various branches of knowledge so that they may acquire more meaning by being seen in their relations to one another. An isolated fact is food for the memory alone, and it is only when this fact is seen in its relations to other facts that it becomes interesting, and the reasoning faculties are brought into play.

For example: spelling in itself is dry, mechanical, and uninteresting, and the same is true of penmanship. On the other hand, an amusing incident is full of life. Now, if spelling and penmanship can be brought in relation to this incident, they may be made to acquire enough meaning to become interesting in themselves to the child. A little boy is much amused before breakfast by seeing his cat jump over a stick. Soon after this occurrence he goes to school. The teacher instructs reading by the sentence-method. During the reading-lesson she calls upon the children for little stories, and she writes them upon the board as reading-matter. When our little boy tells his story, he says, "My cat kin jump." The teacher remarks, "My cat can jump," and writes this sentence upon the board. When the reading-lesson is over, each child is told to write his own story upon his slate. The little boy sets to work and draws the words of his story as he sees them on the board. He is happy to find that he has the ability to write a story about his cat, and he thinks school is a jolly place because it has something to do with his cat. He knows nothing of penmanship or spelling or language; he has nevertheless received instruction in no less than four subjects, namely, language, reading, writing, and spelling. At another school the picture of a cat would have been shown to the child, the word "cat" would have been written upon the blackboard, and he would have sung repeatedly, "c-a-t, cat; c-a-t, cat." After the reading-lesson he would have been sent to his seat to write upon his slate things entirely uninteresting to him, such as columns of figures or letters or words. He would have received instruction in spelling and penmanship, but he would have worked entirely without thought. The lessons would have been a bore to him, and he would have received the impression that school was a place which had nothing to do with the outside world.

Again, the color chart is dead; straight and curved lines are lifeless; the cube is a piece of wood with six sides. Give the child a paint-brush and a flower and tell him to paint the flower, then colors and geometrical forms become endowed with life. When our teacher told the child to paint the flower and to write a story about it, he set to work with enthusiasm upon no less than half a dozen subjects, each one of which served to render the others interesting. In the science-lesson that I have described the poem endowed the flower with life and the flower the poem with life, and poem and flower combined touched the æsthetic and sympathetic feelings of the child. In a



If a pansy has five petals
and one petal falls off
four petals will be left.
If a maple seed has two wings
how many wings have four
maple seeds?

similar manner geography renders history interesting, and history gives life to geography, and so on to the end of the list.

But unification in itself does not make a good school, because it is not the course of studies but the teacher that determines the character of the school. What unification does, however, is to give the teacher an opportunity to develop her powers. A mechanical curriculum exerts a pressure upon the teacher and does much to prevent her from rising. With the introduction of a philosophical course of studies this pressure is removed; but whether she will rise and how much she will rise will depend upon herself and upon the nature of the guidance she receives from others. The Indianapolis schools, though upon a rather high level, and, in my opinion, among our best, are not perfect. A perfect school means a perfect teacher, a teacher who possesses a beautiful character, education, culture, and great professional strength. The Indianapolis teacher is not perfect. Her spirit is beautiful, but her professional strength, though it compares favorably with the strength of the best of our teachers, is not yet great. The first steps toward the ideal have been made. The teacher works

thoughtfully and she has learned how to render instruction so interesting that the child will naturally attend. The ideal, however, consists not only in thus securing the attention of the child, but in utilizing the attention to the best possible advantage so that none of the energies of the child shall be wasted.

A thoroughly good lesson is a work of art. To witness one such affords as much genuine pleasure as a performance by a genius upon a musical instrument. In order that a lesson may be perfect a number of things must be observed. Some of these are, generally speaking—they are not always necessary—the following: first, the aim of the lessons must be clear and kept clearly in mind throughout the lesson, so that each question shall lead the child nearer to the desired end; secondly, there must be a proper development, the points must be well brought out, the essential must be distinguished from the non-essential; and, thirdly, the development must be followed by a drill so that the points which have been developed may become firmly fixed in the mind of the pupil. If a lesson fail in any of these points the energies of the child will not be utilized to the best advantage. Furthermore, the pupil must be led to compare and classify facts intelligently and to apply principles after they have been gained; in other words, the inductive and deductive processes must be applied in their proper places. The teacher plays upon far the most delicate instrument in existence—the human mind. To touch the proper chord with every question is a matter of great delicacy and difficulty. Simply to hear children recite lessons that they have learned from a text-book is the music of an organ-grinder.

In conducting a recitation the German school-master in my opinion stands preëminent. But even the best of school-masters seldom gives a lesson which is in every way satisfactory to himself. I have attended many lessons in Germany—and particularly in Jena, one of the world's centres of pedagogical thought—which were thoroughly planned, beautiful, interesting, but which were in spite of all considered failures because they were weak in one or more of the above-mentioned elements. This is instruction converted into a fine art. When our teachers combine the beautiful spirit of the Indianapolis teacher with the technique of the German school-master, America will have the best schools in the world. To exchange our spirit for the German's technique would, I think, be taking a backward step. We must not be content until we have both.

Considering education from the broader side, unification appears

to be the proper basis for a philosophical development of the mind. But here again perfection can be sought but never be reached. To unify to perfection is as difficult as to teach to perfection. To unify the proper studies, not to force and overdo unification, because unification in general is a good thing, are matters attended with insurmountable difficulties. And before perfection can be thought of a third point must be considered, namely, perfection in consecutiveness. To teach well is one thing, to unify properly another, and to prepare a course of studies in a manner which shall secure the gradual development of the powers of the child, which shall guard against covering the same ground over and over again and against skipping any links in the chain is a third. The educators of Indianapolis are working in the proper direction; they have already accomplished much and they will accomplish more. Everything will never be done, the ideal will never be reached.

J. M. RICE.

POLITICS AS A CAREER.

“Communities could not exist without foresight to discern as well as exertion to effectuate the measures requisite for their safety.”—*Aristotle's Politics, Book 1.*

To think of politics as a career leads instantly to the inquiry, What is politics in which and for which the chief occupation of a citizen is to be carried on? A precise definition, inclusive and exclusive, would be too long for this paper, even if it were possible to state one that should not be justly open to criticism. For the present purpose, the definition may be briefly stated thus: the science of governing, and the art of applying the principles of that science to the promotion of the equal security, safety, liberty under equal law, and the prosperity of the whole body of the people of a commonwealth. The National Government and the forty-four States present a vast and varied field for the study and practice of politics as a career; that is, provided the field can be entered and held and its triumphs and rewards can be counted upon with sufficient certainty to furnish a rational and adequate motive for devoting one's self to such a career in the same way as that of farming, trade, manufacture, art, architecture, law, medicine, etc., are respectively taken up as the business of life according to the inclinations and opportunities of different men.

A knowledge of political systems and of the substantial character and probable effect of laws ought to be universal in our country, where every citizen is in reality a lawmaker and where every citizen has a direct and responsible part in the choice of those who administer the laws. If this be true, it is certain that no one ought to be a voter, and much less a principal executive officer, who is not in a substantial degree possessed of such knowledge. Law and government directly affect the welfare of the whole mass of the people either actively or passively, and to put the power of making and administering laws into the hands of those ignorant of the nature, spirit, and effect of law is as absurd and at last more disastrous than to leave the blind to direct the paths of those who can see, or to put hospitals in charge of those who know nothing either of the nature of diseases or of rem-

edies. Other things being equal, those succeed best in all personal pursuits who best understand the end they desire to attain and the best means for its accomplishment. This is equally true of government, and far more important, for the success or failure of a single man in his life work is but a drop in the great stream of human affairs; but success or failure in government affects millions at once, and may promote or retard the good progress of a nation for a century. All these are self-evident truths, but like those stated in that greatest document of modern times, our Declaration of Independence, their actual application to affairs is very far from being complete or even general, though it is a glad thing to know that on the whole we draw nearer and nearer to them in our social and political progress.

Every one, therefore, ought to be a politician in the best sense of the term; but to be a politician in this sense is not the mere thing of entering upon politics as a career and calling of life. Every man who has a political career may be a politician, though many are not; but all men who are politicians cannot have any political career at all. There is no room for all, but only for the very smallest fraction of the great mass. Which among so many will be the fortunate or the unfortunate ones to be chosen legislators or executive officers is perhaps the most uncertain of human uncertainties. The careers of private life can in general be chosen and entered upon at will, and usually they look chiefly and rightly to the personal advantage and prosperity of the man himself and of his family; but the true and honest follower of a political career must look, not to personal gains and benefits, but to the general good of the vast brotherhood of men. His rewards, such as they are—and they are sometimes great and noble—should come, not as the sought-for and demanded price for service, but as the gratefully bestowed offerings of a benefited people. He who is actuated by other motives in his political life is likely either to develop into a first-class demagogue or to degenerate into a condition of pecuniary corruption, or both.

The Western hemisphere, with a single half-exception in the Dominion of Canada, has its governments based on written constitutions which in theory are the sovereign work and express the deliberate will of the majority of the whole people, and in which the art or the business or the trade of politics may be supposed to be equally open to all—either, as the case may be, as a duty, unselfish and untiring, for the common weal, or as a calling pursued for the private gain of the man or woman who undertakes it. The definition of politics

with which we began is evidently quite a mistaken one, or else there is in the wide and varied circumstances of the great families of nations a deep need of the pursuit of political knowledge, and the practice of politics by those who earnestly believe in the common rights of men, and in their capacity for knowing or being taught to know political good from political evil, and of learning how to do justice to others and to defend themselves from injustice.

But there are politics and politics, politicians and politicians, careers and careers. There is the politics of nihilism, and there is the nihilist politician, who makes his career that of looking to the murder of kings, princes, potentates, and rulers who, he thinks, or pretends to think, stand in the way of a reorganization of society by the destruction of all that exists and by the building of a new society of which or in which the slayer of rulers shall be chief. The anarchist has a political career always, and he outdoes even the nihilist in the tragedy of positive politics.

There is the politics of socialism. The socialistic politician is in general humane, and does not believe that the condition of society is to be ameliorated by murder and pillage. He has a theory of government that is beautiful in the abstract, as beautiful in the domain of sociology as perpetual motion is in the field of physical science. He has not worked out all his plans with the precision of Plato in his "Republic," but he thinks he sees how beneficent it would be if it only would work. He knows that human happiness—food, shelter, clothing, knowledge—can be had only by labor and virtue dealing with the gifts of earth and nature. But when he is asked, by others as sincere in their wishes for the good of men as he, to point out in what manner he would change the laws and their administration, he is quite unable to do so in any fundamental way. He may touch the surface of things, as sentimentalists have done, by proposing a universal eight-hour law, but he sees that the total production would be no more and the total health and education would be no more; and he and all his brethren would resist to the last extremity a law that should *compel* them either to work eight or any other number of hours, or *forbid* him or them working longer than eight hours either for others or themselves. If he turns, as many very practical politicians in other countries and sundry very practical and some very unpractical people in this country do, to the very potent panacea of "free trade" to help the condition of those who honestly and diligently strive and hope for better progress, he finds that if he can buy the

productions that he needs from other countries cheaper than from his neighbors, he also must sell the productions of his own labor and the labor itself, if it be in demand at all, at a cheaper rate; and that the gain, if any, that he has made in his purchases has been doubly outweighed by the losses on his side as a seller of labor and products.

Then there are the politicians who arrange combinations of workmen in most of the various occupations of labor—combinations very often necessary and praiseworthy as the means of opposing counter-power to the combinations of capitalists and employers; but when these combinations are once formed, they are often so misled that they fly in the very face of the principles of liberty for workmen upon which they were founded, by exerting unlawful and cruel violence to other workmen who wish to exercise their liberty of labor, if they attempt to perform the work from which a given combination of their fellows has withdrawn. Some of these workmen's societies, as can be seen in the very capital of this nation of liberty, are so tyrannically constituted and managed that some sons and daughters of their members find it absolutely impossible to learn the trades and follow the occupations of their fathers and mothers.

Then there are the politicians of race—not to go through with the whole list—whose political mission and career are to keep up and solidify distinctions of race and nationality among citizens of the United States of foreign birth and their descendants, by establishing and solidifying organizations necessarily political in their character, whether professedly so or not, and to bring their power to bear in that character upon the elections, law-making, and administration of this country, forgetting or not caring that when they became citizens of the United States they made *this* country, and no other, their own. Many such organizations might be fairly characterized, in a moral sense, as independent foreign political communities exerting their power upon the institutions of the country according as their reason or their prejudice or their ignorance may from time to time lead them to act. This has been sadly illustrated in connection with the recent Presidential election. We have seen that some gentlemen of high personal character and of large political fame have undertaken to affect the politics of this country and the election of its next President by issuing addresses to and instituting meetings for their fellow-citizens of foreign birth and trying to point out to their "German-American fellow-citizens," for instance, what should be their particular duty and interest as distinguished from those of other citizens of

the United States in respect of the choice of a President and the policy of our legislation, as if our so-called German-American fellow-citizens, or Irish, or French, or English, or whatever nationality, could have or ought to have any possible difference of duty, interests, or aspirations from the millions of those who have never been anything else than simply Americans.

He who takes up politics as the chief occupation of his life, as one takes up agriculture or manufacturing or any other calling, enters upon a career of much larger significance and much greater difficulty and responsibility than that of the politician that every citizen must and ought to be. The first duty of man is to provide by honest means for the maintenance of himself and his family, that is, if he have a family. Honest politics as a pursuit does not furnish such means except in the small class of administrative employments, and then only in a very meagre degree. In such cases, the end of the office-holder's career, either by death or the other casualties of place, very often leaves his family and himself stranded on an almost desert shore. The associations and employments of private life are gone, and the savings of the best economy are small if they exist at all. Uncertainty and dismay stare him in the face, and too often "in a whole city full, home he has none." If we turn to the wider field of elective and legislative politics, the same duty and the same necessity exist.

The patriotic citizen who applies himself to the study and practice of politics must have his worldly competence already assured, or he must starve, or be tempted to forget or disregard his patriotism—one of the essential elements of which is honesty—and pursue politics as a *trade*, from which personal and pecuniary gain is to be derived. In the first case, if the man with a competence becomes a politician, it is from the patriotic motive, pure and simple, of doing good to his fellow-men, without selfish ambition of his own; or he follows it from a desire to attain station and place of power; or his ultimate motive may be a blending of both of these. If he be the rare individual who pursues politics from the first-mentioned motive and aspires to nothing but to study and understand the institutions of his country and to make known his knowledge and the reason of it to his fellow-citizens, he is indeed a living beneficence; and the more of such politicians a country can possess, the better. They may not agree in respect to the ascertainment of their historical or practical facts; they may widely diverge in their conclusions in regard to the best policies to be pursued; yet they are none the less the most valuable part of a

political community. If places of authority and power are bestowed upon them by the selection of their fellow-citizens rather than by their own solicitations, such honors become decorations of greater value than the prizes of Grecian games or the boss-ships of States.

If the motive be, as has been and probably always will be generally the case, a compound one made up of patriotism and selfishness, the value of such a political career may be fairly measured by the proportion of the pure gold of patriotism and the alloy of self-seeking which the particular person may happen to contain in his character. If, as in that of Lincoln or Grant, the alloy of personal gratifications and advantages is of the smallest, the career becomes noble, not only in the achievement of personal aims, but in its lasting effects upon the commonwealth. If, like that of Cæsar or Napóleon, the elements of personal gratification and aggrandizement greatly preponderate, the career, however brilliant it may appear, is essentially ignoble, and in proportion to its success it brings a curse to the people that generations may not entirely efface. There are living examples, great and small the world over, illustrating the same law. We say law, because there is in the sphere of politics and affairs a reign of law as supreme and inexorable as in the field of nature and science, where the penalties are always imposed and where there are no weak executives to pardon and no corrupt officials to permit escapes.

If we descend still lower in the grade of motives and reach the class of politicians whose sole reason for devoting themselves to politics is to get gain for themselves either in money or power, and with whom measures proposed or adopted are mere pawns on the chess-board of affairs, to be played to catch the eyes or please the ears of the people, we find perhaps the most dangerous and injurious elements, short of nihilism and anarchism, in the structure of political society. The violators of specific law may be and generally are punished, but the corrupt and selfish demagogue is beyond the reach of codes and courts. Yesterday he was a Republican of Republicans; to-day he is a Democrat of Democrats, and failing to get what or all he wants under these names, to-morrow he is a Mugwump or a Prohibitionist or an Alliance man, etc.—all depending on how he thinks it most profitable to gamble in the market of politics.

As we have already said, every person, certainly in a republic, ought to be a politician in some way; but to pursue a career, as such, implies much more. Assuming, as may be safely done, that the great majority of young citizens are honest, the chances for them of a good

political career have many attractions; but if that career is to be exclusive of the private pursuit of some business or profession, it will be found difficult and disappointing. Indeed, only those of assured competence could enter it. And the best efforts of the wisest and ablest man among them may keep him a whole lifetime in the minority, and neither the good to his fellow-men he wished to accomplish nor the laurels he might justly think ought to rest on his head may ever be definitely attained. If he should happen to be so constituted and self-disciplined that in such a case he could still feel the joy of "Marcellus exiled" or of the Happy Warrior of Wordsworth, he would even then have his exceeding great reward. But if he were of the average stuff that men are made of, he would be likely at the end to feel that his career had been a failure, and look back upon it with regret, if not with bitterness. On the other hand, if he should succeed in impressing his ideas of policies and administrations upon his fellow-citizens, and become clothed by their free choice with the duties and responsibilities of legislative or administrative station, he would very likely find that the heaviest of his labors and the severest of his trials were now inseparably associated with the making and administration of those laws the principles of which he had shown to be so plain; for the just application of the clearest general principles of good government in specific detail to the complex and often antagonistic interests of society is a far more difficult and delicate work than the demonstration that certain ends ought to be attained for the best average good of the commonwealth. To accomplish these he must have strength, patience, persistence, and that "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control" that will enable him to pity and help the weakness of the timid, to be indifferent to the envy and jealousy of the many, and to bear without flinching the calumnies of unscrupulous foes. The world has not been wanting in such men, and its progress upward has been due mainly to them. But whether their own lives have been the happier for such labors, with such inevitable trials and exposures, may be greatly doubted. Comparisons and illustrations without end might be referred to, but they are needless.

In the century of our political existence there have been very few, if indeed any, instances of the pursuit of politics as a career otherwise than in the lowest and worst forms to which we have alluded. The politicians who have been most largely useful to the country and most often in public service have been men still engaged in one way or another in occupations common to their fellow-citizens, and they have

been called into public affairs by considerations far other than personal self-seeking. They came to possess and exercise power, not as professional experts looking for employment, but were called as the best representative exponents of the social and political views of the communities of which they were homogeneous parts. This is the essential idea of representative government. He is the best politician and will have the best political career whose every-day life and occupations are in contact and sympathy with those of his fellow-men. He accepts public employment and exercises public power as a duty, and it may be as a pleasure, when called to do it, and thus he is able in the changes and chances of political movements to leave them without regret and feel himself again happily at home in his former place among the people.

Inasmuch as we believe in the divine order that places the sum of human happiness within the reach of all men, and inasmuch as only the smallest proportion of the members of a political community can possibly be employed in carrying on a government, it would seem to follow that politics as a career cannot be looked to by young Americans as the best choice of occupation in life; and leaving aside considerations of individual happiness and the faculties, tastes, and ambitions that affect it, the very principle and structure of a republic would seem to be opposed to the idea of the profession of politics to be taken up and pursued as law, or medicine, or engineering are. A political class in a republic must always be in danger of becoming, or trying to become, the master and dictator of political movements—a Trust of Bossism and corruption, of which there is already an overabundance.

GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

WOMEN IN ENGLISH POLITICS.

FOREIGN students of English political and social history have often remarked upon our national habit of grafting new ideas upon the stem of old institutions. This tendency preserves, frequently, at the cost of logical completeness, the continuity of our social and political development. We have had no violent breaks into our past; we have spelt, as Mr. Lowell has said, revolution without the r, and changes of deep and far-reaching significance have been wrought quietly, step by step, causing hardly a ripple on the smooth outer surface of the busy life of the English people. Our institutions have shown, as Mr. Lecky has recently pointed out, the true characteristic quality—the power of adaptation to changed conditions and new utilities. Constantly changing, constantly growing, we have forgotten that

“ Our lives came to us from afar,
And what we have been
Makes us what we are.”

In no department of English social and political life has this tendency toward steady, quiet, unceasing growth, with its repugnance to revolutionary or catastrophic changes, been more conspicuous than in the recent development of the personal and proprietary independence of women and in the extending to them also of political privileges.

In a certain sense no doubt there is nothing new in a country with a past such as ours in the active participation of women in politics. Six hundred years ago abbesses, equally with male ecclesiastical dignitaries, were summoned to sit in Parliament; in later times the ownership of boroughs returning members of Parliament could devolve, and not infrequently did devolve, on ladies. The story is well known of the famous Anne, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, who on the restoration of Charles II. received a letter from the Secretary of State, recommending, with some urgency, a candidate for one of her boroughs. She replied, “I have been bullied by a usurper, I have been neglected by a court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man shan't stand.” But the most valuable historical evidence of the capacity of women for political affairs is to be found

in the names of the English queens. Mary, the wife of William III., is hardly to be counted, for though in name a queen regnant, her political influence was hardly more than that of a queen consort. But if we take the other four queens regnant, three of them, Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria, occupy the highest position on the roll-call of sovereigns who have been successful in building up the strength and glory of England, developing her power and resources at home and abroad in frugal domestic administration, and in subordinating private desires and inclinations to political duties. It is not a little remarkable that nearly every country that admits the right of a woman to succeed to the crown has had female sovereigns in the highest rank as patriotic statesmen and skilful administrators. The names of Isabella of Castile and Maria Theresa will rise at once to every lip; and it is even more notable that in India, where the general position of women is so degraded, many native states have been governed by able and devoted female sovereigns.

If we may adopt the language of the class-room, the high percentage of first classes and the small percentage of failures among women who have reigned appear to indicate in a pretty decisive manner that women have at any rate no natural incapacity to grasp the import of political affairs. The feudal and monarchical systems, founded on the aristocracy of rank, made a place, albeit a narrow one, for women in politics; whereas democracy and republicanism, founded so far on the aristocracy of sex, have shut them out. There is no place for a woman in political life in France or the United States at all comparable with that occupied by Queen Victoria of England. The true development of democracy is hostile to the privileges of both aristocracies; and the time is surely coming when neither rank nor sex shall decide from birth whether an individual is to belong to the rulers or the ruled, the masters or the servants. "*La carrière ouverte aux talents*," whether the talents be the possession of men or women; "the tools to them who can use them," whether the hands be masculine or feminine: in sayings such as these we have the popular embodiment of the true spirit of liberty, and those so-called liberals who resist all efforts toward the social and political emancipation of women are levellers who wish only to level down to themselves; they are false to the very essence of liberalism; they are apostates to the spirit in which the creed of their party is founded, that liberty is good and governments can be securely and justly founded only on the consent of the governed. In the struggle against the aristocracy of sex, we have

to fall back upon the examples afforded under the aristocracy of rank of the fitness of women for political responsibility. What is demanded by women now is, however, something very different from what was possessed by a few favored women then. We may compare the few women who, under the hereditary institution of this and other old countries, have occupied a high place in politics to the existence, under similar conditions in by-gone centuries, of a few women of very great learning and accomplishments while the mass of women could barely "write their names or so." The march of the democratic spirit has made, in the sphere of learning, what was once the privilege of the few the ordinary possession of the many; and in the same way political power, once reserved only for those women whose brows were weighted with the crown, is now claimed, and to some extent even enjoyed, by the women of the people.

Women in England have achieved some share of political power by doing political work. In proportion to the energy and the good spirit in which they do this work their power will grow. They have, of course, much to learn, and they are in process of learning how to work by working. Every political party in the United Kingdom has encouraged political organization among women. As long ago as 1879 Mr. Gladstone, speaking in Midlothian in anticipation of the general election of the following year, urged women to take an active part in electoral work. He addressed a meeting of women in the Foresters' Hall, Dalkeith, in November, 1879. In the course of his speech he said:

"When I look on the inscription which faces me in yonder gallery I see the words 'Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform.' All these words, ladies, are connected with the promotion of human happiness; and what some would call the desert of the world, and of the political world in particular, would be an arid desert indeed if we could not hope that our labors are addressed to the increase of human happiness. . . . Therefore I think that in appealing to you ungrudgingly to open your own feelings and bear your own part in a political crisis like this we are making no inappropriate demand, but are beseeching you to fulfil the duties which belong to you, which, so far from involving any departure from your character as women, are associated with the fulfilment of that character and the performance of those duties; the neglect of which would in future years be a source of pain and mortification, and the accomplishment of which would serve to gild your future years with sweet remembrances and to warrant you in hoping that each in your own place and sphere has raised your voice for justice, and has striven to mitigate the sorrows and misfortunes of mankind."

I shall have occasion presently to refer again to this characteristic utterance in order to contrast it with Mr. Gladstone's present attitude

toward the claim of women to political emancipation. I here cite it at some length in order to show the character of the appeals that have been made to women by party leaders to take an active part in political warfare. At that time there were no party organizations among women in England. There were and are organizations for obtaining the suffrage and for mitigating or repealing laws injurious to women; but up to this time no political party had thought of enlisting women in their ranks. I believe I am correct in saying that the first political party to do this in the United Kingdom was the Irish Nationalists, who when Mr. Gladstone suppressed the Land League in 1881 carried on their business, if I may use the expression, under the name of the Ladies' Land League. The Land League was suppressed by Mr. Gladstone's government on October 18, 1881. The Ladies' Land League had been founded by Mr. Davitt in the previous February, and consequently provided an organization capable of carrying on the agitation during the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell and the other parliamentary leaders. Sums of money amounting to seventy thousand pounds (three hundred and fifty thousand dollars) passed through the hands of the Ladies' Land League in the eight months or thereabouts of its political activity. When Mr. Parnell came out of prison in 1882 the Ladies' Land League was dissolved, and Mr. Parnell undertook the discharge of its liabilities. I imagine that it will hardly be denied that the Ladies' Land League was very little more than a colorable evasion of the decree for the suppression of the original league. Several ladies, notably Mr. Parnell's sister, took an active part in it; but if it had had a genuine independent existence as a real women's organization, there seems no reason why its founders should have dissolved it as soon as the parliamentary leaders of the party were released from prison.

The next, and in my judgment the first, political organization of women was undertaken by the Conservatives. The famous Primrose League was founded in honor of the memory of Lord Beaconsfield by Sir Henry Drummond Wolf, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Algernon Borthwick, Sir John First, and others in November, 1883. Its members are pledged to support the constitution, religion, and the empire. It was originally intended to admit men only, but the happy idea of enrolling "Dames" as well as "Knights" was soon adopted, and this organization has more than anything else set the example in England of political parties utilizing the political capacity and zeal of women. It is sometimes overlooked that the Primrose League is an associ-

ation of men and women, and the "Knights" are fully as numerous as the "Dames," although to the activity of the "Dames" a very large proportion of the success of the organization is due. It is also a mistake to suppose it to be an aristocratic institution; it comprises members of all ranks of society; it makes a special effort to bring different classes into friendly social contact, and with that end in view promotes a mixture of musical and other kinds of entertainment in its meetings for political instruction. It gives special badges of honor for conspicuous services rendered by its members, and the first of these was conferred on a woman in the west of England, who earned her own living by her daily toil.

The Primrose League rapidly spread to every part of the United Kingdom; beginning humbly in small premises near the Strand, it grew "by leaps and bounds." At one time its membership increased at the prodigious rate of one thousand a day; it now has over a million members. It occupies palatial offices in Victoria Street, and has control through the subscriptions of its members of very considerable funds. Its birth was hailed with ridicule, sarcasm, and scorn; but from the members of the party which it supports it now receives the respect which every powerful political organization can command. Conservatives who once laughed at it have long since ceased to laugh and have sent in their applications for "Habitations" to be founded in their own counties or boroughs. Conservatives who did not laugh, even when the league was comparatively small, congratulate themselves on the success which has attended it from the outset. The leaders of the party now often select the annual grand festival of the Primrose League as the occasion for their most important political speeches and declarations of policy. This year it was at the annual gathering of the Primrose League that the Marquis of Salisbury made the speech containing the famous sentence: "Parliament has the right to govern Ulster, but has not the right to sell her into slavery." If the league has commanded the respect of its own party, not less has it taken substantial tribute from the opposite party, first in torrents of contempt and anger, and secondly in arduous imitation of many of its more important features.

The election of 1885 resulted far less prosperously for the Liberal party than had been anticipated, and much of the ill success of the Liberal candidates was attributed to the wiles of the Primrose Dames. Sir Henry James was so incensed at the success attending the political efforts of "four hundred thousand most active and influential can-

vassers," that in a moment of expansion he threatened to bring in a bill on the subject, which could only have been effective if it had curtailed the right of English women to converse on political subjects with their neighbors; but it was pointed out at the time that a bill to require every voter to take an oath that he had never talked politics with a lady would be such a sweeping measure of disfranchisement that it would hardly have much chance of passing. Many charges of corruption, through gifts or threats, have been made against the Primrose Dames, but I believe that not one of them has ever been substantiated in a court of law or otherwise, although it would be a very good stroke of business from the point of view of the Liberal party to discredit the Primrose organization by bringing home any charges against its members. When challenged to do this the accusers invariably retreat into generalities, and say that their observations were not directed against any persons in particular. That this hesitation to substantiate vague charges is not due to generosity or chivalry of feeling may perhaps be assumed from the animosity with which the Dames "*en bloc*" are perpetually spoken of. One Liberal candidate, Sir Robert Peel, whom, however, I freely admit can hardly be regarded as a specimen of an English gentleman, wrote a letter in which he spoke of the ladies who had worked for his political opponent as "the filthy witches of the Primrose League." One feels that they must have worked with great efficiency or he would not have lost his temper so completely.

After abuse, the next tribute to success is imitation. The success of the Primrose League undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the formation of the Women's Liberal Federation under the presidency of Mrs. Gladstone in 1886. The Liberal Unionists were later in the field, the Women's Liberal Unionist organization not being founded till 1888. Neither of these organizations could probably have come into existence, or at any rate would not have received the support and countenance of men party leaders, but for the fact that the Conservative women were already organized by the Primrose League. The tone of many speakers at the opening meetings of both these associations was: "We should have preferred to keep you out of all political activity. Politics are not women's sphere, but as the leaders of the opposite party are encouraging women to work, we can't afford to do without you. It is a wrong thing for women to take part in politics, but we hope they will do so because it will be useful to our side." A more robust note was sounded by some speakers, but this

was the tone of the old-fashioned party, Liberal and Liberal Unionist. It was not very inspiring, and it is satisfactory to note that half a dozen years' experience of women's active work in politics has caused it to become very much a thing of the past.

We are no longer told that politics unsex women and are then invited to unsex ourselves in order to obtain ascendancy for a particular political party. If it were true that politics unsex women, all the party triumphs in the world would not be worth the sacrifice. I have sometimes appealed to women themselves on this subject and begged them to be on their guard, and if they find after a day's canvassing or many hours of writing in a committee-room that they recoil from the domestic repose of their homes, or feel that they take no pleasure in the love of their children or husbands, immediately to abandon political work. If I may venture for a moment on the egotism of autobiography, I can say that my own experience on this point is reassuring. When I am on a political expedition which takes me away from home, I simply count the minutes, like a child at school, till I shall return again. I have put a restraint on myself to conceal from my kind entertainers how desperately glad I am when my face is set homeward.

The experience of political agents and managers appears to be extremely favorable to the real value of the work that women can do at an election. In canvassing women are admitted on all hands to be very efficient; in tracing out voters their work in many constituencies at the last election was invaluable; while ladies who could speak on platforms were simply overwhelmed with invitations to do so. While I am on the subject of "unsexing" I may mention that the masculine woman, with a rasping voice and stuck-up collar and the nearest approach to male attire that convention admits, is not the woman who is run after by the election agent. His experience leads him infinitely to prefer the distinctively womanly woman; in looks, dress, and manners she must be a woman to her finger-tips. I overheard a working woman say of her mistress: "She! She ain't a woman—let alone a lady." This unsexed person, by the way, had very inspiring manners and was most correctly dressed in woman's clothes. It was her inside, not her outside, her heart, not her collar, that was wrong. But that sort of woman is not the sort of woman that is wanted in political work. Quick sympathy and tact, the power of gaining confidence and good-will, not intruding at a time when a visit may be troublesome, saying the right thing at the right moment, abstaining from

saying it at the wrong one—these are some of the qualities of the ideal canvasser, and it is here that the training and habits of the womanly woman are so useful.

During the election of June and July, 1892, more work was done by women of every party than ever had been done before in a political contest. They were stimulated to this activity by the great interest excited by the question of the relation of Ireland to Great Britain, and also by the stirring appeals addressed to women by all the principal party leaders: the Duke of Argyle, the Duke of Devonshire, and Mr. Chamberlain among the Liberal Unionists, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour among the Conservatives. Mr. Gladstone as leader of his own party gave every encouragement to political activity among women. The humbler organizers of the various parties were not slow to acknowledge in generous terms the value of women's political work. One lady reports to the Liberal Unionist Association: "Every man in my husband's committee acknowledged in the most frank and kindly way that the majority (more than the two hundred or three hundred that they had expected) was due to the efforts of the Ladies' Committee. 'You ladies are worth five hundred votes to us,' said one worker to me." In another constituency the agent of the successful candidate wrote after the election was over: "I thank the Ladies' Committee especially for their successful work, especially with the voters whose canvassing cards had been returned *doubtful* after the first canvass." In Cambridge one member of the Ladies' Committee did especially good work in persuading members of the University, who had votes for the borough, to give up part of their vacation in order to vote. In a seaside constituency a lady who had proved her friendly interest in seafaring men and boys by hundreds of actions of disinterested kindness when no election was in the air was a very effective canvasser. "Would you put to sea in a storm with a coxswain of thirty-three, no matter how good a seaman he had been in his time?" was one of her questions.

In the speeches made by the successful candidates and their friends at the declaration of the poll frequent acknowledgment was made of the very substantial degree in which the result was due to the zealous work of ladies. This was done among other places at Newcastle by Mr. John Morley and his friends on his re-election after taking office in August, 1892. The secretary of the Women's Liberal Federation writes to me that a large number of letters have been received by her from candidates, members, and agents acknowledging the great

assistance rendered by women workers. She also says: "Where there was no Women's Liberal Association the want was felt at the election; and many appeals have since been received that they may be started and so be in readiness for another election." The Vice-Chancellor of the Primrose League writes that "the elections of 1886 and 1892 clearly prove that women when properly instructed are able to give more useful service than men in tracing voters and finding out their opinions, and also in bringing men to the polls." He also dwells on the obvious economy of employing unpaid women rather than paid men to address circulars and so forth. That women are prepared to work for zeal rather than for money naturally endears them to the economical soul of the party organizers. "Numbers of candidates," he continues, "have realized that women make far better canvassers (in the legitimate sense of that word) than men. We had many instances of practical work done by ladies which proved that they surpass men in real self-sacrificing devotion to any cause they take up." He then proceeds to give examples. One is that of a lady who at a few minutes' notice, hearing that all other available speakers in a constituency where she was well known were engaged, hurriedly put a few things in a bag and went herself on a journey of several hours to speak and work among the voters. "The Unionist party won that election only by a few votes, and owe those votes perhaps to the energy and devotion of this lady." In another case a lady whose brother was lending eight carriages to take voters to the polls in a certain constituency went down to the stables to see them come out. Seven carriages came out, and she was told there was no coachman for the eighth. She immediately mounted the box and took the reins and drove about the constituency all day long, taking voters to the poll.

Real honest self-sacrificing work is being done in all parties by women, and with the work necessarily comes the power. If a woman's canvass is felt to be worth one hundred or five hundred votes, women can claim and no doubt will exercise a considerable influence on the candidate for whom they work. This was exemplified last April in the debate and decision on women's suffrage. A measure to confer the particular suffrage on women who have already received in Great Britain all the various local suffrages was brought forward by Sir Albert Rollit in the last session of the Parliament just expired. For several years the Liberal caucus and the Liberal wire-pullers have been literally antagonistic to women receiving the parliamentary suffrage. In anticipation of the division on Sir Albert Rollit's bill a

very strenuous effort was made to insure a crushing defeat for it. Extraordinary efforts were made against the bill, especially on the Liberal side of the House. Mr. Gladstone was induced to write a letter denouncing it. Whereas he had said in 1879 that for women to take part in electoral work was only a fulfilment of their duty to their character as women and "*would gild their future years with sweet remembrances*," he now said that he feared if women went quietly to a polling-place and dropped a ballot-paper into a box it would be inviting them to "trespass upon their delicacy, their purity, their refinement, their elevation of their own nature." The whip that was issued against women's suffrage was signed by Liberals who had repeatedly supported it by vote and speech, and in one instance by a gentleman (Sir E. J. Reed, member for Cardiff) who is a member of the general committee of a women's suffrage society.

But notwithstanding these remarkable tactics, the bulk of the Liberal party either remained true to the promises they had given to support women's suffrage or absented themselves from the division. The reason for this astonishing degree of fidelity, in face of the party pressure that was brought to bear on them, is, I believe, to be found in the stalwart attitude of the Women's Liberal Federation led by Lady Carlisle, Mrs. Phillips, and Mrs. McLester. The branches of the Federation poured in petitions to their members in favor of women's suffrage. The general election was near; all the candidates were hoping to secure zealous support from women, and they stood to their guns in surprising numbers in defiance of their leader and his *aides-de-camp*. During his debate Mr. Balfour, who supported the bill, pointed out the obvious inconsistency of encouraging women to do political work while maintaining that political work degraded women. He said: "We have been told that to encourage women to take an active part in politics is degrading to the sex. I should think myself grossly inconsistent and most ungrateful if I supported that agreement in this House, for I have myself taken the chair at Primrose League meetings and urged to the best of my ability the women of this country to take a share in politics. After that to come down to the House and say I have asked these women to do that which degrades them appears to me to be absurd. I understand there are other associations of the kind of which women are members, and I have heard of a Liberal Unionist Women's Association. There is also, I think, a Women's Liberal Federation. I dare say the learned member for Fife [Mr. Asquith, the present Home Secretary, who had

spoken against the bill] has taken part in its meetings." Mr. Asquith replied: "Never." It turned out that Mr. Asquith's exclamation was due to a lapse of memory—that he had taken part in a Women's Liberal Federation meeting in Kensington a few years before. Mr. Balfour's argument went home. To use the services of women in politics whenever they can profit by them, and to maintain at the same time that a share in the responsibility of framing the policy of the empire would be degrading to women, fully deserves the epithet, "cant," which Mr. Balfour bestowed upon it.

It is really certain that the members of the Liberal party who are most strenuously opposed to women's suffrage are beginning to see that their position is undermined by the political service which women are rendering to them. Their instinct is to try to curtail these services, at least the most publicly noticeable of them. And here I would like to point out a further inconsistency on the part of the Liberal party on the subject of women's suffrage. The public manifesto for the press and the platform speaks with one voice, the private circular with another. Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet against women's suffrage, published in April, urged in its opening paragraphs that the subject had not been sufficiently discussed. (It had been before the public as a Parliament subject for only twenty-five years.) "Cannot its promoters be content," wrote Mr. Gladstone, "with that continuance and extension of discussion which alone can adequately sift the true merits of their cause?" He then added that he made the suggestion in face of this coming general election, and said: "I doubt not . . . that the occasion might be made available for procuring an increase of attention to the subject, which I join with them [the advocates of women's suffrage] in earnestly desiring."

While the leader of the party was speaking this to the public, the agents and wire-pullers of the same party were privately giving very different advice. Instead of promoting discussion of women's suffrage they were exerting themselves to stifle it. Mr. Gladstone's letter advising increased discussion of the subject at the general election was dated April 11, 1892. On the 21st of April of the same year a circular marked "private and confidential" was issued from the head office of the Liberal party and sent to all Liberal candidates in the home counties. This circular advised the candidates not to allow ladies who were members of the Women's Liberal Federation to appear as speakers on the platform, on the ground that they might take advantage of such opportunities to advocate female suffrage. The

circular was signed by Mr. L. V. Harcourt (son of Sir William Harcourt, now Mr. Gladstone's Chancellor of the Exchequer) and by Mr. W. Allard. Tactics of this kind are certain to recoil on the heads of those who use them. They have already disgusted many men and women with the so-called "liberalism" of the Liberal leaders. Incidents like this are, however, ripples on the surface; they have no influence in disturbing the flow of the stream, which is set steadily in the direction of encouraging the political activity of women, and this in no trifling and *dilettante* fashion, but by means of serious and energetic work.

I have sometimes compared the encouragement now given women by all parties to undertake political work to that crisis in the struggle between the Northern and Southern States in America, when both sides armed their Negroes. When this was done, those who were looking on saw perhaps even more plainly than those engaged in the conflict that the death-blow of slavery had been struck. The women of England have had political arms put in their hands and are eagerly urged by the great political parties to use them. They are using them; and they will use them, not merely to promote the triumph of this or that party, but to secure their own emancipation.

MILLCENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

DIALECT IN LITERATURE.

"And the common people heard him gladly."

Of what shall be said herein of dialect, let it be understood the term dialect referred to is of that general breadth of meaning given it to-day, namely, any speech or vernacular outside the prescribed form of good English in its present state. The present state of the English is, of course, not any one of its prior states. So first let it be remarked that it is highly probable that what may have been the best of English once may now by some be counted as a weak, inconsequent *patois*, or dialect.

To be direct, it is the object of this article to show that dialect is not a thing to be despised in any event—that its origin is oftentimes of as royal caste as that of any speech. Listening back, from the standpoint of to-day, even to the divine singing of that old classic master to whom England's late Laureate refers as

"The first warbler, whose sweet breath
Preluded those melodious bursts that fill
The spacious times of great Elizabeth
With sounds that echo still";

or to whom Longfellow alludes, in his matchless sonnet, as

"The poet of the dawn, who wrote
The Canterbury Tales, and his old age
Made beautiful with song."

Chaucer's verse to us is *now* as veritably dialect as to that old time it *was* the chastest English; and even then his materials were essentially dialect when his song was at best pitch. Again, our present dialect, of most plebeian ancestry, may none the less prove worthy. Mark the recognition of its own personal merit in the great new dictionary, where what was, in our own remembrance, the most outlandish dialect, is now good, sound, official English.

Since Literature must embrace all naturally existing materials—physical, mental, and spiritual—we have no occasion to urge its ac-

ceptance of so-called dialect, for dialect is in Literature, and has been there since the beginning of all written thought and utterance. Strictly speaking, as well as paradoxically, all verbal expression is more or less dialectic however grammatical. While usage establishes grammar, it no less establishes so-called dialect. Therefore we may as rightfully refer to "so-called grammar."

It is not really a question of Literature's position toward dialect that we are called upon to consider, but rather how much of Literature's valuable time shall be taken up by this dialectic country cousin. This question Literature her gracious self most amiably answers by hugging to her breast voluminous tomes, from Chaucer on to Dickens, from Dickens on to Joel Chandler Harris. And this affectionate spirit on the part of Literature, in the main, we all most feelingly indorse.

Briefly summed, it would appear that dialect means something more than mere rude form of speech and action—that it must, in some righteous and substantial way, convey to us a positive force of soul, truth, dignity, beauty, grace, purity, and sweetness, that may even touch us to the tenderness of tears. Yes, dialect as certainly does all this as that speech and act refined may do it, and for the same reason: it is simply, purely natural and human.

Yet the Lettered and the Unlettered powers are at swords' points, and very old and bitter foemen, too, they are. As fairly as we can, then, let us look over the field of these contesting forces and note their diverse positions: First, the Lettered—they who have the full advantages of refined education, training, and association—are undoubtedly as wholly out of order among the Unlettered as the Unlettered are out of order in the exalted presence of the Lettered. Each faction may in like aversion ignore or snub the other; but a long-suffering Providence must bear with the society of both. There may be one vague virtue demonstrated by this feud: each division will be found unwaveringly loyal to its kind, and mutually they desire no interchange of sympathy whatever. Neither element will accept from the other any patronizing treatment; and, perhaps, the more especially does the Unlettered faction reject anything in vaguest likeness of this spirit. Of the two divisions, in graphic summary, one knows the very core and centre of refined civilization, and this only; the other knows the outlying wilds and suburbs of civilization, and this only. Whose therefore is the greater knowledge, and whose the just right of any whit of self-glorification?

A curious thing, indeed, is this factional pride, as made equally

manifest in both forces; in one, for instance, of the Unlettered forces. The average farmer, or countryman, knows, in reality, a far better and wider range of diction than he permits himself to use. He restricts and abridges the vocabulary of his speech, fundamentally for the reason that he fears offending his rural neighbors, to whom a choicer speech might suggest, on his part, an assumption—a spirit of conscious superiority, and thereby an implied reflection on their lack of intelligence and general worthiness. If there is any one text universally known and nurtured of the Unlettered masses of our common country, it is that which reads, "All men are created equal." Therefore it is a becoming thing when true gentility prefers to overlook some variations of the class, who, more from lack of cultivation than out of rude intent, sometimes almost compel a positive doubt of the nice veracity of the declaration, or at least a grief at the munificent liberality of the so-bequoted statement. The somewhat bewildering position of these conflicting forces leaves us nothing further to consider, but how to make the most and best of the situation so far as Literature may be hurt or helped thereby.

Equally with the perfect English, then, dialect should have full justice done it. Then always it is worthy, and in Literature is thus welcome. The writer of dialect should as reverently venture in its use as in his chastest English. His effort in the scholarly and elegant direction suffers no neglect—he is schooled in that, perhaps he may explain. Then let him be schooled in dialect before he sets up as an expounder of it—a teacher, forsooth a master! The real master must not only know each varying light and shade of dialect expression, but he must as minutely know the inner character of the people whose native tongue it is, else his product is simply a pretence—a wilful forgery, a rank abomination. Dialect has been and is thus insulted, vilified, and degraded now and continually; and through this outrage solely thousands of generous-minded readers have been turned against dialect who otherwise would have loved and blessed it in its real form of crude purity and unstrained sweetness—

"Honey dripping from the comb!"

Let no impious faddist, then, assume its just interpretation. He may know everything else in the world, but not dialect, nor dialectic people, for both of which he has supreme contempt, which same, be sure, is heartily returned. Such a "superior" personage may even go among these simple country people and abide indefinitely in the midst

of them, yet their more righteous contempt never for one instant permits them to be their real selves in his presence. In consequence, his most conscientious report of them, their ways, lives, and interests, is absolutely of no importance or value in the world. He never knew them, nor will he ever know them. They are not his kind of people, any more than he is their kind of man; and their disappointment grieves us more than his.

The master in Literature, as in any Art, is that "divinely gifted man" who does just obeisance to all living creatures, "both man and beast and bird." It is this master only who, as he writes, can sweep himself aside and leave his humble characters to do the thinking and the talking. This man it is who celebrates his performance—not himself. His work he celebrates because it is not his only, but because he feels it the conscientious reproduction of the life itself—as he has seen and known and felt it—a representation it is of God's own script, translated and transcribed by the worshipful mind and heart and hand of genius. This virtue in all art is impartially demanded, and genius only can fully answer the demand in any art for which we claim perfection. The painter has his expression of it, with no slighting of the dialectic element; so, too, the sculptor, the musician, and the list entire. In the line of Literature and literary material, an illustration of the nice meaning and distinction of dialectic art will be found in Charles Dudley Warner's comment of George Cable's work, as far back as 1883, referring to the author's own rendition of it from the platform. Mr. Warner says:

"While the author was unfolding to his audience a life and society unfamiliar to them and entrancing them with pictures, the reality of which none doubted and the spell of which none cared to escape, it occurred to me that here was the solution of all the pother we have recently got into about the realistic and the ideal schools in fiction. In 'Posson Jone,' an awkward camp-meeting country preacher is the victim of a vulgar confidence game; the scenes are the street, a drinking-place, a gambling-saloon, a bull-ring, and a calaboose; there is not a 'respectable' character in it. Where shall we look for a more faithful picture of low life? Where shall we find another so vividly set forth in all its sordid details? And yet see how art steps in, with the wand of genius, to make literature! Over the whole the author has cast an ideal light; over a picture that, in the hands of a bungling realist, would have been repellent he has thrown the idealizing grace that makes it one of the most charming sketches in the world. Here is nature, as nature only ought to be in literature, elevated but never departed from."

So we find dialect, as a branch of Literature, worthy of the high attention and employment of the greatest master in letters—not the merest mountebank. Turn to Dickens, in innumerable passages of

pathos: the death of poor Jo, or that of the "Cheap John's" little daughter in her father's arms, on the footboard of his peddling-cart before the jeering of the vulgar mob; smile moistly, too, at Mr. Slearly's odd philosophies; or at the trials of Sissy Jupe; or lift and tower with indignation, giving ear to Stephen Blackpool and the stainless nobility of his cloyed utterances.

The crudeness or the homeliness of the dialectic element does not argue its unfitness any way. Some readers seem to think so; but they are wrong, and very gravely wrong. Our own brief history as a nation, and our finding and founding and maintaining of it, left our forefathers little time indeed for the delicate cultivation of the arts and graces of refined and scholarly attainments. And there is little wonder, and great blamelessness on their part, if they lapsed in point of high mental accomplishments, seeing their attention was so absorbed by propositions looking toward the protection of their rude farm-homes, their meagre harvests, and their half-stabled cattle from the dread invasion of the Indian. Then, too, they had their mothers and their wives and little ones to protect, to clothe, to feed, and to die for, in this awful line of duty, as hundreds upon hundreds did. These sad facts are here accented and detailed not so much for the sake of being tedious as to more clearly indicate why it was that many of the truly heroic ancestry of "our best people" grew unquestionably dialect of caste—not alone in speech, but in every mental trait and personal address. It is a grievous fact for us to confront, but many of them wore apparel of the commonest, talked loudly, and doubtless said "thisaway" and "thataway," and "Whatchy' doin' of?" and "Whur y' goin' at?"—using dialect even in their prayers to Him who, in His gentle mercy, listened and was pleased; and who listens verily unto this hour to all like prayers, yet pleased; yea, haply listens even to the refined rhetorical petitions of those who are not pleased.

There is something more at fault than the language when we turn from or flinch at it; and, as has been intimated, the wretched fault may be skulkingly hidden away in the ambush of ostensible dialect—that type of dialect so copiously produced by its sole manufacturers, who, utterly stark and bare of any vaguest idea of country life or country people, at once assume that all their "gifted pens" have to do is to stupidly misspell every word; vulgarly mistreat and besloven every theme, however sacred; maim, cripple, and disfigure language never in the vocabulary of the countryman—then smuggle these monstrosities of either rhyme or prose somehow into the public print that

is to innocently smear them broadcast all over the face of the country they insult.

How different the mind and method of the true interpreter. As this phrase goes down the man himself arises—the type perfect—Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston, who wrote “The Dukesborough Tales”—an accomplished classic scholar and teacher, yet no less an accomplished master and lover of his native dialect of middle Georgia. He, like Dickens, permits his rustic characters to think, talk, act and live, just as nature designed them. He does not make the pitiable error of either patronizing or making fun of them. He knows them and he loves them; and they know and love him in return. Recalling Colonel Johnston’s dialectic sketches, with his own presentation of them from the platform, the writer notes a fact that seems singularly to obtain among all true dialect writers, namely, that they are also endowed with native histrionic capabilities. Hear, as well as read, Twain, Cable, Johnston, Page, Smith, and all the list, with barely an exception.

Did space permit, no better illustration of true dialect sketch and characterization might here be offered than Colonel Johnston’s simple story of “Mr. Absalom Billingslea,” or the short and simple annals of his like quaint contemporaries, “Mr. Bill Williams” and “Mr. Jonas Lively.” The scene is the country and the very little country town, with landscape, atmosphere, simplicity, circumstance—all surroundings and conditions—veritable—everything rural and dialectic, no less than the simple, primitive, common, wholesome-hearted men and women who so naturally live and have their blessed being in his stories, just as in the life itself. This is the manifest work of the true dialect writer and expounder. In every detail, the most minute, such work reveals the master-hand and heart of the humanitarian as well as artist—the two are indissolubly fused—and the result of such just treatment of whatever lowly themes or characters we can but love and loyally approve with all our human hearts. Such masters necessarily are rare, and such ripe perfecting as is here attained may be in part the mellowing result of age and long observation, though it can but be based upon the wisest, purest spirit of the man as well as artist.

In no less excellence should the work of Joel Chandler Harris be regarded: His touch alike is ever reverential. He has gathered up the bruised and broken voices and the legends of the slave, and from his child-heart he has affectionately yielded them to us in all their eerie beauty and wild loveliness. Through them we are made to glorify the helpless and the weak and to revel in their victories.

But, better, we are taught that even in barbaric breasts there dwells inherently the sense of right above wrong—equity above law—and the One Unerring Righteousness Eternal. With equal truth and strength, too, Mr. Harris has treated the dialectic elements of the interior Georgia country—the wilds and fastnesses of the “Moonshiners.” His tale of “Teague Poteet,” of some years ago, was contemporaneous with the list of striking mountain stories from that strong and highly gifted Tennessean, Miss Murfree, or “Charles Egbert Craddock.” In the dialectic spirit her stories charm and hold us. Always there is strangely mingled, but most naturally, the gentle nature cropping out amid the most desperate and stoical: the night scene in the isolated mountain cabin, guarded ever without and within from any chance down-swooping of the minions of the red-eyed law; the great man-group of gentle giants, with rifles never out of arm’s-reach, in tender rivalry ranged admiringly around the crowing, wakeful little boy-baby; the return, at last, of the belated mistress of the house—the sister, to whom all do great, awkward reverence. Jealously snatching up the babe and kissing it, she querulously demands why he has not long ago been put to bed. “He ’lowed he wouldn’t go,” is the reply. Thomas Nelson Page, of Virginia, who wrote “Meh Lady”—a positive classic in the Negro dialect: his work is veritable—strong and pure and sweet; and as an oral reader of it the doubly gifted author, in voice and cadence, natural utterance, every possible effect of speech and tone, is doubtless without rival anywhere.

Many more, indeed, than may be mentioned now there are of these real benefactors and preservers of the wayside characters, times, and customs of our ever-shifting history. Needless is it to speak here of the earlier of our workers in the dialectic line—of James Russell Lowell’s New England “Hosea Bigelow,” Dr. Eggleston’s “Hoosier School-Master,” or the very rare and quaint, bright prattle of “Helen’s Babies.” In connection with this last let us very seriously inquire what this real child has done that Literature should so persistently refuse to give him an abiding welcome? Since for ages this question seems to have been left unasked, it may be timely now to propound it. Why not the real child in Literature? The real child is good enough (we all know he is bad enough) to command our admiring attention and most lively interest in real life, and just as we find him “in the raw.” Then why do we deny him any righteous place of recognition in our Literature? From the immemorial advent of our dear old Mother Goose, Literature has been especially catering to the juvenile

needs and desires, and yet steadfastly overlooking, all the time, the very principles upon which Nature herself founds and presents this lawless little brood of hers—the children. It is not the children who are out of order; it is Literature. And not only is Literature out of order, but she is presumptuous; she is impudent. She takes Nature's children and revises and corrects them till "their own mother doesn't know them." This is literal fact. So, very many of us are coming to inquire, as we've a right, why is the real child excluded from a just hearing in the world of letters as he has in the world of fact? For instance, what has the lovely little ragamuffin ever done of sufficient guilt to eternally consign him to the monstrous penalty of speaking most accurate grammar all the literary hours of the days of the years of his otherwise natural life?

" Oh, mother, may I go to school
With brother Charles to-day?
The air is very fine and cool;
Oh, mother, say I may!"

Is this a real boy that would make such a request, and is it the real language he would use? No, we are glad to say that it is not. Simply it is a libel, in every particular, on any boy, however fondly and exactingly trained by parents however zealous for his over-decorous future. Better, indeed, the dubious sentiment of the most trivial nursery jingle, since the latter at least maintains the lawless though wholesome spirit of the child-genuine.

" Hinx! Minx! The old witch winks—
The fat begins to fry;
There's nobody home but Jumping Joan,
Father and mother and I!"

Though even here the impious poet leaves the scar of grammatical knowledge upon childhood's native diction; and so the helpless little fellow is again misrepresented, and his character, to all intents and purposes, is assaulted and maligned outrageously thereby.

Now, in all seriousness, this situation ought not to be permitted to exist, though to change it seems an almost insurmountable task. The general public, very probably, is not aware of the real gravity of the position of the case as even unto this day it exists. Let the public try, then, to contribute the real child to the so-called Child Literature of its country, and have its real child returned, as promptly as it dare show its little tousled head in the presence of that scholarly and dig-

nified institution. Then ask why your real child has been spanked back home again, and the wise mentors there will virtually tell you that Child Literature wants no real children in it, that the real child's example of defective grammar and lack of elegant deportment would furnish to its little patrician patrons suggestions very hurtful indeed to their higher morals, tendencies, and ambitions. Then, although the general public couldn't for the life of it see why or how, and might even be reminded that it was just such a rowdying child itself, and that its father—the Father of his Country—was just such a child, that Abraham Lincoln was just such a lovable, lawless child, and yet was blessed and chosen in the end for the highest service man may ever render unto man—all—all this argument would avail not in the least, since the elegantly minded purveyors of Child Literature cannot possibly tolerate the presence of any but the refined children—the very proper children—the studiously thoughtful, poetic children—and these must be kept safe from the contaminating touch of our rough-and-tumble little fellows in “hodden gray,” with frowzly heads, begrimed but laughing faces, and such awful, awful vulgarities of naturalness, and crimes of simplicity, and brazen faith and trust, and love of life and everybody in it. All other real people are getting into Literature; and without some real children along will they not soon be getting lonesome, too?

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

HOW SHOULD A CITY CARE FOR ITS POOR?¹

HAVE we in the American cities any clear principles of poor-relief? We have very large appropriations, great devotion on the part of many citizens, and in many departments of charity expert knowledge and experience quite as trustworthy as any in the world; but certainly we have no generally accepted doctrine as to the proper nature of a thoroughly guarded and sufficient municipal system. On the one hand, we have inherited many of the traditions of the English Poor-Law. We have in many cities a complete and often admirable series of city institutions, and we are inclined to leave city charity to this official care. We, like the English, distrust "out-door" relief; we apply the "poor-house test." If a person is not willing to go to a city institution, then, we argue, he is probably not poor enough to need city help. By this self-acting test we defend the community from the pauper, and the great body of our citizens seem to themselves to fulfil their duty to the poor by tolerating heavy taxation for expensive city institutions. On the other hand, and as if confessing the inadequacy of institutional and mechanical tests, we have introduced in many cities quite another plan—more personal, sympathetic, individualized. This is the plan of our Associated-Charities System. It reproduces some of the features of the so-called Elberfeld scheme, devised in that town in 1853 and now accepted in Germany as the only scientific type of municipal charity.

Between these two systems of poor-relief, however, there is a great

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CONTRIBUTED BY THE SOCIOLOGICAL GROUP.

CHARLES W. SHIELDS.	SETH LOW.	FRANCIS G. PEABODY.
HENRY C. POTTER.	RICHARD T. ELY.	WILLIAM F. SLOCUM, JR.
THEODORE T. MUNGER.	HUGH MILLER THOMPSON.	EDWARD J. PHELPS.
WM. CHAUNCY LANGDON.	CHARLES A. BRIGGS.	WILLIAM M. SLOANE.
SAMUEL W. DIKE.	WASHINGTON GLADDEN.	CHAS. DUDLEY WARNER.

It is understood that each writer has had the benefit of suggestions from the Group, but is himself alone responsible for opinions expressed in a paper to which his name is subscribed.

gulf fixed. They start from opposite points of view and proceed on opposite principles. The English test of poverty is the willingness of the pauper to go to the poor-house; the German test is that of personal and continual investigation in each case. The English plan, roughly speaking, is for the town to do as little for the poor outside of its institutions as is safe for the community; the German plan is to do as much as is safe. English citizens are accustomed to let the Poor-Law run itself; German citizens are trained to be its agents. Thus the one plan, completely carried out, would be wholly official and mechanical; the other would be wholly personal and human. The one is defensive of the community; the other is educative of the community. The one opposes out-door relief; the other consists almost wholly of out-door relief. The one frees citizens at large from obligation to the poor, except through taxation; the other calls on citizens at large to serve the poor as a part of their duty to society. We stand, for the present, between these two principles. On the one hand, the official work of our cities is done for the most part under the English tradition; on the other hand, our private charity is guided more and more by the Elberfeld model. Which way are we likely to move? Which tradition is likely to prevail? That is the question I wish to raise.

The English theory of the defensive test seems to be, on the whole, gaining ground among us. Certainly it is much the easier to follow and enforce. Under some conditions it is probably the only practicable system. There are, indeed, at this moment few towns in America where the great mass of respectable citizens have any notion of such a relation to charity as the German plan demands. Yet, on the other hand, the German theory, wherever it is practicable, is, I think, demonstrably a better theory—better for the poor and better for the rich. It is more consistent with right-minded citizenship, not to say with Christian feeling. It has had of late in Germany very general extension and in many places a degree of success quite unknown under the English Poor-Law. Some of its features are familiar to us, but its most important characteristic has not yet been realized in any American town. I hope, therefore, that it may contribute a little to the question of poor-relief in America if I describe as precisely as I can the way in which a German city deals with its poor, and consider the possible application of such a plan to the case of an American city.

The Elberfeld System is now practically working in at least thirty-

six German towns, including most of the principal cities of the country (Elberfeld, 1853; Barmen, 1862; Bremen, 1878; Königsberg, 1878; Dresden, 1880; Leipzig, 1881; Frankfurt, 1883; Berlin, with some variations in plan, 1884; Stuttgart, 1886; Hamburg, 1891), and varying in population from Berlin with 1,579,244 inhabitants in 1890 to Ruhrort with 11,099. Ten of the thirty-two towns whose reports I have examined had in 1885 more than one hundred thousand inhabitants; four had between one hundred thousand and fifty thousand; thirteen between fifty thousand and twenty thousand; and seven less than twenty thousand. Thus the system, if not equally applicable in theory to large and small places, is at least practically accepted in Germany as the only way in which any town, large or small, can hope to deal thoroughly with its question of poor-relief.

In this great diversity of population and social conditions many differences occur, and a complete picture of the German system becomes extremely difficult to make. I select, therefore, for description the case of a single city, of moderate size, perhaps the best administered of the list, and resorted to in the year 1890 by experts in poor-relief from half a dozen different countries as a model for their study. It is also instructive as being at the centre of one of the most populous as well as one of the poorest regions of Europe. If the whole population of Saxony be divided into four classes, according to income, we have in 1890, according to Dr. Böhmert, the head of the Saxon Bureau of Statistics, the following almost incredible result:

1. Income less than	\$200	76.33 per cent
2. " between	200 and \$825	20.94 "
3. " "	825 and 2,400	2.24 "
4. " more than	2,40049 "

Ninety-six per cent of the inhabitants of Saxony, that is to say, live on less than eight hundred and twenty-five dollars a year; and, it should be added, are on the whole among the most cheerful, light-hearted, and healthy people in Germany. The burden of taxation falls on the small minority who may be called prosperous; classes 1 and 2, ninety-six per cent, paying thirty-eight per cent of the taxes, and classes 3 and 4, four per cent, paying sixty-one per cent. I have already described the general local government of the capital city of this region, and I venture to refer to that sketch as introductory to the present paper.¹

¹ The FORUM, March, 1892: "A Case of Good City Government."

Dresden in 1825 was a city of but fifty thousand inhabitants; in 1834 there were sixty-six thousand; in 1867 one hundred and fifty-six thousand; and in 1880 two hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and eighteen. This rapid growth brought with it a large increase of poverty, and the poor-relief of Dresden was at the time so loosely administered that vagrants flocked from all Germany to share in the Saxon hospitality. In 1867 there were ten hundred and seventy receivers of direct alms from the city; in 1877 there were fifteen hundred and eighty-three; in 1867 the city spent in almsgiving sixteen thousand dollars; in 1877 thirty-eight thousand dollars; in 1867 each pauper thus assisted received fifteen dollars; in 1877 twenty-three dollars. A serious overhauling of the method of the poor-relief became necessary.

The general law regulating residence was of the Empire and was applicable to all German cities; the Kingdom of Saxony had its own Poor-Law (*Armenordnung*, October 22, 1840) and its law for the government of cities (*Revidierte Städteordnung*). In accordance with this general legislation the new local poor-law for Dresden on the Elberfeld plan was passed September 23, 1879, received the consent of the Minister of the Interior and went into effect April 1, 1880. Under this law the poor-relief of the city is primarily administered, not, as with us, by a board of Overseers of the Poor, elected for short terms, but by a single salaried official, who has a seat and vote in the Board of Aldermen and who is elected for a term of three years, with the practical assurance of re-election and of a life-career in office if his work is well done. This superintendent of poor-relief is thus a trained expert with a professional ambition. He is elected to be Alderman in a city like Dresden because he has had experience and success in the city government of some smaller town; he is chosen with a view to his service in the special department of poor-relief, and on his retirement after long and successful service he receives a pension.

While, however, this superintendent practically administers the city charity, there is joined with him a central committee representing the various interests involved. This committee is made up of fifteen members, as follows: the salaried Alderman above described as chairman, three members of the Board of Aldermen serving without pay and presumably serving for long terms, four members of the City Council elected for three years, but as a rule re-elected, and seven other citizens elected for three years. Thus while the expert knowl-

edge of the chairman has great weight in decisions, it is sometimes more than balanced by the votes of persons elected directly by the people for reasonably short terms. The committee thus composed represent our Overseers of the Poor, radically differing from that body, however, by having the expert superintendent at their head instead of at their feet. With us, the real administrator of a city department—superintendent of schools, or streets, or charity—is an employee, likely to be discharged for political reasons and subject to various higher boards of a temporary nature. In Germany such responsible administrators are elected, as bank-presidents or railway-presidents are with us, to permanent places and real leadership; and committees like the Overseers of the Poor are a board of directors for conference and counsel, with their president at their head. Under the direction of this central committee, thus constituted, comes the part of the Elberfeld System which has now become familiar in America through our associated-charity work—the enrollment of a large body of unpaid visitors, each limiting his service to a few cases and reporting to what we should call a “ward-conference,” which in its turn refers important questions back to the central board.

So far as concerns this part of the system, only two points of difference are to be here observed between the German and the American plans. First, it is noticeable that while in America the great proportion of such visitors are women, in Germany they are exclusively men, the Germans being as yet far from the American view of capacity of women for administration or even for discretion. Certainly in this point we have no lesson to learn of foreigners, and it seems strange to us that a system of the kind can have had any success where charity-visiting has seemed an unfeminine vocation. The second point of difference is more instructive. Cases of need in a German town are assigned, not, as with us, by the selecting of visitors, but by the districting of the town. Each city is ruled off into a large number of very small squares, and for the condition of each such square a single visitor, usually a resident in the near neighborhood, is responsible. If his little block comes to contain more cases of poverty than the number assigned as his limit (five in Dresden, four in Elberfeld), then it is divided and a new visitor enlisted. Thus in the year 1890 Dresden was districted into four hundred and thirty-eight such little squares, each regulated by a poor-relief visitor. This division by space instead of by case is, it must be admitted, much more natural in a German city where, by the custom of the country, the poor

are scattered through the whole town and live for the most part in the cellars and attics of large houses. In every district of Dresden there are some persons of reasonable prosperity and some cases of poverty. There is, fortunately for the town, no region entirely occupied by the very rich, and there is no quarter which can be occupied with what we call city slums.

The system by space, though much harder to administer in America, is, however, the only thorough system. Cases may be ever so freely assigned, and yet other cases, just as needy, may be left uncared for in the same street. The only positive and aggressive way to patrol a whole city is to make a certain sentinel responsible for all that lies within a certain beat, and to make the beat so small that he can easily cover the whole of it. This second point of difference is as much to the advantage of Germany as the first is to her disadvantage. These scattered visitors, each supervising his little square, are, first of all, united in small "ward-conferences" (*Pflegevereinen*). Of these there are forty-three in Dresden, numbering from six to fourteen members each and meeting once a fortnight. The chairman of each conference is the intermediary between it and the central committee, and the forty-three conference representatives are from time to time called to confer with the central board on the more general questions involved in their work. The chairman of each ward-conference, moreover, has affixed to his house or shop a conspicuous placard bearing his title, and each case needing relief within the district applies first to him. By him the case is referred to the appropriate visitor, who may relieve immediate necessity by food or fuel pending the action of his conference and of the central board.

Thus far the Elberfeld System has become in large degree Americanized. The doctrine of the individualizing of aid and of the continuous care of cases has become, under the Associated-Charities System, beyond debate an essential to a well-conducted city. There now remains, however, one other conspicuous feature of the German method of which we have in America hardly a trace. It is the relation between charity-work and citizenship. The Associated-Charities System waits for visitors to volunteer, takes what material comes to it, is always lacking in competent assistants, and—as its friends frankly admit and lament—cannot even with the best intentions and machinery adequately cover the region where it works. The Elberfeld System in Germany, on the other hand, is a universal compulsory municipal system. It does not depend on the voluntary emotions of the chari-

table. It directly calls into service the most competent citizens of each town. It recruits its army of charity-workers just as it does its army of fighting men—by actual draft and selection. It honors citizens with this responsibility for the care of the poor; it covers every square yard of the city with its supervision, so that it can be confidently said that no case of great need, unless it hides itself, will escape visitation or need lack temporary relief. Poor-visitors in Germany are city officers, elected by the two chambers of the city government in joint session, just as some of our cities choose a park-commission or a water-board or the trustees of a public library.

The city government does not hesitate to call on the most responsible and trustworthy men of the town. I have found such persons of importance practically serving as visitors in each town where I have studied the system. Thus in Halle I may name Professor Conrad, one of the principal political economists of Germany, and Professor Loofs, the New Testament theologian; in Cassel Dr. Krummacher, son of the distinguished preacher and the head of a high school for girls; in Dresden, Professor Böhmert, Director of the Bureau of Statistics in Saxony and well known to American students both as an economist and a philanthropist. It is as if in Boston persons like President Walker, of the Institute of Technology, and Dean Huntington, of Boston University, and the Head Master of the Girls' High School, and the Rector of Trinity Church should be chosen to visit five families each in certain small districts of the city, and should regard it as a part of their duty as citizens to fulfil their terms of service in the ranks of this friendly army.

All social interests and connections are represented in the list of visitors. Thus in 1890 there were in the Dresden staff the following classes: three physicians, three apothecaries, ten architects and builders, thirty-four clerks, eighteen manufacturers, seventeen clergymen, one hundred and seventy-five tradesmen, two engineers, eighty-one business men, two artists, forty-nine teachers, three district judges, two retired officers, thirty-two private citizens three professors, and the meagre quota of three lawyers. These visitors are initiated into office with various degrees of honor in various towns. In Dresden the unity lies in the ward-conference, and only the chairman of that conference deals directly with the central committee of control. In Elberfeld a better rule prevails. All the newly-elected visitors meet the central committee at the beginning of the year, are addressed in terms of fraternal compliment by the head of the

department, and are finally given his right hand in testimony of their new office. Thus in 1872 the chairman's words of welcome began and closed as follows:

"I have invited you, gentlemen, to our extra session to-day to induct you into the office to which you have been elected and to accept the pledges from you which the rules of our poor-relief require. Let me first speak to you of the meaning of your service, which, as your instructions point out, is among the most serious duties of a citizen and demands for its fulfilment active love of one's neighbor and an earnest sense of justice. You must listen with friendly sympathy to the appeals of the poor, checking with care undeserving attempts, scrupulously distributing the necessary aid, and preventing idleness and vice from being supported and propagated. Each demand for help will come, first of all, to you. . . . Accept your office, then, with this intention. It offers you many opportunities to contribute to the amelioration of our social troubles. Make it your first duty to hold to the letter of your instructions, within whose limits you have a broad field for your active sympathy. You have declared your acceptance of the office of visitors and propose to do its duties faithfully. In token of this determination I offer you now this right hand of welcome."

The printed "instructions" referred to in this serious exhortation give full information to each visitor as to his proceeding in each case, and they further emphasize especially the friendly side of the visitors' duty:

"Each visitor is to feel the ambition to advance the interests of each part of his charity-work by diligence and sympathy. The work demands both humanity and good citizenship. The visitor, therefore, must combine humanity with firmness and the interests of the poor with the interests of the town. . . . He must especially interest himself in the education under healthful influence of the children of the poor."

I cannot here pursue the system thus indicated into its details of method. A German city, dealing with its poor in the spirit of the address just quoted, does for them very many things which have not yet occurred to English or American towns. It encourages attendance in the public schools by cheap rates on horse-cars for school-children. It provides all possible opportunities for recreation, heaps of sand for little children in every public park, and special places of resort for mothers with their babies. It floods vacant lots in winter for free skating-places for children. All such undertakings are matters of very slight expense and are simply outgrowths of the first principle of German poor-relief, that government is not a machine but a human relationship. There are, however, two special features of the poor-relief of Dresden which have a considerable reputation in Germany and which I must briefly mention. One is the city's care of

neglected children, and the other is the relation of public help to private charity.

The city orphan-asylum of Dresden has been maintained for more than two hundred years, and it has become enriched by bequests and by the advancing value of real estate until its capital amounts to nearly two hundred thousand dollars. In 1831 it was full of occupants, and the pressure on it was temporarily relieved by transferring some of these children from the institution to homes in the country. The result of this transfer was so satisfactory that it became a system, and by degrees the orphan-asylum has become almost deserted and the children for whom the city is responsible are now for the most part settled in a number of so-called "colonies" (*Kinder-Colonien*) in various Saxon villages. It is the same principle which our Children's Aid Societies follow of deporting neglected children from city life to country homes, and it proceeds from the same wholesome distrust of life in institutions; but it is done systematically, thoroughly, municipally, and I mention it here because it is one more step away from "in-door relief," because indeed it is not only "out-door relief," but even "out-of-town relief"—and the farther out the better. In 1885 there were three hundred and forty-eight children thus cared for in the country and only forty-three left in the asylum. The cost of maintenance in the institution was in the same year one hundred and thirty-nine dollars for each child; the cost in the country was thirty-eight dollars. The system, thus successfully begun by Dresden, has been imitated by other German cities, notably by Leipzig.

Three classes of children are comprehended in the plan: orphans without means, children whose parents are incapable of self-support, and children whom the police recommend for separation from their parents. Such children, if accepted, are first taken to the asylum for temporary stay, and then, if their case needs prolonged care, are transferred to a "colony." This colony is not properly so called, for it is simply a village where special arrangements are made in private homes. The parish minister in the village becomes the city's agent, and under his direction the children are domesticated in different families. Each child receives an inventory of clothing, and its guardian has two dollars and fifty cents a month for its board. The parish minister receives a slight annual fee—one dollar and twenty-five cents—for each child in his district. The attendance of physicians is provided by the city. Each boy when his time comes for learning a trade receives twenty-five dollars for his apprenticeship fee, and clothing; and

each girl at her confirmation receives six dollars and twenty-five cents for her confirmation dress. With all these apparently superfluous marks of consideration, the system, as has been said, costs about one-quarter of the support of similar cases in an institution; and as for the effect on health and on morality, nothing need be said. There are such things as city poor-houses whose influence and atmosphere are that of a loving Christian family; and a good institution is better than a bad home. But the chances are greatly in favor of rural and segregated life. No form of charity is so expensive for any city as the maintenance of great asylums, and no way of life is likely to be more pernicious for children, and especially for girls, than life in an institution in the midst of young and old of the lowest social type.

Another special feature of poor-relief in the town with which I am dealing is the relation of public charity thus administered to private and voluntary help. One might well ask what would become of private initiative under so comprehensive a plan. Would it not tend to check personal benevolence and to ruin the work of private societies? Would not citizens come to think of all help as state help and run all risks of a passive socialism? This might be the case if the limits of the two ways of charity were not carefully defined, but with this clear definition a good city system ought to strengthen private charity by giving it a place of its own to fill and a special work to do. This is just what has happened in Germany. Relief by the town carries with it the loss of the right of suffrage and is therefore unwelcome to all except the chronic poor. Cases of temporary poverty fall to the voluntary societies, and a relation is established between them and the city visitors by means of a thoroughly-maintained charity clearing-house. At the city bureau, where complete records of all cases are kept, there was arranged in 1883 a "central station" through which pass the statements of relief by all agencies in all cases. Thus in 1890 there were seventy-five private charities using this clearing-house for their transactions. The city spent in that year one hundred and sixty thousand dollars in its administration of charity, and the private societies, so far as reported, spent a much larger sum—two hundred and thirty-one thousand dollars.

A case of temporary need under this system takes as a rule the following course: First it applies to a private society, which may relieve temporary necessity, but holds itself bound to forward the whole case to the central station. Here the standing and history of the case are promptly examined and reported back to the society. Its

previous relation both to city and to private relief, its record at the police courts, the help given by the local insurance system, by any trade-union or by a friendly society—all are clearly set forth with German completeness. The private society then accepts the case as appropriate to its sphere of work or refers it through the clearing-house to the proper channel of relief. The total result is on record at the central office or makes by degrees the biography of a person, or even the history of a family stock. Duplication of relief becomes almost impossible, and the proper assignment of cases to the appropriate charity is easily made. The thoroughness with which this relation is carried out can be shown only by studying specific cases. I have therefore taken two such cases from the records of the best private society in Dresden, the Society for the Relief of Poverty (*Verein gegen Armennoth*).

This model relief society has its own staff of visitors on the Elberfeld plan, a system within a system; and it has taken the radical step of including among these visitors, to its great advantage, a large number of women. These visitors, I repeat, may relieve immediate emergencies. They are indeed bound to supervise the case during the interval of its investigation; and the excellent provision of the city in lodging-houses for the shelterless, in people's kitchens, and in wood-yards for temporary work make this first care of a case less difficult. One of the cases in the table may be called a good case and the other a bad one. One is of the class accepted by the Society as fit for temporary help; the other is of the class of chronic poor, who are turned over to the town visitors. I choose them because, superficially considered, they seem very much alike, their difference only appearing after careful examination. Dealt with by any slovenly method of relief, both, I think, would have been treated alike. A thorough municipal system finds one case adapted to private aid and the other fit only for official remedies. It will be noticed that the whole circle of inquiry, beginning with the first application of the case, proceeding through all the channels of relief and the police records and leading to a visitor's report finally acted on by the Society, occupied, even under the plodding methods of German book-keeping, in one case a week and in the other and more difficult case the not unreasonable time of ten days. With American habits of business neither case should need, for its first examination, more than two or three days, and after the original record was made, the later needs of any such cases should be disposed of in two or three hours.

REPORTS OF CASES FOR THE SOCIETY FOR THE RELIEF OF POVERTY
(*Verein gegen Armennoth*).

A.—STATEMENT OF APPLICANTS.

1. Date of request.....	November 24, 1891.	March 26, 1891.
2. Name.....		
3. Born.....	February 24, 1862.	September 19, 1849.
4. Birthplace.....	Ebersberg, Bezirk Trier.	Landeshut in Schlesien.
5. How long in Dresden?....	Eight years.	Since 1886.
6. Lodging.....	Falkenstrasse 3 (111).	Falkenstrasse 20, H. H., pt.
7. Lived there since?.....	Easter, 1891.	November, 1890.
8. Rent.....	208 marks (\$52).	210 marks (\$53).
9. Rent payable.....	Quarterly.	Monthly.
10. Member of savings bank?.	Yes.	No.
11. Back rent due?.....	None.	February and March, 35 marks (\$9).
12. Is part of lodging rented?.	No.	No.
13. Former lodging.....	27 Josephinenstrasse.	15 Starkengasse.
14. Married.....	Six years.	No.
15. Name and birth of wife....	Clara Ida Richter; born at Kotschenbroda, Sept. 13, 1863.	
16. Number of children.....	Two sons, one daughter.	
17. Age of children.....	One year; three years; six years.	
18. Other dependent relations.	None.	None.
19. Religion.....	Protestant.	Protestant.
20. Trade.....	Tinman.	Shoemaker.
21. Weekly earnings.....		About \$2.50 (10 marks).
22. How long without work?..	Several years. Ill with pneumonia for some months; was only for a short time this year able to work.	
23. Trade of the wife..	Does some waiting, with which she earns about 15 marks per month.	
24. Insurance?.....	Local insurance.	None.
25. Savings in bank?.....	None.	None.
26. Why not?.....		
27. Debts.....	5 marks for provisions.	None.
28. Any mortgaged property?	None.	One bed and clothing, worth 15 marks.
29. Any help from city?.....	None.	None.
30. From insurance?.....	10 marks.	None.
31. From any association?....	Women's Society (last year).	None.
32. Cause of request.....	Illness.	Poor earnings and inability to work during December of last year and January of this year.
33. What is wanted?.....	Money for rent and provisions.	Money.

B.—RESULT OF INQUIRIES.

I.—At the Central Station :		
1. Is residence in Dresden?...	Yes.	Yes.
2. Has city given help?.....	No.	No.
3. Amount per week.....		
4. Amount for special support		
5. Is anything known of his reputation?.....	No.	No.
II.—At other relief associations :		
1. Has he been helped?.....	No.	No.
III.—At the police-office :		
1. Any conviction?.....	No.	No.
2. Any bad reports?.....	No.	No.
IV.—At the local insurance :		
1. Amount of help.....		
V.—At the trade union :		
1. Amount of rent paid.....		

C.—REPORT OF THE SOCIETY'S VISITOR.

1. Is the statement of the petitioner correct?.....	Yes. The man has been out of work three weeks on account of disease of the chest. He earns nothing and in consequence the debts of 5 marks have increased to 15 marks.	Yes.
2. Reputation of the petitioner	The landlord as well as the tinman for whom the man worked give the best possible reports.	Immoral. Lives with a woman. Are both said to quarrel and to drink. Works when sober.
3. State of lodging.....	Extremely clean and neat. One sees that the family has been in better condition formerly; there was still to be found a flower-stand and an aquarium.	Very poor. Extremely dirty and disorderly.
4. Impression of the petitioner's personality.....	Very favorable.	Very unfavorable.
5. Impression of the petitioner's family.....	The same.	No family except the woman, who looks disreputable.
6. Is the petitioner's capability of self-support limited?..	Yes, by little children.	Yes, by illness.
7. Is he really in need?.....	Not now, but will be shortly.	Undoubtedly in great need.
8. Cause of need.....	Long and severe illness.	Illness and want of employment.
9. Ought we to help him?....	Yes. There is hope that the man may recover and will be able to earn his own living.	I don't think so. The man is too low to be able ever to improve his condition. I believe, in short, that he should be cared for by the city.
10. Recommendation of Society's visitor.....	I recommend one gift of 30 marks (\$7.50).	I recommend to refer him to the city visitor, as I do not think him able to repay the 20 marks (\$5) for which he now asks.
11. How should the gift be made?.....	In cash.	
12. Amount.....	30 marks (\$7.50).	
13. Through whom?.....	I am willing to disburse it.	
The above statement was returned to the office of our Association.....	November 30, 1891.	April 6, 1891.
Recommendation of Society's reporter.....	One gift of 30 marks (\$7.50).	
Vote of the Society's Executive Board.....	30 marks, as above.	To be referred to the City Poor Relief.
Above vote and money allowed handed to the Society's visitor.....	December 5, 1891.	April 28, 1891.

What such a system thus carried out means for a German town it is hardly necessary to say. That it means the abolition of poverty is of course out of the question. In the present condition of most parts of Germany it would be fairer to say that every one was poor than to say that no one was poor. The standard of life in the humbler classes is incredibly low, and an existence not without contentedness is maintained on a scale much below that which passes for pauperism with us.

But it is at least much to say that in such a town of two hundred thousand people supervision is so thorough that a case of critical want unknown and unrelieved is practically impossible. Beggary is a

crime and is practised only by stealth. Paupers half-clad in rags and suffering in winter weather are not to be seen in the streets. In every appeal for help the condition of the home must be described by the visitor, and it is to the advantage of the applicant that he should be described as neat and thrifty. However poor, therefore, one may be, he is tempted, not as with us, to make the worst of his condition in his surroundings and his clothes, but to make the best of it.¹ Filth in the home or on the person lessens the chance of substantial aid. The faults of the system are to be summed up as the faults of human nature. It depends on the quality of the visitors enlisted. Some of them are literalists, bound too closely by their printed instructions; some of them are too independent and sympathetic to be discreet; some of them are too slow and some are too hasty; some are too hard and some are too soft; and the perfect working of the system often encounters much friction. But, after all, if one must choose between the variation of human nature and the indiscriminating methods of machinery, then we must certainly incline to the human relationship.

Yet with all these advantages in direct relief, the chief merit of the Elberfeld System in Germany lies not in its immediate advantages to the poor, but in the education of the prosperous and the elevation of moral tone in the whole community. Each year, under the German plan, a large body of citizens is drafted into this help of the helpless

¹ In the Saxon Statistics for 1885 (*Zeitschrift des Königlich Stat. Bureau*, XXXI., *Jahrgang* 1885, *Heft* III. and IV., p. 185 *fl.*) are collected the records of income and expense in the case of the families of certain weavers in the district of Zittau (Eastern Saxony). The results are almost incredible. In one instance a man of fifty-three years and wife of fifty support life independently on a total income of seventy-six dollars and fifty cents (305 marks). In another the man of thirty-five, wife of thirty-two, and four children, of six, five, three years, and one of four months, have an income of one hundred and sixteen dollars (464 marks) and make both ends meet. In a third case, with man of fifty-one years, wife of forty-nine, and two children twenty-two and nineteen, the family budget is as follows:

Food ¹	\$63.50 = 254 marks.	Utensils	\$.50 = 2 marks.
Rent ²	Pleasure.....	2.00 = 8 "
Clothing.....	11.25 = 45 "	Taxes	4.00 = 16 "
Fuel.....	4.00 = 16 "		\$85.25 = 341 "

The family in this case earns by its weaving, with working hours from 6 A.M. to 7 or 8 P.M., a total income of ninety-seven dollars = 388 marks. They are therefore living quite within their income; setting by, indeed, about one-eighth of it for a day when their present prosperity may decline.

¹ They own a goat and raise potatoes.

² They own their little cottage of three rooms without loft and cellar.

and passed through the discipline of charity service. Each year this series of new recruits is trained in the best tactics of social usefulness, just as each year another body of citizens is trained in the discipline of army service. In 1885 there were twenty hundred and eighty-seven such unpaid visitors serving in Berlin alone; in 1890 there was in all Germany an army of perhaps twenty thousand men accepting this responsibility and learning this lesson of experience. The American traveller in Germany goes there with a strong prejudice against anything that looks like compulsory army duty, with its terrible drain on the productive capacity of a nation; and certainly that land is fortunate which does not have to bear this annual burden. But there are, beyond a doubt, physical and moral advantages in the German army system not to be despised. The men of Germany, though they are robbed of some years of domestic and industrial life, are at least moulded into strong-knit bodies and disciplined minds. The same beneficent effect is much more true of the Elberfeld System. It has none of the terrible disadvantages of the army service. It does not interrupt a man's business or break up his home or cost money to the state or threaten evil to other nations. It simply trains citizens in citizenship. It perpetuates the tradition that a man in a modern state shall not live to himself alone. A part of good citizenship lies in bearing others' burdens. Those that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please themselves. If this is socialism let us make the most of it. It is also Christianity. It cannot be stated in clear language without tempting one into the language of the New Testament. It is the way a city ought, if possible, to take care of its poor.

If, finally, we go on to inquire whether a system of this kind is in any degree applicable to an American city, our answer will depend on two things: first, the kind of city we take, and, secondly, the kind of citizens it contains. If, for instance, we consider the case of a city which is in the hands of a ring of politicians, using appointments as spoils for their supporters, then the committing to such a city government of new power of appointments, with public money to disburse, would only tend to involve a new disgrace. The four or five hundred poor-visitors might very probably be chosen, not for their fitness for a grave responsibility, but for their chances of profit or opportunity for trade or for sectarian or party reasons. They would be likely to help families who would promise a vote for the "boss," or who would buy their groceries at the visitor's store, or whom perhaps the clergy

of some private body would recommend. The enlargement of the functions of city government where city government is already misused would be the worst hindrance of reform. Or if, on the other hand, in any city there is a manifest and general lack of public spirit, so that the best citizens have abandoned their interest in town affairs, then, again, it might be in vain to call on them for public service.

This is the view which the English experts take of the German system. "What is good in it," says Mr. Loch, Secretary of the London Charity Organization Society, and perhaps the most competent of English critics, "is due to good citizenship. We cannot have an out-relief policy in London. We have not citizenship enough to administer it." There are some American cities where this is probably true. It is the natural result of giving over a city to party politics that people who are not politicians cease to care for public affairs. Bad city government breeds bad citizenship. To this should be added the intrinsic difficulty of good administration in very large cities of very shifting population. Good charity is hard to get in such cases; but so is good government in all other respects. Great cities—and especially great seaboard cities in countries inviting immigration, whether in England, Australia, or even the United States—are the baffling elements in all social reformation. Yet in cities of this type I should not be without hope of applying the Elberfeld System as a private and voluntary scheme.

Why should not the Associated Charities, already so active and so beneficent in these larger cities, proceed more positively and aggressively than they have thus far done? Hitherto they have waited for volunteers and have assigned cases of need to such helpers as presented themselves. They have always lacked good visitors and have never really covered the ground. Why should they not proceed to district the city, or at least its needier regions, and then invite to the inspection of limited blocks the men and women whom they judge most competent? Some would decline to serve, but a surprising number of persons would accept such service if the service were made specific, limited, and real. The central committee should say to such a person: "Will you, under printed instructions put into your hands, undertake to supervise the single block of houses from Fourth Street to Fifth Street on Avenue A, on condition that if you discover more than five cases needing continuous care your district shall be divided?" Many men who now believe themselves too busy for any such vocation would, I feel sure, be unable to refuse such specific

work under a trustworthy plan. After a good deal of experience in begging money and enlisting recruits for affairs of public interest, I should wish to testify that the one thing which most deters benefactors and allies is not their own selfishness, but the vagueness, generality, and over-comprehensiveness of most plans urged upon their notice. People take slight interest in general movements for the relief of pauperism or the elevation of the human race, but if you ask them for money or for time to do a reasonable and definite work in a precisely-defined and practicable way, they are, I think, generally glad of the chance to make a safe investment.

And if we turn, last of all, from our great misgoverned cities to the many towns in the United States of moderate size and of reasonably good government, then I see no reason why a good system of poor-relief should not be attempted by the town itself. It ought to be made a part of citizenship to stand ready for some personal service in one's town. We cannot look for any thorough dealing with poor-relief until this personal relation is established and the army of the prosperous sends out its scouts to seek and save the weak. In Mr. Charles Francis Adams' interesting address at the centennial of the town of Quincy ("The Centennial Milestone, July 4, 1892") he recalls the fact that this appointment by the town to the duties of citizenship is no new thing among us. In 1761 John Adams was appointed surveyor of highways and accepted the office; in 1734 Josiah Quincy was elected constable, refused to serve, and "paid his fine down, being five pounds."

The modern German system applies this same principle of compulsory municipal service to poor-relief and blesses both those who give and those who take; and many an American town might easily and hopefully try the plan. Charity cannot do everything for a community. It is always imperfect and temporary, a medicine which indicates social disease rather than a preventive of it. Back of all charity lie the deeper questions of the social order, which charity does not abolish, but only mitigates. Back of the work of medicine lies the more radical work of sanitation and hygiene. Yet two things judicious charity can do. It can, first, so cover the ground that no case of immediate need shall be undiscovered or shame the community by its sudden disclosure. It can, secondly, educate the prosperous in a sense of responsibility and of citizenship, which will go far to free them from their besetting sin of self-absorption and their special disadvantage of an isolated and narrow life.

Town governments would on the whole act soberly in such appointments, where work would be plentiful and where there would be no pay. It would be easy to show a board of selectmen the very great economy of the individualizing method of relief as compared with the building and maintaining of city institutions, and the moral effect both on givers and receivers would soon appear. It would be a fortunate town in the United States which, before its growth became unmanageably large, should educate its prosperous citizens to do something for the needy and should educate the needy through the discipline of continuous and friendly visitation. Such a town would be free from many burdens and abuses of institutional life; it would be a good town for the thrifty poor to live in, and a town to which the undeserving poor would not be likely to come. It would be a town in which prosperity would not breed hate among the poor nor be so likely to work destruction to the rich through their own self-indulgence. It would be a place in which Christian ministers could with easier minds select such texts as "Bear ye one another's burdens" and "No man liveth to himself." The citizens of such a town would seem to be making a radical change in their plan of poor-relief, but they would be doing only what scores of German towns and thousands of German citizens are doing every year.

SPECIAL NEEDS OF THE POOR IN NEW YORK.

"I THINK the best way of doing good to the poor is not by making them easy in poverty, but by leading or driving them out of it." With these words of Benjamin Franklin the Charity Organization Society of New York prefaces its report for last year very aptly, for better doctrine the nineteenth century has not been able to advance. In fact, the entire science of alms-giving, as we have learned it since the day of the prophetic printer, may be summed up in the terms of his modest opinion become conviction and reduced to system. That being so, the state of the poverty problem in any given community may to a great extent be learned from the answer to a simple question: How far and how successfully has it followed Franklin's plan?

Unfortunately it is easier to ask than to answer some questions, and with reference to New York particularly this is one of them. Even when it is answered more or less hopefully in the assurance of the report I have quoted that the old era of indiscriminate alms-giving is passing away and scientific methods are obtaining in charity, the statement fails to clear away as it should the doubts and perplexities besetting the problem. That is because none of us knows the full extent of it. A general cannot be sure that he has won a battle until he knows how many fresh regiments the enemy has in reserve. To measure the poverty problem in New York, one must reckon with half the political, economic, and social troubles of the Old World. In one way or another they all enter into it. Every new attack of Jew-baiting in Russia or Germany, every threatened famine over there, every fresh political persecution, sends its hordes of destitute emigrants over the sea to swell the army of the unemployed and needy. And its headquarters is always in New York. The column of the able-bodied and the ambitious moves on eventually; other States, other communities get the benefit of that. It is our task not only to find ways and means of starting it on its journey, but to take care as well of the sediment that settles in the slums, too helpless to strike out for itself, all its energies exhausted in that generation in the uprooting from the old soil. Of the 1,489 new families registered by the

Charity Organization Society as seeking or needing assistance in the last six months of 1891, 65 per cent in round numbers were foreign; that is, the heads of them were of foreign birth; and the record takes no cognizance of the much larger number of newly arrived immigrants who were helped by relief societies of their own nationality or faith. A single one of these, for instance, the United Hebrew Charities, reports being called upon last year to assist in one way or another no less than 23,571 of a total of 52,000 of their people who came over during the year; that is, quite 45 per cent. During the same period the society relieved 48,678 persons who were registered as having been in the country more than two years, and who appear under the head of "local poor." They were not part of the record, either.

I know of only one way to get to the bottom of the problem, and that is unsatisfactory at best, for it brings up but a small part of it; but, as I said, that is the very bottom and therefore solid ground. For many years it has been true of New York that one-tenth of all who die in this great and wealthy city are buried in the Potter's Field. It is true still. In 1882 the percentage of interments in the city cemetery, as the pauper burial-ground is charitably styled in the official records, was 10.05 per cent of all; in 1884 it was 10.51 per cent; in 1887, 10.11; and in 1891, 9.77. For the ten years between 1882 and 1891 it averaged 9.93 per cent. Of the 382,530 interments recorded in the decade, 37,994 were in the Potter's Field. The law providing decent private burial at the public expense for veterans of the Rebellion and of the Mexican War who died poor and friendless reduced the ghastly record by a fraction of one per cent. But for that, this lost tenth would still stand unchallenged. Nine thousand dollars are annually apportioned for the purpose and used up at the rate of \$35 for each funeral. At this rate 257 veteran dead were saved from the Potter's Field last year. They would have swelled its percentage from 9.77 to 10.36 and maintained the 10-per-cent average for the ten years. It is true that the infant mortality of the foundling asylums and of the tenements and the unknown dead, most of these suicides, enter into this computation, but they make part of the record of life and death in our city. No specious plea can disguise the fact that this dreadfully large percentage of our city's life is inevitably tending, year after year, toward utter wreck and disaster.

Those who have had any personal experience with the poor and know with what agony of fear they struggle against this crown-

ing misery, how they plan and plot and pinch for the poor privilege of being laid at last in a grave that is theirs to keep, though in life they never owned a shred to call their own, will agree with me that it is putting it low to assume that where one falls, in spite of it all, into this dreaded trench, at least two or three must be always hovering on the edge of it. And with this estimate of from 20 to 30 per cent of our population always struggling to keep the wolf from the door, with the issue in grievous doubt, all the known, if scattered, facts of charity management in New York agree well enough. In the ten years of its existence the Charity Organization Society has registered 160,000 families as receiving or applying for relief. The family is the unit of the society's records, but there is a certain percentage of single men and women who go in under that head with the rest, counting each as one. In the last six months accounted for, that percentage was 25.99. Assuming that it is always one-fourth, we will allow, to be entirely safe, only two and a half as the family average instead of the standard four and a half that applies to official computations of our city's population, and take no account of the many whom the charity census missed (as for instance the United Hebrew Charities' 72,000 last year), there being no pretence that it is complete or even nearly so—even then we have an army of 400,000 persons receiving alms in the past ten years, of whom 85 per cent may be safely estimated to be still in the slough, or where they may be swamped in it by the first misfortune, idleness, death, or loss of work. The other 15 per cent worked out of it, died, or moved away.

I have allowed a large margin of safety, because there is more or less guesswork about it as soon as one cuts away from the safe moorings of the death registry. It is only the dead paupers that are polled. The cost of disposing of them is definite and fixed. A pine box and a cheap cotton shroud comprise it. The trench on Hart's Island is free to all. The expense of providing for the living poor is not so easily ascertained. The estimate that the community pays out a round eight millions a year in public and private relief is probably substantially correct. In spite of it—perhaps to a considerable extent because of it—mendicancy increased last winter to an alarming extent, and there is a prospect that the heavy tax will be made heavier still without achieving much better results. That does not look as if we were getting the better of our problem. Our system of public relief directly encourages mendicancy, while private charity management, though it has learned much, yet fails to prevent it.

The very name which we give in New York to our public relief machine, the Department of Charities and Corrections, discloses a fundamental mistake that is responsible for much mischief. The thing which the pauper has lost and the lack of which makes it so hard to make anything of him is his self-respect, the respect for his dignity as a self-supporting man, for his ability to work out of the slough by his own effort. To find himself classed with thieves and rascals is not apt to help him regain it. Yet that is the sort of company he is made to keep in the official charity plan. The workhouse, the penitentiary, and the almshouse occupy "the Island" together, with more or less fanciful lines drawn between them. Fences and gates do not keep out moral contagion, and the influence of the Island, especially upon the honestly poor whom extreme misfortune brought there, can never be otherwise than bad. It stands for the old idea of dealing with the poor that simply looked to getting them out of the sight of their happier fellows whom their misery offended. It was never better expressed than by the President of the Department of Charities and Correction in an argument before the Board of Apportionment a year or two ago when the law to establish municipal lodging-houses for the homeless poor was under discussion. The official contention was that the station-house lodgers were all tramps (which is not the fact) and ought to be arrested.

"Hand them over to us," said President Porter, speaking for his department, "and we will send them to the Island, where you will never hear of them again."

That would be an easy way to get rid of them, to be sure, but the experience of this last election, when Mr. Porter's two colleagues were arrested on the charge of inducing wholesale registration of inmates of the Island institutions, suggests that it was not meant literally. We were yet to hear of them periodically, at election-times, for instance. The claim that these men were there of their own free will, because they were homeless and unfortunate, not as prisoners, seems like begging the question. What else made the others apply for lodging at the police stations, I should like to know? Or are men to be commended for surrendering themselves to the Island, with all it stands for, and blamed for struggling to keep out of its reach even at the risk of having to sleep in a police station?

This election episode hints broadly at the underlying stratum of politics to fit which every measure of reform must be shrunk or stretched before the politicians will allow it to pass. The Municipal

Lodging-House bill that would have done away with one of the most disgraceful scandals of our day did not fit it and did not pass for many seasons. When persistent effort forced it through at last, it remained a dead letter on the statute-books, owing to the hostility of the city authorities. Like agencies have defeated so far the "Cumulative Sentence" bill, which would have operated in good earnest to keep the real tramps out of sight on the Island until they had learned to keep sober. That bill would make of the Island a reform school, a rôle which the experienced politician might justly distrust its ability to fill. I have no desire to attribute evil motives to him where good may be found even with an effort. My contention is that he is not so discriminating, but recklessly picks up what suits his purpose, whether it happens to be good or bad. And his purpose being generally a selfish one, it has a natural affinity for the worst agencies in working out its results.

The city "out-door relief" embraces a dispensary at Bellevue Hospital that furnishes free medicine, an annual appropriation of \$20,000 for free coal, and a like amount which takes the form of a "donation" to the blind beggars of our streets, in shamefaced acknowledgment of our failure to do better by them. There has never been any adequate provision in New York for this class of unfortunates, and as they must live and cannot work, they are allowed to beg on the pretence of selling pencils and knick-knacks, which no one ever buys. In lieu, as it were, of board and clothing, the city gives them this \$20,000 in one annual payment. Time was when that really meant something, when each beneficiary received a hundred dollars or so, enough to pay for rent and coal; but the money long since ceased to be anything more than a mere bait for beggars, and nowadays is worse than wasted. When it became known that New York put a premium on blind beggars, they came from all about to lay claim to it, and their numbers reduced the proportionate share of each until last year they received only a pittance of \$38 apiece. The one practical result has been to more than double the number of these unfortunates in the city, and so further to perplex the problem of what to do with them.

As to the coal, it is dealt out in half-tons on the order of the Superintendent of Out-Door Poor, an officer of the Department of Charities and Corrections, after investigation by paid visitors of the department. Something like twelve thousand half-tons are thus given out every winter. No doubt most of it is badly needed where it

goes. But it is maintained by those who should know that the department visitors have, as a rule, neither the training nor the disposition to make such inquiry as should be made, and that little would be lost to the cause of true charity were the free coal dropped from the list altogether. The truest charity would be to provide some means of letting the poor have their coal at the same figure which the rich man pays for his. That does not seem a revolutionary proposition; but as a matter of fact they pay nearly twice as much now, buying coal by the pail at the corner grocery at from ten to twelve cents a pail. There are charities in existence now in the tenement districts that look to the saving of this usurious corner-grocery profit to the tenant, and they are doing real good in a very practical way in their limited fields. Something of that sort on a much larger scale should be able to buy coal at the lowest wholesale rates, and so further cheapen it to its customers.

Much has been done in the last ten years in the way of organizing private charity in the city and rendering it effective for good. More is being done. The Charity Organization Society is enlarging its field of usefulness year by year, and its principles are at last generally accepted as the only sound principles in dealing with the poor. Still more remains to be done. New York differs from other cities not only in the conditions of its problem, but in other ways that make it exceedingly difficult to adapt to our use plans which have proved successful elsewhere. Its constantly changing population and shifting economic conditions demand, too, an elasticity of system that is not easily attained. The best feature of the plan, that has been its backbone everywhere and has made the German system so perfect, is not readily acclimated with us here in New York: it is very hard to get volunteer visitors to do the work. It is hard everywhere, where the Government does not press them into service as it does in Germany, but harder in New York than anywhere else, because of the intensity of our life and the tremendous struggle to keep afloat in the crowd that pushes all other cares and concerns aside and out of sight. In Philadelphia, for instance, where life is not such a wild rush as in New York, the present Secretary of our Charity Organization Society had no difficulty in gathering and keeping some eleven hundred friendly visitors by three years' work. Here in New York ten years of constant effort have hardly succeeded in drumming up two hundred. It does not seem possible to get much farther than that. But ten times that number of volunteer visitors might be easily used to advan-

tage in our city. For the want of them the work suffers and the full strength of the system may never be realized here.

Here is at once the weak spot of charity management in New York and its greatest need. Next to that, work is needed. I have heard it said a thousand times that in this busy city of ours no one who really wants work need go idle long; but in the best season, when work and wages are most plentiful, that is only half-true. The work may be there, and at the same time thousands may be going around looking very hard for it, yet fail to find it. They do not know where to look and there is no one to tell them. Perhaps they do not know enough of our language to ask and be understood. Some agency is needed to bring the work and those who want it together under auspices that would inspire confidence on both sides. I remember being called, a year or two ago, in my capacity as police reporter, to a tenement on the West side—I think it was in West Thirty-seventh Street—where a painter had that day cut his throat. Standing there by the corpse, I learned from the sobbing widow that the man was desperate for want of work. He had been on the street for weeks and his children were starving. It happened that I had been for just the same length of time looking for a man to paint my house out in the country, where painters were scarce and very busy. I had just made up my mind to advertise that day. There lay this painter dead because he could find no one to give him work, while I would have been glad to pay him more than the wages of his trade to get him to work for me. Had there been any means of bringing us together to which we would both naturally have resorted, he would have been alive and his family self-supporting. Now it seemed certain to become a burden upon the public.

It was not the only instance of that sort by very many I had come across. I thought then, and I think now, that some great central labor bureau conducted by a thoroughly responsible organization that could appeal to the community with the certainty not only of enlisting the aid of employers, but also of reaching the unemployed, would be one of the greatest boons that could be conferred upon the poor. The six months' records of the Charity Organization Society to which I have repeatedly referred show that in the opinion of the visitors 45.87 per cent of all who applied for help needed work rather than alms, and, if anything, that was a lower average than ordinarily observed by charity managers. The statistics of a whole specimen year of the society's work showed the percentage of those who needed

work most to be 52.02. Precisely the same results attended a similar inquiry in Boston. Surely these figures contain a suggestion worth heeding.

How well this is worth heeding only those can know who have had experience with this sort of thing. The slightest push, the lift of a finger at the right moment, is sometimes enough to start a family that hovers on the edge of pauperism on the road to independence, even prosperity on a modest scale; while without it, it would certainly have taken the downward course from which there might never be any recovery. Two of the cases that gave a relief committee with which I was connected most courage and pleasure were those of an old Irishman and a consumptive Jew, both of whom we had really despaired of at the first survey. For the one ten dollars bought a push-cart and a load of garden truck that set him up in a business so successful that in a very few weeks he came to repay the loan, beaming with honest pride. In the case of the Jew we clubbed together with the United Hebrew Charities and bought him a pack, and that was the beginning of a new life for that family, which had just seemed so helpless.

There is another use of such a bureau that would be of very great importance. It would serve to separate the frauds from the honest poor, the goats from the sheep, and so simplify matters. Labor is the shibboleth that does that soonest and best. That was the chief argument used for the replacing of the foul police-station lodging-rooms with clean and decent lodging-houses, where the homeless applicant could have the opportunity to wash himself and to pay for his bed and his breakfast by chopping wood, and so maintain his self-respect, instead of, as now, having to sneak out to beg his breakfast after a night amid surroundings the degrading recollection of which he might not shake off in a lifetime. What this might mean I saw one night last winter, when I picked from among the lodgers in the Oak Street Police Station, the resort of the lowest and worst always, six young lads under eighteen who were there for the first time. They had all come from good homes out of the city. They simply did not know where to go or what to do when they found themselves in the street without money or friends, and so they went to the worst place they could have hit upon. These were some of the "tramps" whom the President of the Department of Charities and Corrections would have sent to the Island, where they would never be heard of again. The bill to abolish this foul blot on our city will be pressed at Albany

again this winter. It has already become law, and it simply needs to be made mandatory upon the city authorities, who refuse to move in the matter. The effort ought certainly not to fail. A nightly average of more than five hundred homeless men, women, and young lads of the kind I described slept in the police stations last winter.

To provide proper homes for the poor has always been one of the most difficult problems New York has had to deal with, and will probably always remain so. The tenement is in itself an evil that undoes much of the good done by all the agencies of rescue and reform. But the tenement is here to stay and we must make the best of it. Progress has been made in tenement-building as the result of much patient thought and labor in the last ten years. It will not do to let any of the ground so won be lost through inattention now. There was danger of that in the attitude of the legislature and of the city authorities to this question last winter. The transfer of the practical supervision of the building of new tenements from the Health Department to the Department of Buildings was not a good move, and there is reason to fear that we shall see the ill effects of it too soon unless a sharp watch is kept up. The law that created the Tenement-house Commission of seven years ago also provided for a permanent body of city officials, if I am not mistaken, charged with the duty of meeting once or twice a year to follow up the Commission's work. We heard no word of protest from that body last winter, when private citizens had to step in and persuade the Governor not to sign one of the bad bills passed by a careless legislature, to put the best construction on its action which the facts will allow. In fact, I have never heard that this official body has done anything, good or bad, except to hold its peace when it should have spoken out, and I have my doubts about its existing at all. In any event, it can clearly not be trusted to attend to this important matter alone. A committee of representatives from the charitable societies, with such members of the old Tenement-house Commission who can yet be found, should be founded this winter to watch carefully all bills that crop out at Albany touching the structure of tenement-house law, with the object of entering an emphatic protest when anything goes wrong. This cannot be done too soon and must on no account be neglected. Last year the politicians caught us napping, and very nearly upset in a day much of the good accomplished by the hard work of a dozen years.

The right to repress or suppress undesirable immigration rests with

the General Government. We can only protest against having our city made the dumping-ground for half the poverty and ignorance and vice of the Old World, and abide the result. But if we cannot do much for or with the old immigrant who comes to stay with us, we can do almost anything with his boy. With the children lies the solution of this troublesome riddle. I would have them gathered into our kindergartens and industrial schools while they are very young. I would have the societies that conduct these supported and endowed as the very best investment that can be made to draw interest in good citizenship to come. I would have their schooling surrounded with much better safeguards than now through the enforcement of the compulsory education law, the amendment of it to fix a time limit within which the child's fourteen weeks a year in school must come, the appointment of a sufficient number of truant officers, and the establishment of a truant home, where the boy may be safe. At present we are in the illogical position of arresting the boy for fear he may become a thief by idling in the street, and then locking him up with thieves to make sure that he will catch the contagion. I would have the birth-certificate of the child that labors in factories substituted by law for the present oath of his father that it is of legal age, which leads to perjury and child-slavery, and ties the factory inspector's hands. I would have the Health Department prodded into doing its duty of compelling doctors and midwives to register all births, as the law commands them, to the end that the registry might soon become an effectual aid to the factory inspector. Meanwhile I would let no foreign-born child that is not clearly of age go to work in a shop, except upon the evidence of a birth-certificate from abroad.

I would have the law forbidding the selling of liquors to a child enforced, instead of laughed at as it now is. I would have the special court for the trial of juvenile offenders, where they may not mingle with old thieves and criminals, made a salutary fact as soon as possible. It has been talked of long enough. I would have some competent official appointed by the legislature without delay, to have the supervision of the public institutions where children are kept, with power to take them out and to board them out when he saw fit, and I would have parents who put their children into the institutions merely to get rid of them until they are old enough to earn wages severely punished. I would have some sort of a house or home established in the country somewhere for the unhappiest of all the hapless little wretches of our streets, the crippled children whom no one wants.

Finally, having applied all these plasters to cure the evil that besets us, I would reach away down under it and pull it up by the roots, by wresting our municipal politics and our municipal government out of the grasp of the saloon. And this I would do in the simplest of all ways, by giving the voters something better than the saloon at the time when they are looking for it. I would put club-rooms *minus* the rum in the crowded quarters and invite the young men in from the street to enjoy themselves in any rational, decent way they saw fit. I would encourage them to discuss there the current topics of the day—they would not need much encouragement—and when election-time came around politics would naturally come up on top. Young men so trained would, when their time to vote came, be sure to give a good account of themselves. We have saloon politics now because the saloon is the poor man's club. Give him a better club and you will have better voting. It is all very simple and natural. Nor is there anything Utopian in the club plan. It has worked to a charm among the boys, and men are nothing but big boys after all. That done, we shall have fallen into Franklin's way in good earnest, and it will be a question of time merely, if we are not swamped in immigration, when we shall really have led or driven the poor out of their poverty, even in spite of the tenement.

JACOB A. RIIS.

ARE SCOTT, DICKENS, AND THACKERAY OBSOLETE?

CERTAIN writers in England have been asserting lately—and the public seems to have attached some weight to their opinion—that the three greatest novelists which this country has possessed during the century are already losing their popularity and that their day is virtually over. The novelists referred to are Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray, and it has been asked, Who reads them now? The question is an interesting one and has a general as well as a particular meaning, for it prompts us to consider how far the modern novel is a form of art to which even the most powerful genius is capable of imparting any permanent value.

In painting, the most vivid colors, as Sir Joshua Reynolds found, are sometimes those whose brightness fades most quickly; and there are many reasons for imagining that the same may be the case in literature. Of all forms of literature, the modern novel is that which represents life most vividly. The novelist's brush is dipped in the colors of the moment; and though he may deal with the passions of all time, he represents them as manifested under the peculiar conditions of his own. In this way the novel is the very reverse of poetry. Poetry, by means of its mere form, tends to universalize what it treats of and to lift its subject-matter above the sphere in which changes are most rapid; whereas that is the special sphere in which the novelist works. We may take as instances "Faust" and "Werther," or "Wilhelm Meister." In "Faust" the action is nominally laid in the Middle Ages, but we feel that really it is laid in no age in particular, but in all ages or in any age; and the mediæval scenes and manners and even the mediæval superstitions are universal symbols which, like the Apostles' preaching, translate themselves for each reader into his own language. But with "Werther" or "Wilhelm Meister" the case is entirely otherwise. There, though the action is laid in times comparatively recent, we are every moment made to feel that they are different times from ours, and that the actors live in a world disturbed by different interests. Our wonder, even our amusement, is far greater than our sympathy when we think of Werther and Char-

lotte sucking an orange at a tea-party; and Meister's concern in the fortunes of the German stage or his desire to escape through the stage from the life of a German *bourgeois* must have lost even for German readers most of their original meaning. And of novels generally, as contrasted with poetry, it may be easily imagined that the same thing holds good. As contrasted with poetry, the material of which they are constructed is perishable—is essentially perishable. The very things that make them real to our half-century are the very things that will make them seem unreal to another.

It is easy, I say, to imagine that this is a general, even a necessary truth. But when we turn from imagination to facts do we find it to be so actually? It is true in some instances; but is it true in all? In especial is it true of those British novelists to whom reference has just been made? As I have said, it has recently been asked, Who reads them now? To that question what is the true answer? The implied answer, of course, is that no one reads them or that their readers are getting yearly fewer. Now, with regard to Thackeray this may be the case or it may not be. I will speak about him presently, but with regard to Scott and Dickens there is no hesitation necessary. It may be said at once, and it may be said flatly, that it is not the case. They are not only still read by many people, but they are read by more people to-day than they ever were before. This fact is substantiated by the copies of their works that are sold; indeed, it stares us in the face at every railway book-store. Scott and Dickens, if measured by the number of their readers, are growing in popularity, not declining. How then, it may be asked, could the contrary opinion have arisen? It has arisen probably from the persons who gave expression to it having trusted to impressions derived from their own social observation; but in matters like this nothing can be more misleading.

The social observation even of those who have seen much of the world is limited, and is generally limited in more than one way. It is not limited only to certain classes, or certain sections of certain classes, but also to persons of the observer's own age or pursuits. It is, further, very often inaccurate. No doubt circles exist—and indeed I think it is probable that those composing them may consider themselves highly cultivated—in which Scott and Dickens are entirely unread and despised. Again, many of those who read them read them early in life, and the nature of their studies escapes older observers; while the very fact of a book's having been familiar to most

people for half their lifetime is sufficient to prevent its being a preferred subject of conversation. When one lady asks another what she has been reading lately, she means what new trash fresh from the circulating library; and her friend would never, although it might be perfectly true, think of saying by way of answer, "Such a delightful book--'Guy Mannering.'" It is, therefore, very easy to see how certain persons, trusting merely to observation, may have derived the impression that Scott and Dickens are read no longer. They may have lived principally among those who actually do not read them; or they may have judged merely from contemporaries who read them long ago; or they may have thought them not read merely because they are not daily talked about. Anyhow, the fact remains that these persons are wrong. The great writers in question are read as much as and even more than ever. The only point there can be any doubt about is, By whom are they read?

To this question no complete answer can be given. Publishers can tell how many copies are sold, but they cannot tell us who are the ultimate buyers. That there is a demand for editions so cheap as to necessitate indifferent print and paper shows them to be read by multitudes who are at all events comparatively poor; while expensive editions prove the same thing as to the rich: but if we wish to arrive at any more detailed conclusions we shall have to fall back on the internal probabilities of the case, or on that personal observation which, as has just been said, must be so limited. By the internal probabilities of the case I mean this: I mean the degree to which the works of these two writers seem severally calculated by their style, subject, and tone to appeal to the various classes which make up the reading public. Judging of the matter in this way, my impression is that Scott makes a wider appeal than Dickens. Scott, in his own country certainly, is enjoyed by the poorest peasants; and there is little in his tone or his general treatment of life which might not be appreciated by the humblest classes quite as readily as by the highest.

But with Dickens I venture to think that this is not so. The humbler classes occupy on his canvas a far larger space than they do on that of Scott; but the aspect of these classes, which Dickens excels in describing, is not the aspect which these classes themselves see. I once, for instance, had a servant who by his Cockney humor and shrewdness often reminded me of Sam Weller or Mark Tapley. On one occasion when he was ill I bought him a "Martin Chuzzlewit" with pictures which called attention to the most amusing parts of the

text. The man enjoyed the pictures, but though he was fond of reading, he found in the text nothing that made him even smile. And I might have expected this. The whole point of more than half of Dickens' writing depends on the fact that the manners and ways of thinking he describes differ from the manners and ways of thinking of those to whom he describes them. I conceive, therefore, with regard to these two writers, the probable truth to be that while there is no class which may not enjoy Scott, there must be a large class which is unable to enjoy Dickens. But in any case the public that still enjoys them both is as large and as national a public as ever enjoyed any author. To such general observations I have nothing further to add except a few results of my own personal observation, which the reader must take for what they are worth.

I do not speak of any sets or circles which are specially literary. What such sets read would be no general test. I speak merely of what is commonly meant by society—the fashionable world in its broader as well as its narrower sense—and I should certainly say that, so far as my own observation can inform me, no two writers are to this curiously composite body more universally familiar at this moment than Scott and Dickens. The old have read them; the young are reading them; nor need any one doubt the fact because they are not discussed like novelties. With regard to Dickens, for instance, I was lately at a country house where a party was staying composed of young guardsmen and young ladies whom the young guardsmen danced with at London balls. Literature of any kind was rarely mentioned by any of them; but some joke was made by some one—very good of its kind—consisting of an allusion to Dickens and intelligible only by a knowledge of him; and there was not a person present who did not understand and laugh at it. With regard to Scott, let any one visit in Scotland at the houses where in the autumn the London world is to be encountered. There is hardly a district in that country which is not associated with Scott and which does not naturally give some occasion to allude to him. A visitor at such houses will rarely be thrown with people to whom such allusions are not perfectly familiar, and who do not find their pleasure in the most romantic scenery heightened from being able to connect it with some incident in the *Waverley* novels.

But it seems to me needless to insist on the fact further that Scott and Dickens as writers are still in England as much alive as they ever were. Therefore, taking the fact for granted, we will proceed to

inquire into the reason of it. If there is any truth in the observations I made at starting, it is a fact which at first sight is curious; for if ever there were writers who—to return to my original metaphor—painted their pictures with brushes dipped in the colors of the moment, of their own age, and of particular and peculiar localities, such were the colors employed by Scott and Dickens. How is it, then, that they still retain their freshness when even Goethe as a novelist from employing similar colors has lost so much of his? I believe the answer to be as follows: Just as it has been said that an original writer creates the taste by which he is to be appreciated, so certain novelists in describing their own times perpetuate the social atmosphere in which they are to be understood. They make each of their novels carry with it the light by which it was written. But other novelists do not do this, and their novels, when the circumstances under which they were written pass away from them, become dim like an unlit railway carriage when it moves out of a lighted station. Thus Scott or Dickens, when they told a story, not only told a story but surrounded it with a period and a locality. It is not only *Pecksniff* and *Pickwick* that Dickens has made immortal, but the England in which they lived. While as for “*Werther*” and “*Wilhelm Meister*,” the characters indeed remain, their surroundings have disappeared—the manners of their localities, the problems of their age. We may find these indeed in history, but we do not find them in Goethe’s novels.

Again, there are certain novelists—and Goethe was one of them—that deal with facts of their own times which, even if they could be perpetuated, would soon cease to be interesting; though many of them are facts which to the writer and his contemporaries may seem, and indeed may be, of the utmost moment. Such are any passing developments of religious, scientific, or social theories, or any movements based on them. A novel, for instance, like “*Robert Elsmere*” derives its whole interest from dealing with facts like these. The advance of biblical criticism or a wider knowledge of its results will turn this successful book into nothing but a protracted platitude. Indeed, Mrs. Ward and novelists like her may be said, in proportion as they succeed in their presumed object, not to create the taste by which they are to be appreciated, but to destroy it; and we may add, to put the matter in a more general way, that in proportion as any novel seems to have a special message to the age in which it is written, it is likely to have no message at all to any other. Now, of Scott it

may be said without reservation, and of Dickens with few reservations, that the special message is in their works entirely absent. They give us life. They do not give us views of life, and this largely accounts for the absence in them of what is obsolete.

The above explanations, however, explain half of the matter only. They explain only why these writers have not ceased to be popular; they do not explain why they *are* popular. The answer to that is to be found in their extraordinary genius—extraordinary not in its greatness only, but in the area to which it was applied: and I continue to couple their names and speak of them both together because the point in which they both most differ from other novelists happens to be a point in which they singularly resemble one another. They are each of them national, in a sense and in a degree in which no other novelists or imaginative writers of any kind have been national. Scott has stamped his genius on an entire country; Dickens has stamped his (whether for good or evil) on an entire language.

Let us consider Scott's case first. It may safely be said that Scott is to his own country what no other writer ever has been to any country. Shakespeare no doubt may have been a greater genius than he, but Scott has done for Scotland what Shakespeare never did for England. Scotland from one end to the other is haunted with Scott's genius. The imaginary events of his novels have there almost taken the place of the actual events of history; and it is his novels rather than history that make it seem an historical country. A country small, remote, and till lately poor, with a population which recently was scarcely half that of contemporary London, and with manners and modes of thought peculiar in their severe provincialism—Scott has made it a country familiar to two hemispheres. Shakespeare may be said to go out to meet the imagination of strange readers; Scott compels the imagination of his readers to come to him among his own hills. Who when he visits Windsor thinks of Sir John Falstaff? Who when he visits Wigtonshire does not think of Guy Mannering? The Highland mountains are seen through an air enchanted and bewitched by Scott. Half the traffic on the Highland railway, if not the railway itself, is due to him; and but for him Inverness would probably be still an obscure village. One of the principal railway routes from London to Edinburgh is called by the name of one of his imaginary characters; and the historical name of a place in Lanarkshire has been cancelled and been replaced by the one which he gave in "Old Mortality." Of Hamlet it has been said that

he is not *a* man but that he is man. Of Scott's characters it may be said that they are not men and women only, but a nation, and a nation in its own home. To him, in connection with Scotland, may be applied in literal truth some verses which I remember an excitable Oxford undergraduate years ago wrote about Mazzini and Italy:

"His soul is mixed with the air which fills
Her streets, and haunts her valleys and breathes free
Upon the sacred heights of all her hills."

In short, Scott's novels are not fragments of life or pictures of life. They are life itself, clothed and corporeal with all its transitory and local realities; and to read these novels is less a study than an experience, and it is also an experience that is as vivid now as ever; for just as they have the breadth of a nation so have they the vitality of a nation.

And now let us turn to Dickens. I have said he resembles Scott in being, like Scott, national; but he was national in a different manner. He has not made England, as Scott made Scotland, his own topographically or historically. Scott saw the present as the result of the historical past, and in this way he gave it a new dimension. Dickens had no sense of the historical past at all, and presumably little knowledge of it; and this is probably the reason why, with the exception of London, few of the localities in which the action of his books lies have, as described by him, any strong local individuality. They are like England as he knew it, but not specially like any special parts of England. Every one sees how appropriately the name of "Waverley Route" is given to one of the railway routes in Edinburgh; but though some of the best-known incidents in "Pickwick" happened at Bath and Ipswich, who would think of calling a railway to either town the "Pickwick Route"? The incidents in question might have happened just as well at Cheltenham or at Exeter. Any old coaching inn recalls Dickens to us quite as much as the celebrated "Great White Horse." Scott's characters move in a concrete Scotland; those of Dickens move in an abstract England. Whereas Scott's scenes are individual, those of Dickens are representative; but they are not for that reason any the less truthful. They give us England as broadly and as nationally as Scott gives us Scotland. They reach the same result, but by another artistic method.

A deeper difference between the two writers is this—that the various aspects of life appeal to each in different degrees. What a mountain or an old castle was to Scott, a stage-coach or a lawyer's office

was to Dickens. What the one accepted as a matter of course was to the other an object of ever fresh appreciation. Scott accepted the present; what he was consciously fascinated by was the past. With Dickens the case was the exact reverse of this. He accepted the past; it was the present by which he was consciously fascinated; and the past had no meaning for him except as connected with it. An old building for him was not like a dead man, but like an old man—an old man making faces either grotesque or sinister. For him everything was alive with the life of his own day. Houses, crooked courts, four-post bedsteads, cabs, portmanteaus, chimney-pots, and all inanimate objects winked at him, laughed with him, and spoke to him in the vernacular of the streets, and were forever saying to him something fresh and pungent. He had all the familiarity with the life around him that could be produced by the most close acquaintance with it; and yet he was always watching it with the surprise and expectant freshness which, as a rule, belong only to those to whom it is still a novelty. And this vision of his he communicated to his readers. He made them see not what they had not seen before, but what they had not noticed before. He made them conscious of their own unconscious observations. His genius acted on the surface of English life as spilt water acts on the surface of unpolished marble. It suddenly made visible all its colors and veinings; and in this way he may be said to have revealed England to itself: and he still does so.

It is true that this general statement must be made with one reservation. One part of English life was entirely beyond his grasp. He knew nothing of the highest class. He had no true knowledge even of the upper ranks of the middle class. His lords, his baronets, his majors, his ladies and gentlemen generally are not even like enough to reality to be called caricatures. But if we accept these classes and speak only of the bulk of the nation, no writer ever knew the English nation and represented the English nation so thoroughly and comprehensively as Dickens. His style is full of the faults of a man imperfectly educated. Errors of taste abound in it, and much of his sentiment is mawkish, or constrained, or false; and yet, in spite of this, not only do his writings embody the shrewdest, the truest, the widest, and the most various observations of the life around him, but they show him to be, in a certain sense, one of the greatest of English poets. In saying this I am making no allusion to any passages which sentimental admirers of him may consider poetical, or which he probably thought poetical himself. I am alluding to the manner in which,

throughout his works, he not only presents what are commonly called the facts of life, but actually gives us that elusive atmosphere which in life surrounds these facts and imparts to them those changing aspects by which in life we know them; an atmosphere impregnated with wandering thoughts and sentiments and volatile associations—an element which would seem to defy description. This Dickens has described. It penetrates his works and permeates them.

One example may be given, a single touch. He is describing some lawyer's office with dim, dusty windows, and among other details he notes this: that there was on the floor an enormous faded stain, "as if some by-gone clerk had cut his throat there and had bled ink." The whole past and present of the place is suggested in these few words, and what he felt and described in a lawyer's office he felt and described in nearly every scene he dealt with. He felt and he seized its human and, above all, its national meaning. He did this even in cases where it might be thought he would have failed to do so. I said he knew nothing of the highest upper classes; but in a certain way he understood their life as a factor in the life of the country, through certain of their surroundings. He knew the meaning and the sentiment of old English parks, of lodges, and gray gate-posts, damp and mottled with lichens. He knew the spirit which haunted the whispering avenue and hung above the twisted chimney-stacks and mullioned window of the hall; but his comprehension stopped at the front door. It was never at home inside. With this reservation, Dickens is England; and if he could not describe what the upper class see among themselves, he describes what they see whenever they go out of doors. To move out of the seclusion of polite life in England is to walk with Dickens. It is so still, as it was in his own days; and if any proof is needed in addition to those I have already mentioned, it may be found in the English language as spoken at this moment. Dickens' characters exist not in his books only. They have walked out of his books and taken their places among living people. Their looks and manners are social and not literary facts; their jokes and phrases are the common property of the nation. Of one other novelist only can this be said, and that novelist is Scott.

And now let us turn to Thackeray. Do his books still retain their vitality as those of Scott and Dickens do? What their sale may be now, as compared with what it was during the author's lifetime, I am not able to say. Certainly the eye is not constantly confronted with new editions of him as it is with new editions of Scott and Dickens.

That fact, however, does not tell us much; for never at any time can he have appealed to a public so large as they did. To say this is to say nothing in derogation of his genius. The number of readers a writer has is not necessarily any indication of his greatness, or even of his influence. If it were, the author of "Robert Elsmere" or "The Mystery of a Hansom Cab" would be incomparably greater than Darwin or Mr. Herbert Spencer. Thackeray's readers were and are limited by the limitations of his subjects, by nothing else. He did much that Scott did not attempt and that Dickens could not ever have conceived; but for every million that can understand Scott and Dickens there are probably only a thousand that can understand Thackeray. His minute observation of the upper classes of his day is lost on persons to whom those classes are not familiar, partly because such persons do not recognize what he is dealing with, and partly because they are not interested in the questions with which he is most preoccupied. Indeed, of all great novelists Thackeray is the narrowest, not because the range of his vision is confined to the upper classes, for these viewed comprehensively form a complete microcosm and in many ways exhibit the problems and possibilities of life better than any other class; but because, accepting the upper classes as the world, he views them from one position only, and his view of them is extremely partial. Only a few of his characters he knows from the inside; all the rest he knows from the outside only. Men who were clients of the world or its victims, who were struggling with it or hostile to it—these men Thackeray knew from the inside. But the world itself, which for him meant the aristocratic class as a body—he was familiar with its aspect, but he never understood its spirit. Major Pendennis and his nephew, Rawdon Crawley, George Osborne, and Colonel Newcome—he knew these as if each of them were himself. Lord Steyne, Lord Bareacres, and Sir Pitt Crawley he knew merely as a vigilant witness. Hence the narrowness of his view as compared to Scott and Dickens. Hence he seems such a dwarf when placed beside them. And his narrowness of view finds another expression of itself in the fewness of his types of character. It has been well said, for instance, that he could draw but two women—the bad and the good, Becky Sharp being the prototype of the one and Amelia Sedley of the other.

All this, however, is mentioned merely to show why Thackeray's appeal to the world must have always been comparatively limited, and limited not only *to* the upper classes, but *among* them. Whether

in process of time the number of his readers is diminishing, I repeat I am unable to say. A more important question is whether the interest with which he is read now is as fresh and vital as that with which he was read originally. I should say it was not; and I should say so for this reason, that as compared with Scott and Dickens he lacked the qualities by which the vitality of his work could be perpetuated. He lacked their extraordinary breadth and their extraordinary variety; he lacked the qualities that made them so peculiarly and so comprehensively national. They each gave us a nation—a nation which still lives; Thackeray gave us a fragment of a generation, which already is almost past. It is true that the social life described by Scott and Dickens strikes us as in some respects more remote from that of the present than the social life described by Thackeray; but Scott and Dickens have an art on which I have already commented. They surround their characters with the atmosphere in which they lived. That atmosphere is in the books themselves; it is not only in the reader's experience. And as for *Pickwick*, we are at once in the England of stage-coaches. Nothing seems strange; nothing old-fashioned. We are in a perennial present. But with Thackeray the case is quite different. His characters live, but they seem to live in a vanished or vanishing world. The bachelor haunts, for instance, of his heroes, such as "the Old Slaughters," are to this generation mere shadows of unremembered names. The haunts of Dickens' heroes, though they belong to the past also, are as distinct and vivid to us as they were to those who frequented them.

W. H. MALLOCK.

BRANDY AND SOCIALISM: THE GOTHENBURG PLAN.

THE phrase "Brandy and Socialism" accurately expresses both the fact and the purpose of the Gothenburg system of controlling the sale of spirits in Sweden and Norway. The word brandy—a strong liquor distilled from corn or potatoes—represents that to which this legislation chiefly applies. The method of selling is socialistic in the strict sense of allowing no private person to make profit for himself out of the liquor sales. The profits go straight to the community for public uses.

The announcement has been made that a bill will be brought in at the next Parliament to try this system in England. One of the leading dignitaries of the church, the Bishop of Chester, sent to the "Times," August 20, a letter in which he boldly says that the time has come for a trial of this method. In "prohibition" merely he sees no hope of any widely efficient and practical dealing with the question. The large influence of this bishop and his long and intelligent interest in the "drink question" have given to the issue its unusual prominence. Several vigorous efforts have been already made in England to arouse general interest in this Swedish plan. Investigations were made into its workings before the report of the House of Lords in 1879 appeared. The whole spirit of this report is strikingly like that which now comes from Dr. Jayne, the Bishop of Chester. Several years earlier Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, whose practical genius for successful municipal reforms is believed to be unmatched in England, had carefully studied this Swedish plan. His conversion was complete and he determined to introduce its essential features into Birmingham. The cry "Too much centralization" was raised against it. That it was "socialistic" in its nature was also felt to be a danger. Since Mr. Chamberlain's first interest in this scheme the English cities have had so many and such successful experiences in controlling "natural monopolies" of various sorts that the word "socialistic" has lost its terrors. But of even greater importance is the rapid rise of the County Council, which offers such security for the exercise of local rights and influences that the cry of "centralization" also has

lost its force. This is the reason why the Bishop of Chester considers the time propitious for a new attempt.¹

It is of course not proposed to introduce the new system without such modifications as local conditions and traditions in England would demand. The term "Gothenburg System" is moreover used, as it should be, to include the changes and developments which have grown out of it, especially in Norway, since 1865, when it was introduced. What then is this system? A word of history will make both it and the results attained under it much clearer. At least eighty years of diversified and often despairing legislation antedate this experiment. From 1811 practically every corn-grower was allowed to be his own distiller. In spite of the swift and wide-spread evils of this *régime*, in spite of an increasing pauperism which none could deny, every attempt to restrict this "liberty of trade" was met by the old cry against "interference of the law with private business." Probably two hundred thousand people were making profits from distilling alone. In 1824 the resulting evils were so appalling that bold measures were taken to restrict "free distilling for home use," though little was gained, as private profit could still everywhere be made. In 1830 more than one hundred and seventy thousand stills existed in Sweden. Severe measures were taken which reduced the number to something like forty thousand in 1850. This change prevented a multitude of small people from making profits, but it enabled the few richer men to make all the more without the least restriction in the manufacture or consumption. In 1855 a further step was taken which gave each community the right to prevent the existence of all non-licensed brandy traffic of retail and public-house character. Licenses were sold at auction to "men of character" alone. Household distillation was converted into a sharply-supervised manufacture which was more highly taxed. Neither friend nor foe of the later legislation denies that great good came of this change. The traffic was confined to more responsible men, who were forced to do business under conditions open to criticism of an alert and powerful public sentiment.

A very familiar result, however, soon meets us. In the town ways were soon enough discovered by which the most essential provisions

¹ Dr. Gould, who is just finishing an exhaustive inquiry into the Gothenburg system for a report soon to be forwarded to Col. Carroll D. Wright at the United States Bureau of Labor in Washington, recently wrote me: "I have found an almost unanimous opinion among all classes that the system, as compared with the old one, is an amazing improvement. This is my own opinion without qualification."

of the law were avoided. As a shrewd money-lender can manage any usury law that can be framed, so the spirit-dealers, having to do with a passion so powerful as that for intoxicants, could easily circumvent their obstacles. One of the most splendid fights in the history of temperance had gone on for twenty years. The first discovery (about 1857) that this last legislation was after all not likely to lessen greatly or permanently the pauperism and misery seems to have been followed by a moment of despair. Dr. Wieselgren's visits among the working people of Gothenburg, then having a population of thirty-five thousand, convinced him that if the "upper classes" could have the actual results brought vividly before them they might be stirred to use their strength for a radical change. A petition of nearly nine thousand signers was sent to the magistrates for important changes. The manner of its refusal excited indignation among a few men of commanding influence. A committee was appointed to make an exhaustive report upon the social condition of the city. Editors, lawyers, physicians were brought into the discussion. For the first time among men of large social influence the new thought found expression: "As long as private individuals or companies can make profits from the sales, ways will be found to spread the use of spirits." With such a passion as that for drink it was found socially unsafe to allow people to make money by satisfying its cravings.

No kind of theory or speculation as to state and private functions preceded this conclusion. The connection between private money-making and over-stimulated sales was direct and decisive. Innumerable tricks and ingenious devices appeared through which the man whose gain depended upon it could, despite the law, meet the wants of his customers. In their report the committee struck straight at the evil. Instead of selling licenses by auction, it was proposed to hand over the entire business to a company that should give proper guarantees to make no profits. In one of the most careful studies yet made of this reform by Dr. Wieselgren it is said:

"To bring about a much-needed reform in this matter, the petitioners had formed a company, under the name of 'The Gothenburg Licensing Company,' with a view to taking over all such public-house licenses as should fall in, reserving to themselves the right of applying to some purpose conducive to the well-being of the working classes such profits as might exceed the net proceeds, which they were bound to hand over, and likewise freely to decide how many of the public-house licenses should be made use of and in which parts of the town they should be exercised."

After the Town Council had considered the proposal and approved

of it by twenty-nine votes against twelve, it was sanctioned by the magistrates, and thirty-six licenses were duly made over by the governor of the province on June 8, 1865. On August 22, the same year, the company's statutes received the royal assent, and on October 1 it commenced operations. These have since been in full activity and were even extended when, from October 1, 1874, the retail traffic in brandy and other distilled spirituous liquors was handed over to the company. On renewing its contract in 1868 the company saw fit to relinquish its claim to devote its surplus profits to some purpose conducive to the welfare of the working classes; so that after the said year the whole net proceeds were handed over to the community.

For capital that had to be invested by the company a fit interest was allowed. In a quarter of a century neither director nor shareholder in this company has made a farthing of profit. The gains go directly to the public treasury for the common good, and the individual is deprived of one of the strongest and subtlest motives for increasing the sales. These motives are, moreover, turned to social uses in yet another way. Before this legislation the so-called "eating-houses" found the profits so much higher upon their spirits than upon food that either none or very poor food was kept. The new administration made it a primary condition that a variety of wholesome foods should be kept on hand, together with tea, cocoa, chocolate, milk, and other nourishing beverages. Upon these and not upon spirits the profits must be made, so that it becomes the seller's interest to sell only food and healthful drinks. It was a rare compliment to the new *régime* when a workman was heard to say: "Our bar-tender is not polite when he gives us spirits, but only when he sells us food and pap." A bar-tender is reported to have said: "That rascally company has made me a temperance crank in spite of myself."

As the active help of the most respected firms and business men of Gothenburg was enlisted in this work, the City Council received so strong a support as to enable it to carry through such radical changes as were necessary to the success of the scheme. A very ruinous system of selling upon credit was instantly stopped and only cash payments allowed. Purchases by pawn were also done away with. Every obscure resort to which the police had difficult access was closed, and open, well-ventilated places licensed. Instead of one bar for seven hundred and eighty-five inhabitants, only one for one thousand and ninety-three was allowed. No selling was permitted to persons under age and none but a state-tested, unadulterated liquor sold. Important

restrictions were at once put upon the time of selling. No late sales were allowed, while the traffic on Sundays and holidays was sharply controlled. The common custom of the seller to drink with his customer ceased. The wife of a vender puts in the evidence: "If it has done no other good it has stopped my husband coming home half-drunk every night." It is vital to note that the above evils are all such as in some form would continue just as long as individual profits depended upon the amount sold. The whole motive for their continuance falls out when the seller gets from credit, long hours, etc., nothing but his pains. Why should one sell to a drunkard or to a minor if nothing is gained by it? The London "Spectator," which takes up the cause, says in a recent issue:

"The police difficulty would be met under the new system in more ways than one. In the first place, the manager would be the servant of the community, and the community, as would be shown by the very fact of its buying up the public-houses, would be thoroughly determined to discourage drunkenness by every means in its power. Consequently the manager would know that by permitting drunkenness he ran the risk of losing his employment, . . . nor would the manager himself be under any inducement to run the risk. The Bishop of Chester suggests that the manager's pay should in part take the form of a commission upon every article sold except alcoholic liquors. . . . He would have a distinct interest in making the supply of *non*-alcoholic drinks abundant and attractive, and in pushing the consumption of them rather than of their alcoholic rivals. . . . Again, as brewers came to realize that the whole interest of the manager of a public-house was to encourage drinking which does not lead to drunkenness at the cost of drinking which does lead to it, they would be led to brew beer of less alcoholic strength."

During the first ten years of trial, innumerable practical difficulties appeared of a character so serious as to defeat some chief aims of the scheme. Two of these cannot here be left unnoticed. The first was the question of compensation, over which a prolonged and stubborn fight had to be waged. It was a distinct issue of private *versus* public interest in which the public would have been worsted but for the pressure of a new and powerful moral sentiment that the long struggle had aroused. It was at no time denied that fair compensation should be made, but the strongest claims for "good-will" and "reasonable expectation" were thwarted. The second difficulty was to meet and sustain the attack of a gigantic business interest headed by the "Brandy King," Lars Olsson Smith. The first unfailing sign that the new plan was succeeding was the desperate energy and hostility which this ring soon began to show. No weapon that great wealth, high political influence, picturesque and unctuous charity reforms could furnish

was left unused. It was one of the most envenomed and dramatic struggles that the history of the temperance movement can show. The interests of country and town were often so divergent—the towns seeming to gain what the country lost—that adroit and telling use was made of the fact. These difficulties were at any rate so far mastered by 1877 that we are able from that date to pass closer judgment upon the results of the new management. To trace such improvement as there is to this system alone would of course be an absurdity. The teetotallers who object to it rendered heroic service in creating the public sentiment without which no reform could have prospered. Much must be allowed also to general educational and scientific progress. Distinct improvement is also observable before the system was applied. The most generous allowance, however, to all these other influences leaves upon any dispassionate investigator the strongest conviction that the Gothenburg method has powerfully assisted at every step in the progress.

The reports show, first, that cases of *delirium tremens* have in seventeen years sunk from one hundred and thirty-one yearly to forty-nine. Here, if the great increase of population is taken into account, is an improvement of more than sixty per cent. The changes in consumption of spirits appear in the following table from the company's report:

Year.	Amount Consumed, in Litres.	Population.	Consumed per Head, in Litres.
1877	1,732,589	63,391	27.33
1889... ..	1,568,154	97,677	16.06

In 1890 the British minister at Stockholm, Sir F. H. Plunkett, was asked for a further report, which was made to Lord Salisbury in October of that year. Help was rendered by the various consuls and by the chief of police in Stockholm. The conclusions are indicated by the following words taken from the report:

“The last fourteen years have been marked by a steady diminution: (1) in consumption of spirits per head of the population; (2) in the convictions for drunkenness (proportionately to the population); (3) in the number of cases of *delirium tremens*. In 1876 the total amount of spirits, native and foreign, consumed in Gothenburg was 28.90 litres per head of the population. In 1889 it was 16.05 litres.”

Dr. Baer, of Berlin, in his statistical inquiries into drunkenness in different nations, confirms these results. He finds Sweden traditionally given to drink as almost no other people, yet adds that the recent improvements there and in Norway are unequalled in any other country. His careful comparisons extend to fourteen countries. No one

has brought to this question a more unbiassed spirit than an English engineer who has spent twenty years in Norway. He was induced in 1890 to write out his experience in a pamphlet of ninety-six pages, "Local Option in Norway," in which he gives the reasons why he was converted. He says: "The nearly twenty years' experience of the working of this system has enabled me to realize how mistaken my original views were." In a letter published in the "Times," September 2, 1892, Mr. Wilson restates his belief, adding of the facts that "they conclusively point to improved habits in the people and reduced consumption per head of the population." The same favorable opinion was expressed after examination in Bergen by the Earl of Meath only a year ago.

But no fair judgment of this whole matter can be formed without dealing unflinchingly with certain limitations, dangers, and positive weaknesses. The master-stroke we have seen lies in depriving the individual of profit; but the temptation to have much liquor sold is not therefore removed. We have only substituted a *group* selfishness for an individual one. It is still for the direct advantage of the taxpayers in the community to have the proceeds from liquor sales as large as possible in order that taxes may be lower. I heard a rich Swede discourse at a sumptuous dinner over his bottle of champagne upon these "proofs of success." "We raise our taxes without any difficulty," he said. It needs no illustration to show what a subtle and all-pervading force of temptation is here brought to bear upon the average citizen. That the danger is real, not in theory alone, but in fact, no one will deny who has studied the situation. Is the selfish advantage of a collective body less dangerous than that of the single individuals who compose the body? No calculations other than speculative are here possible. That so direct an interest of the group is a danger will not be questioned. Our faith that the socialized advantage is an advance upon the narrower individual one is in the fact that the weakness has been more and more clearly recognized. It is precisely here that the strongest word may be spoken in favor of the new plan. Though it is for the taxpayer's good to have these large resources at command, this method, being a public one open to every inspection and in the keeping of the most responsible citizens, *is by this very fact of being out in the light far more accessible to the action and influence of public opinion.*

It is a commonplace of the situation that progress in temperance depends at every step upon a convinced public opinion; so that the first practical issue of the problem is to get our temperance method into

that position where public sentiment can act and be acted upon with greatest directness and efficiency. In any plea that is made for the Swedish plan serious difficulties must be admitted. The more ardent friends have as wildly overstated its benefits as its enemies have been blind to its advantages. The kind of enthusiasm for the "Swedish Solution" which showed itself both in England and Germany ten or twelve years ago was full of exaggeration. The soberer and more critical attitude that it is now possible to take shows us that the best hope here offered us is not so much in any actual achievement of lessened sales. Our plea should be rather that this system—compared with private-profit selling—gives us a far safer basis for an aggressive and efficient education upon this liquor question of public opinion. The present alliance of "rum and politics" stifles the very beginnings of the most effective agitation.

To see how vital this point is, let any one consider the relation that exists in large cities between the rum interest and political influence. This interest in Boston is said to represent above ninety million dollars. We know what this means for debased city management. We know the part played by the bar-rooms in every election. We know that our cities are in dangerous measure under the control of the rum interest, so that many of the most pressing political reforms are killed at the start. It is probably far less appreciated that some of the most-needed social reforms, like that fundamental one of tenement-house improvement, are baffled for the same reason. To take this rum interest out of politics would open ways at once both for political and social improvements. It is of course not maintained that our larger cities are now in the keeping of officials to whom it would be safe to intrust the large revenues from liquor sales. Any friend of the Gothenburg System would only first apply it to those smaller communities where an intelligent and vigorous temperance sentiment already exists. He would, moreover, try it not as a "solution," but as an experiment, to see what results it might furnish. In cities like Cambridge, Brockton, Haverill, Mass., that are able for successive years to vote prohibition, it would be (as compared with England or Germany) an enormous advantage that the question of compensation for vested rights would present scarcely a difficulty. In centres with so strong a sentiment we have the proof that municipal control would be guarded in such a way as to keep the liquor issue far freer from secret and dangerous political control. So far as the issue would be still in politics, it would at least be so much more in the open that the fight could be

conducted with immeasurably more hope both of practical results and of reaching the sources of public opinion. Nor is it any answer to say that the old town license met these conditions. It is only within recent years that a public sentiment adequate to cope with these difficulties even existed. Brockton, Mass., is, among others in the State, an example of a city (nearly thirty thousand inhabitants) that has a sentiment strong enough and instructed enough to give a hopeful trial to this plan. Yet the legislature has several times refused to allow her even to experiment with the plan. The citizens for four years vote prohibition simply because the town seems to the best judges a little better off than under license to people who make profits out of it. Yet absolute prohibition has such evident embarrassments and even absurdities that a demand, as in other towns, has grown for the Gothenburg plan. An active total-abstinence party objecting conscientiously to the plan would probably be willing to yield so far as to see the experiment tested. Many of the most influential of this party in England have assured the Bishop of Chester of their support upon these grounds that the experiment is worth making.

Another striking advantage that these American conditions offer must next be dealt with. The developments of this system in Norway best show what may be done both to meet new exigencies and overcome old defects. As has been said, it soon came to light in Sweden that the public revenues were a danger from the very fact that taxation was so lightened. The Norwegians in adopting the plan resolved to deal boldly with this peril. They therefore determined to make the taxpayers' interest in the liquor revenue as slight and indirect as possible. Instead of turning all the profits into the town treasury, they were used as far as possible to support and establish social improvements depending chiefly on *voluntary* support. We have seen that it was the original purpose in Gothenburg to use the revenues largely "for the benefit of the working classes." This was early found (I think in 1868) to be impracticable and was given up. The act was bitterly criticised, but it should be said that at that date far too little was known about safe methods of spending large sums of money for a sort of continuous institutional charity or philanthropy. It is doubtful if it could be done even yet without working serious injury to the very class for which it was meant. The spread of the Elberfeld system of charity, the new schools for artistic and technical training, the building of tenement-houses, etc., are just coming to offer many wiser and safer ways in which considerable revenues can be safely invested

for distinctively social ends. For such purposes Norway, not with perfect but evidently with large measure of success, is trying some of the most interesting of social experiments. Among the objects for which the liquor revenues are spent we find aid for every new type of charity that could not get town help. A park is enlarged, baths are improved, total-abstinence societies assisted in their agitation, reformatories of educational character for the young have been constructed, even dwellings for workingmen have been built and sold to them, libraries have been started, children sent to the country for summer holidays, and primary students to technical schools. These are but a part of the objects helped by these funds. An English visitor has reported to the "Times" his satisfaction in finding how much artistic interests of the higher-trade instruction are furthered by these means. He finds at the Copenhagen Exhibition skilled workmen "who each undertook within six months after his return to write an essay describing certain improvements in his own trade as seen at the exhibition—such essays to be printed and circulated at the cost of the company. The grants to these objects are separately voted at the annual meeting of the company's shareholders, and so many people are anxious to help in this good work that the shares are over one hundred per cent premium," etc. Would any one claim that these uses of profits from the liquor traffic were not immeasurably more advantageous to society than the uses to which private profits are put by our dealers and rings?

As our judgment must be based upon this later Norwegian development rather than upon the earlier experience, Mr. Wilson's conclusions after twenty years' observation are of great value. Since 1871 fifty-one societies have formed for the entire control of spirit-licenses. In five towns, by the action of local option, no license whatever has been granted, so that no retailing of liquor exists in them. Taking into account the growth of population, Mr. Wilson shows in the following table in what measure the consumption of spirits diminished as the public companies gradually took all sales into their hands:

NUMBER OF SOCIETIES IN OPERATION ON THE FIRST OF JANUARY.

1875.	1876.	1877.	1879.	1880.	1882.	1886.	1887.	1889.
15	22	30	35	41	44	49	50	51

In the subjoined table we show the progress in the *diminution of the home consumption* of ardent spirits which has taken place in Nor-

way in the period the societies have been established and operating up to December 31, 1887, the latest statistical date at present available:

Year.	Total Home Consumption of Ardent Spirits.
1876.....	12,300,000 litres.
1888.....	5,200,000 “

In all such estimates as this large allowances must be made for other causes of improvement, as the reported decrease in “rum diseases” may be largely owing to improved medical skill. The friends of this system have in the discussion allowed too little for the action of concurrent influences. It seems nevertheless impossible to deny that the public as against private irresponsible control represents a gain both of method and result that is distinct and real. Of the general surroundings in Norway Mr. Wilson says:

“The question of personal profit from the trading being entirely excluded in the societies’ operations, the public are offered no attractions in the bars beyond genuine liquors. There are no bright, comfortable gin-palaces or seductive bar-maids to attract the thirsty soul. The bars are simply plain rooms fitted with a counter and shelves for glasses, etc. There are no seats for the customers, and they are not permitted to loiter on the premises; they must consume their dram at once and leave immediately. There is no chalking up of scores to be paid off when pay-day comes round. The business is strictly for cash. Any one creating a disturbance or appearing the worse for liquor is not served; Children are not allowed upon the premises and can therefore not be used as messengers to procure liquors; besides which the societies supply liquors only in their own glasses and bottles. Youths younger than sixteen or seventeen years are not served. Only a reasonable quantity of spirits is served at a time to any customer, and not such a quantity as in the opinion of the bar-tender would be likely to produce intoxication. The prices of the liquors sold are not more expensive than when the private licenses conducted the trade; they are fixed by the societies, subject to the approval of the municipal council, so that the public interest is perfectly protected in that matter too. The tariff of prices is hung up in the bars for the inspection of the customers. Only men of trustworthy character are appointed by the societies, but subject to the approval of the municipal council. They are clad in a uniform, each man with a number on his collar, like a policeman, to enable his identification in case of a customer having any complaint to make.”

As very careful reports have been made upon Bergen a word should be given to it. A direct attempt is there making to secure for the public the “beer privileges.” The Gothenburg System rests on the assumption that for any future over which we have influence the majority of people will have spirits in some form. It assumes that so long as this is the case all prohibitory laws of absolute character will

be defeated. It does not therefore try to stop the sale of spirits. Its only aim is the strictly practical one of so checking and regulating sales as to reduce to the utmost the social misery caused by intemperance. Thus beer not being considered such cause was not included under the term "brandy," to which this legislation applies. It has been everywhere asserted that the heavier liquors would be driven out by a larger use of light wines and beers. Unless Bavaria may be a possible exception, none of the more northerly countries seem to furnish any evidence whatever of this ethic of the brewer and the wine-grower. Sweden and Norway present in this respect a curious spectacle which furnishes argument for both parties. Since the companies prevent all private persons from making money from the sales of spirits, the increase in the use of *beer* has grown widely and steadily. Is it in part because less spirits are used or chiefly because innumerable people have a chance to make money from the sales and thus spread the use of it? Whatever conclusion is drawn, an account of the enterprising ways through which the private venders bring their products to every home shows conclusively that individual profit-making is a powerful factor in spreading the use of beer. This has brought to the front a new problem. Why should not beer also be included by the company in order to turn these growing profits to public objects? Why should not the same relative improvement follow here as in the case of spirits? An idea may be gained of the extension of the beer traffic from the most recent Norwegian statistics:

1887,	the use of beer was	34,777,000	litres.
1888,	" " "	40,359,000	" "
1889,	" " "	41,516,200	" "
1890,	" " "	49,422,200	" "
1891,	" " "	59,019,100	" "

A long-recognized authority upon this question, the present Chief of Prisons in Stockholm, shows that the dangerous increase of beer-drinking in Sweden is producing results in drunkenness of so serious a character as to imperil the entire temperance work. While punishments for drunkenness from spirits have steadily decreased in Stockholm and Gothenburg, drunkenness traced directly to the beer-shops has grown "*in erschreckendem Grade*" ("at a frightful rate")—from four hundred and forty-two cases in Gothenburg in 1882 to seven hundred and fifty-three cases in 1889. Dr. Wieselgren considers the individual vender and the profits made by private distribution as the chief cause of this great extension of beer-drinking. He adds:

"Nothing is clearer than that the wall which the Gothenburg System has set up against intoxication is in a good way to be broken down, not by spirits but by beer." The public take the profit from spirits and decrease the sales. Private individuals distribute the beer for personal gain and the sales increase with the fatal rapidity which the above figures indicate. It is impossible to misread the significance of this fact. To reform this evil the directors in Bergen have proposed to take the first steps by using the revenue from spirits to get control of the beer privileges. A final word should be said of Bergen, as a most minute and thorough study has been made of this question there by Dr. Wilson.

Apprehensions for drunkenness fell from one thousand and thirteen in 1877 to seven hundred and twenty-nine in 1889. The consumption has also steadily decreased. Among the fifty-three charitable and public objects to which large portions of the revenue have been given we find heavy subscriptions for tree-planting, public museums, the various total-abstinence societies, local and national; public library, laborers' waiting-rooms, at which no liquor is sold; seamen's home; above twelve thousand dollars to the Lloyd School for teaching handicrafts to boys and girls, to thirteen different educational institutions (other than the public schools), to museums of industrial art, artisans' exhibition fund, etc. The coffee-houses owe their origin to this source. A town of fifty thousand inhabitants has in thirteen years had at its disposal for such objects nearly four million dollars which would have gone under the *régime* of private profits to distillers and private venders. Mr. Wilson says: "There is really not a tithe of the wretchedness, squalid misery, and poverty so prevalent in English towns of similar size." He traces the result chiefly to this public control of spirits.

Under conditions that are distinctly more hopeful than those which Sweden and Norway offer, can any good reason be given why, in a question of such appalling perplexity, we should not have the advantage of such experience as an honest trial of this system would yield us?

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.

SWEDEN, 1892.

THE ARTISTIC TRIUMPH OF THE FAIR-BUILDERS.

THE unanimous voice of the thousands of people from all parts of the country who have visited Chicago during the past year and seen the great Fair being built declares that it will be—nay, that it already is—a wonderful success from the artistic point of view. Their testimony has, I think, shown all intelligent Americans that Chicago will triumph just where they may have thought her most likely to fail, and has convinced them that the Exhibition, taken as a whole, will be a very beautiful sight. Nevertheless, most persons who have merely heard what others could tell them do not yet realize the true quality and meaning of the beauty of the Fair, or appreciate what an insistent demand it will make upon their attention. They know that there are always many beautiful sights to be enjoyed during the months of summer, and they think that they may choose this one or another, without much consideration, as whim, habit, convenience, or the state of their pocket-books may suggest.

Therefore one who realizes what the interest of the Fair will actually be feels that no duty is clearer than the duty of making it manifest. It will be a misfortune and disgrace if the committees and artists who are working so devotedly and well fail of their due meed of comprehension and applause, and a still greater misfortune and disgrace if the American people fail to profit fully by their efforts. Of course no one can hope really to explain just what this great Exhibition will be, for there are no adequate terms of comparison and illustration to use. But it is possible at least to record the impression which, even in their incomplete state, the Fair grounds have made upon one's own eye and mind, and to give a few reasons why no intelligent American, and none who wishes to become intelligent, should fail to visit them next summer.

This Fair of ours, in its general aspect and judged from the artistic point of view, is not only much more successful than, two years ago, we believed it could be; it is much more successful than any that has ever been created in this or another land. It is not only comparable

to the beautiful Paris Exhibition of 1889, and not only equal to it; it is greatly superior. And its excellence is not an imitation or even an adaptation of any precedent, but has been achieved upon entirely new and original lines. It is perfectly certain that every one who goes to Chicago next summer will be astonished, no matter how much he may have heard and believed in advance; and it is just as certain that he will be charmed, no matter how good or how captious his taste may be. Indeed, the more intelligent he is, and the more intimate is his acquaintance with general questions of art and with the character of previous international exhibitions, the more he will be amazed and delighted. Only those who know how hard it is to produce a high degree of beauty on a vast scale and in complicated ways will fully appreciate what they see at Chicago, realizing that the difficulties which always exist were in this case increased by the necessity of absolutely creating an appropriate site for the buildings. They, and only they, will fully understand that they are beholding one of the most beautiful of sights and, considering its genesis, distinctly the most wonderful sight, in the world—a sight the character of which, I am unafraid to say, has not been paralleled since the Rome of the Emperors stood intact with marble palace, statue, terrace, bridge, and temple, under an Italian sky no bluer than our own.

Of course, big as it is, our Fair is a small place compared to imperial Rome; and fine though its structures are, some of them show conspicuous faults. But taken as a whole, considered as a great complex yet single work of art, viewed as a vast panorama of stately architectural and natural features, I believe that no place of its extent in the modern world has been so impressive, so magnificent, so imperial in its beauty. It seems an astounding fact that it can really exist. It seems a miracle that it can have come to life within the space of two years. It is impossible to think that a spectacle of equal beauty will again be created in our lifetime; for in no other city will the designers of an exhibition have at command the shores and waters of a veritable ocean, and from the admirable use made of these shores and waters a large part of the beauty as well as the originality of the Chicago Exhibition has sprung. Man had here to conquer Nature in one of her most recalcitrant moods. But having conquered her, the result is more admirable as well as more individual than could have been any result won by a less desperate struggle.

This, then, is the first answer to the query whether it will be "worth while" to visit Chicago next summer even if it does not seem

convenient: It will be if you care to see one of the most nobly beautiful and distinctly the most interesting of the existing creations of the hand of man. But there is another answer which should reinforce this one: It will be worth your while to take a great deal of trouble and make many sacrifices to visit the Fair if you care to learn, in a very short time, more about certain very important matters than months of home study or foreign travel could teach you—to gain much valuable knowledge and many fruitful impressions which there has never before been such an opportunity of gaining, and probably never will be in the future while you live.

It is well, I think, to make as clear as possible this distinction between the mere pleasure and the instruction which a sight of the Fair will afford. We can imagine a very pretty, charming, and amusing exhibition which, except as its art-collections might exert a nobler influence, would not teach us much about art. We can imagine a site made picturesque by the hand of Nature which would tell us nothing more than that a naturally picturesque is better than a naturally ugly site. And we can fancy it covered with buildings, gayly attractive to the untutored and possibly even to the tutored eye, which would not show what true architectural excellence is, or, much less, that harmony in variety is the highest result attainable in a complicated artistic undertaking. But the aspect of the Columbian Fair will be very different from this, and I wish especially to emphasize the fact because I think the American public likes even better to inform and cultivate than to amuse itself; because I think that to lay stress upon the educational value of the Fair is to use the best means of persuading all Americans that they ought to visit it.

In the first place, it will show that very unpromising natural materials can be mastered by men, if they are true artists, and turned to the account of noble beauty. From any elevated point on the Fair grounds you will see a limitless expanse of water to the eastward and a limitless expanse of flat prairie to the westward. You will already know that much of the ground immediately beneath you was not even solid, ugly prairie, but treacherous marsh. And looking over this ground now—here with its straight, stately, wide canals and architectonic terraces, and there with its irregularly-shaped lagoons and islands—you will understand how a great artist like Mr. Olmsted can absolutely create in a way which almost equals Nature's own. To-day it seems a simple enough idea—this bringing in the lake to solidify the

land, this digging channels for the water and using the earth that was taken out to give the building sites consistency. But it was one of those very simple ideas which only a great man conceives, and one of those very practical ideas which only an artist conceives. That is, while a practical man might have seen the feasibility of the scheme, only an artist could have seen its desirability; and only a great artist could have been impelled to insist upon executing it by foreseeing how diversified beauty—variety in harmony—could thus be secured even better than upon a more naturally advantageous site. Mr. Olmsted is the only man in this country or in any country, I believe, who could have foretold how, by making use of that lake-overflow which seemed to others a fatally negative fact, he might prepare for formal, architectonic beauty of effect in one portion of the grounds, and for irregular, picturesque beauty in another portion, and yet might so associate and harmonize the two that the transition from his straight quays and canals to the varied outlines of his islands and lagoons would become the finest feature of the magnificent whole. Furthermore, while thus actually creating a great part of the site, Mr. Olmsted, assisted by Mr. Henry Codman, has created a great part of the vegetation which clothes its more picturesque tracts, covering lagoon-shores and islands, in the space of two seasons, with green growing things that look as though Nature herself had planted them a long while ago.

When the character of the Fair site is thus studied a great lesson in art will have been learned as it could not be elsewhere in the world to-day. The visitor will see that, despite the intensely practical character of the enterprise, artists were needed at the very outset; he will see that when architectural works are in question the ground-plan is of primary importance; and also that in preparing it the architect should ask the aid of the landscape-architect. As this is the first, so it will be one of the most valuable of all the lessons that the Fair will teach. I think no individual success achieved on these vast and varied grounds will be so fruitfully instructive as Mr. Olmsted's; for of all the arts, the art of landscape-gardening is the one that Americans least appreciate—the one whose importance they always underestimate even when, by a rare chance, they recognize its existence. The example set by the organizers of the Fair in employing Mr. Olmsted before they employed any one else ought to bear immediate fruit all over the country, among private owners of domains wide or narrow, as well as among architects and public officials. One has only

to fancy what a Fair at Chicago must have been without Mr. Olmsted's help to understand how, in a corresponding degree, lesser enterprises may profit from similar help.

The next lesson will be with regard to the need for concordant effort in complicated architectural undertakings. Perhaps, had each of the great Fair buildings been built in independence of all the others, each would have been in itself as majestic, as scholarly, as beautiful as most of them are to-day. But they would not have been by any means the same buildings that we see to-day; and their general effect would have been the effect of the typical American street or square where good buildings chance to stand, only greatly magnified and therefore with all faults of awkward contrast and inharmonious association greatly emphasized. Any one of us can point to good and beautiful buildings in American towns; but can any one think of a single satisfactory large group or long perspective? Beautiful groups, beautiful perspectives, a stupendously beautiful architectural panorama is what the Fair will show us. It will be the first real object-lesson America has had in the art of building well on a great scale; and it will show us how, on a smaller but still sometimes a very large scale, our permanent streets and squares ought to be designed. The most careless eye will understand why this vast architectural panorama looks so well. Every one will see that it is because, although many architects were at work, they worked together in brotherly accord—by no means crushing out their artistic personalities, but basing the expression of individual tastes upon a broad fundamental agreement with regard to the placing, the general style, and the dimensions of the structures, and the scale of their major features. Every one will understand that this was the only way in which harmonious variety of effect could have been secured, and that no kind of inharmonious diversity could have been so agreeable or impressive, however admirable the individual structures might have been. And he will see that while the panorama as a whole is so magnificent because of its unity, the beauty of each structure is enhanced because the beauty of its neighbors agrees with it.

I think also that intelligent observers will feel that for the chief group of buildings the best possible architectural scheme was chosen. No other styles could have served so well as these allied yet not identical Renaissance styles in giving the architects a chance to build in agreement with each other and yet to meet special practical needs and express individual tastes. The essential dignity, the truly modern

spirit, and the practical as well as æsthetic plasticity of Renaissance architecture will be convincingly displayed; and, despite the fact that these buildings are not just like the ones we need to shelter our daily lives and works, their aspect ought to prove that Renaissance forms of art are the best for current use. If this be proved, then one great step will have been taken toward the achievement in our towns of that harmony in variety which alone can make them beautiful. Modern English architecture has been hampered by a strong leaning, sentimental rather than reasonable, toward Gothic fashions, inappropriate alike to the intellectual temper and to the practical needs of our time. American architecture has been hampered by an unbridled wilfulness of effort, a perpetual seeking for novelties in the shape of crude inventions or of revivals of unfamiliar ancient architectural types. The sooner our profession agrees upon some broad general basis for the exercise of its exceptionally strong powers of invention, the sooner we are likely to achieve a well-developed coherent national form of art. The establishment of such a basis would, of course, be greatly hastened by a general inclination of popular taste toward some one broad and plastic form of art. And I think the Fair, by bringing Renaissance art into popular favor, will thus do the country a very valuable service.

Moreover, when the Fair buildings are seen in a complete condition, the public will feel the importance of the landscape-architect, not only as an anticipatory planner but as a finishing decorator, and will realize that in completing a great architectural creation he and the architect and the sculptor must work hand in hand. The beauty of the site and the main buildings will make itself fully apparent only when the quays with their stately balustrades and flights of steps, the esplanades and terraces with their stretches of turf and flower-bed, the minor buildings, kiosks, and seats, the columns, colonnades, bridges, fountains, and statues, and the lights, flags, and awnings are all in place; and then it will be so varied yet homogeneous, so splendid in total effect yet so finished in detail, that we shall hardly be able to give special credit to any one artist or kind of artist. We shall feel simply that Art has been at work as she used to work in the great old days when a common æsthetic impulse united all her ministrants, and a generous enthusiasm for the general result led each to think as much about his brother's success as about his own.

This impression was made by the Paris Exhibition of 1889, but not with the same degree of force. All the more important features

of the Paris grounds were, indeed, carefully and consistently designed and arranged. But a certain license was granted in smaller matters to individual exhibitors, and there were many little constructions and details which did not harmonize with their environment, and plainly bore a commercial, advertising stamp. At Chicago all large structures which would be out of keeping with the desired general effect of the grounds (except those erected by foreign governments and by our individual States and Territories, which have been massed together at the northern end of the inclosure) have been relegated to a great street called the Midway Plaisance that runs westward from the boundary-line formed by the railroad tracks; within the main portion of the grounds no exhibitor or vender will be allowed to build the smallest object without official sanction of its design; and all semi-useful or wholly ornamental details will be superintended by Mr. Millet, the Chief of Decoration, from the great awnings on colonnade or bridge to the little ones on the passenger-boats, and from seats, drinking-fountains, and sign-posts to the myriad flags which will enliven the cornices of the buildings. The art of monumental decoration will be as well exemplified as the art of monumental construction.

It is well worth noting, too, that while commercialism will be kept within due bounds, no conspicuous appeal will be made to the mere sense of surprise and wonder. That taste for the new and marvellous as such which foreigners are so apt to call a distinctively American trait will not be pandered to at this American exhibition, although it seems to be thought essential that it should be pandered to in European exhibitions. We have not felt that we needed a phenomenally tall tower such as Paris built in 1889, or a phenomenally large telescope such as she proposes to build in 1900, or anything resembling that huge "Egg of Columbus," fitted up as a restaurant, which figured at the recent Columbian festival in Genoa. We have felt that the pure beauty we could create would suffice to make the Fair a marvellous sight, and that our people would be attracted by it without the help of special marvels of a useless and inartistic kind. Special marvels of a scientific sort will indeed be shown, like the roof of the Liberal Arts Building, the largest by far which has ever been constructed. But, like this, they will all exist in answer to definite practical needs; and such ornamental marvels as Mr. French's sixty-foot-high statue of the Republic were demanded by the general scale of the buildings and will be much less remarkable for size than for beauty. We have turned the tables on the Old World in this respect.

It is now for us to say "How transatlantic!" when works of constructional art appeal first of all to the sense of amazement.

On the other hand, the Fair presents one special object-lesson of a very different kind—one demonstration of the art how not to build—which every American ought to see. This is the United States Building. By far the most serious blot on the beauty and unity of the great architectural panorama, every citizen ought to study it in order that he may understand, through its contrast with its neighbors, how rapid has been our architectural advance since the days of that Philadelphia Exhibition where it would not have looked incongruous, and thus may realize how sadly the Great Father at Washington lags behind his children. This Government building is bad because it was built by a government architect. I mean that, as our Government now practises architecture, no good architect will take employment under it; and that if one did, he would have a hundred times more work to manage than he could manage properly. It will be worth while to have this conspicuous failure stand on our Fair grounds if it teaches the people and their executives the absolute need for reform in the building methods of the National Government. I cannot now speak of the multiform lessons in special matters of architectural art which even a cursory study of the other Fair buildings will teach. They will be observed, of course, more attentively than have been any other buildings in our land; and their occasional faults, as well as their frequent and surpassing excellences, will surely bear valuable fruit in the development of popular taste.

The most admirable of them all is the Fine Arts Building; and within its walls wonderful lessons will be taught by the collections to which all the world will contribute. No one except the directors of this part of the Exhibition can yet fully realize what the richness and, to American eyes, the freshness of these collections will be. Mr. Atwood's splendid courts and galleries will be filled by no heterogeneous crowds of native and foreign works, bewildering in their mass but only moderately instructive upon examination. The choice of American pictures, for instance, will be carefully regulated—more carefully, I think, than has ever been the case in any of our largest annual or occasional exhibitions; yet the space allotted to them is very extensive, and there will be good works enough to fill it adequately. For the first time the American public will have a real chance to see what the American painter has accomplished, for his best works will be shown from the earliest days (represented in a retrospective or his-

torical collection) down to the present moment; and the witness of the pictures hung in the Art Building will be supplemented, moreover, by the conspicuous mural decorations of this and the other buildings. From all foreign nations which practise painting representative collections will be sent, chief among them, of course, the one which will come from France, to be selected by the chief government officials and foremost artists of Paris, and to be housed by itself in one of those spacious annexes each of which contains one-fourth as much wall-space as the big Art Building itself.

But, I need hardly say, pictures will form only a part of the art collections. The whole of the immense cruciform central area of Mr. Atwood's building will be given up to works of sculpture and to casts from these and from architectural carvings. The famous Trocadéro Collection in Paris—the finest array of architectural casts in the world—is being reproduced for the first time especially for our Fair; and, especially for our Fair, the Greek Government has established a factory where all the important antiquities it owns will be duplicated, to be sent as the Greek nation's chief exhibit. I do not yet know how much, in the way of modern sculpture, will come from Paris; but I have no doubt that enough will come to make our public acquainted, for the first time, with that great living school which rivals the Renaissance schools of sculpture and surpasses, perhaps, even the modern French school of painting. These are but a few examples of the things that will stand in the sculpture gallery; and I can give no idea at all of the general effect of this vast gallery—five hundred feet in length and fifty in breadth, crossed, under the sumptuous central dome, by another arm of equal width and not greatly inferior length. It will show the most splendid array of sculptured works that the modern world has ever collected together; and, of course, its teaching, even more than that of the picture-galleries, will be supplemented by the adornments of the other buildings, and also by the monumental decorations of the grounds. If we merely walk about among the Fair buildings, without entering any of them, we shall see independent sculpture and what I may call applied sculpture on a scale and in a variety hitherto unknown to us.

Chief among the monumental decorations will be Mr. McMonnies' elaborate fountain and Mr. French's huge simple figure of the Republic, facing each other from opposite ends of the Great Basin. Both of these are triumphs of technical skill, of imposing beauty, and of fresh inspiration—more individual in character, while not less ex-

cellent in workmanship, than anything of the same sort that was to be seen in Paris four years ago. Among the less conspicuous works of a similar kind many will be remarkably good, although, of course, there is still a doubt with regard to others, and we cannot expect so numerous a collection of monuments and portrait-statues to be universally satisfying in view of the very recent development of anything that deserves the name of an American school of sculpture.

As a whole I think its strictly architectural sculpture will be the Fair's weakest feature. Yet some of this too is admirable, and the rest will teach the much-needed lesson that architectural as well as independent sculpture demands the hand of a skilful artist. Artisans' work, or the work of unskilful artists, which we should pass without a protesting glance in our streets, will here seem so distressing that a new standard will be set up in the public's mind, to react eventually upon the aspect of our streets themselves.

If I can thus merely hint at the Fair's richness in works of architecture, sculpture, and painting, I cannot do even as much with regard to its promised treasures in the way of those minor works of art which, of course, will convey lessons of priceless value to artists and artisans in many branches. Some of them will be housed in the Art Building, others in the building for Manufactures and Liberal Arts, and others again in the structures erected by foreign governments and in those along that Midway Plaisance where the characteristic abodes of almost all the world will be reproduced and its manifold industries practically illustrated.

I do not record all this chiefly for the benefit of those who are already interested in matters of art. They will profit much, but there are others who will profit even more, by visiting the Fair. Incomparably attractive and useful as explaining what is meant by beauty, it will be still more beneficial as proving how highly beauty ought to be esteemed. This is the great lesson which our public at large still needs to be taught; and no other experience could teach it as will a sight of Jackson Park next summer. Even if it were as easy to travel through Europe as to go to Chicago, European travel, however prolonged and extensive, would not make upon the average American the same distinct and deep impression, fertile in promises of future personal and national development. The average American travels in Europe to enjoy himself, not to instruct himself in matters of aim and conduct; to cultivate his mind, perhaps, but not to enlarge the

bounds of what I may call his intellectual conscience; to learn what has been done in other lands, but not to discover what ought to be done in ours. He and his country, he thinks, are laws unto themselves. That a thing once was done elsewhere is small reason why it should again be done here. That certain ideas and aspirations prevail in France is no proof that they ought to prevail in America. As a nation, he believes, we must think for ourselves, act as we see best, aspire in ways of our own—work out our intellectual as we have worked out our political problems. When as a nation we find that art is essential we shall make strenuous efforts to cultivate it; but the fact must be proved on our own soil and in ways which seem accordant with the general temper and trend of American existence. A hundred years ago we would not have a king, although all the outer world declared we should and must; and to-day we will not give ourselves to art, though all the world maintains we ought, unless, under American hands, art can prove its own desirability, its own necessity.

Could anything prove this so instantly, so impressively, as a sight of our vast, beautiful, and very costly Fair—our city of palaces of art which has been built to typify and explain America's prosperity and promise, and has been built by men who are as wide-awake, practical, and modern-minded as they are cultivated and generous? Could any men testify, in the ears of the average American, with regard to the relative value of any mundane thing so convincingly as these "representative business men" of the "representative city" of the West? The men who have organized this Fair, determined its aspect, and spent many millions upon it for the sake of pure beauty are themselves average, typical Americans—embodiments of common sense, active, shrewd, practical, and very successful according to the most strictly utilitarian standards. They are men who know better than any other kind of men what life means and might mean to the average American; and they will be believed in this their showing of what American conditions permit, need, and ought to include. They have said, in a voice which has already gone around the world: "The most desirable of all mundane things is beauty; the thing most precious to a nation is art; what we must show our fellow-countrymen is not a simply practical or a cheaply showy exhibition, but the most truly and magnificently artistic one that can possibly be created; and it does not matter what it costs." They have said: "For this we are willing to spend ourselves and our money—not merely for the safe and comfortable housing of practically serviceable things, the display of

man's ingenuity, the exhibition of scientific progress, the exaltation of money-making, the tickling of uncritical eyes; but first of all and above all else for the glorification of true art, for the explanation of the highest kinds of beauty, for the preaching of the gospel of that noble pleasure of the eye through which the mind is cultivated, the heart purified, and the life of a nation enlightened and sweetened."

Not a man or woman will go to Chicago next summer—not a farmer, artisan, or mechanic, shop-keeper or factory-girl, practical inventor, scientific student, or millionaire Philistine—without recognizing that the Fair has been based and built upon these ideas. And to each it will carry a conviction with regard to the worth of such ideas far stronger than could be carried by the voice of every cathedral and picture, palace and statue and garden that the Old World contains. Through the voice of the big, busy, practical, money-making city of Chicago America herself has said: *Lo, it is not Mammon you should worship, but the light-bringing, health-giving gods of intelligence, refinement, and beauty.* And all America's children will listen, believe, learn, and practise as they would in obedience to no voice save her own. When as a nation we are convinced that art is indeed a thing of first importance and priceless value, then American art, which has done so marvellously well under hampering conditions, will have an unhampered path before it and will lead us whither, to-day, no man dare predict. As a nation we shall be thus convinced, I am sure, if individually we determine that nothing except the sternest necessity shall keep us from visiting the Columbian Fair. And when art eventually profits, the whole nation of course will profit with it, and in ways practical and material as well as intellectual, spiritual, and moral. The ephemeral character of the Fair, I may add, will simply increase the impressiveness of its testimony. If it has been worth while to spend so much labor and money for beauty which will last during six months only, what ought we not to be willing to expend for beauty which will endure through the lifetime of many generations?

But even this is not the whole and, perhaps, not the very best of the matter. While the Fair will cultivate the nation it will stimulate personal virtue by the force of striking examples of admirable personal conduct, and will give us fresh trust and confidence in the American people and its institutions. The unselfish, public-spirited devotion of the organizers and artists of the Fair—their willingness to sink individual claims upon public notice for the sake of producing a

magnificently harmonious general result—will point the moral that to succeed in a great enterprise the best way is not to think chiefly of one's self. And a lesson in true patriotism as well as in right personal behavior will be writ very large upon the splendid panorama. The longer we look at it the more impressed we shall be by the fact that we have done it—we ourselves, the American people, without foreign help or counsel; and thus we shall learn not only to appreciate American artists and firmly and fruitfully to believe in American art, but to think with new faith and reverence of the institutions which have developed the American citizen of to-day. We ought never again to be tempted to commit the unpardonable sin—to “despair of the Republic”—having seen that the Republic is capable of supremely successful effort in intellectual as well as in political paths. And the lesson impressed upon ourselves will be impressed upon foreigners also, to the future profit of the freedom of the nations.

Foreigners as well as we will understand that the American People has done this work, of and by and for itself; and they will see that it is the best work of its kind which has ever been done. “This is less an exhibition of things than an exhibition of ideas,” said President Carnot when he opened the Paris Fair in 1889. The same words will be true of our Fair, while the chief idea it will express will be even more significant than the chief one expressed in France. There it was shown, in the face of royalist Europe, that a republican government could succeed intellectually as well as politically. Here it will be shown that a republican people can thus succeed in an even higher degree than a republican government.

If among my readers there is any American who despairs or even doubts of our Republic as fertile soil for intellectual and spiritual progress, let him go to Chicago next summer and come back with a new heart in his bosom. And if there is any who thinks he could not be more full of hope and faith than he is to-day, let him also go for the sanctioning and exalting of his present confidence. Above all, it is the children who should be taken—that young generation upon which the future of the Republic rests, and the sons of which, if it develops as we have a right to expect, will, I firmly believe, head the world's advance in those intellectual paths where progress in art should run parallel with progress in general knowledge, in science, in literature, in the betterment of social conditions, and in morality. A lesson like the one Chicago will teach, received in im-

pressionable years, will be the best gift that any American parent can bestow upon a daughter or a son. A trip to Chicago will be a pleasure-trip truly. But it will also be a voyage of discovery, opening routes which will lead the nation to the fountains of intellectual power, to those green meadows and pleasant waters which encompass lives open to the enlightening, sanctifying inspirations of beauty and the attractions of unselfish intellectual endeavor. And it will likewise be a journey fruitful in the influences which go to make good citizens, true patriots, wise and public-spirited Americans.

As a pleasuring-place Jackson Park next summer will have attractions never before approached in our land; but as a place for self-instruction, self-cultivation, it will surpass any other spot in the world. He who enjoys it in the right spirit (and I think this spirit will be forced upon almost every one by the aspect and atmosphere of the place) will enjoy it as the Greeks enjoyed their dramas, not as modern men usually enjoy theirs. It will be a national play-ground on an enormous scale; but in its aspect and its influence as the amphitheatres of Greece deserved this name, not as the ball-fields and race-courses of our time deserve it.

And yet this is the place which those self-styled Christians who do not believe Christ's distinct assertion that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath, desire to have closed on the one day of the week when our mind-hungry, beauty-starved, ignorant but eagerly ambitious masses could best make use of its civilizing and uplifting ministrations.

M. G. VAN RENSSELAER.

WHY THE FAIR MUST BE OPEN ON SUNDAY.

THERE are those who think that the question of opening the Columbian Exposition on Sunday has been closed by the action of the managers in accepting the Congressional appropriation, which was coupled with the requirement that it should be closed on Sunday. There are others of a different opinion. Among these are the people of Chicago generally and, if we are not very much mistaken, the managers of the Exposition. They expect Congress to reconsider and rescind its action.

It is true that the majority in both houses was an overwhelming one in favor of the bill as passed. The vote stood one hundred and forty-seven to sixty-one in the House of Representatives and fifty-two to fourteen in the Senate. But these majorities did not, we all know, represent any such feeling or conviction as the feeling of the delegates at the Convention of the Societies of Christian Endeavor. Individually the senators and representatives voting for the Sunday restriction would probably object as little as the others to spending a part or the whole of the seventh day at any exposition or exhibition which attracted them. Their vote was a concession to a sentiment which they conceived might possibly have a bearing on the election, and on the Congressional election in particular. As in pension legislation neither party is able to rise to the high level of Governor Flower's courageous and profane indifference to the votes, so was it here. The chance of sound, judicious legislation is always better after an election than before. For Congress to reverse its action at the coming session might be esteemed a breach of faith by some concerned. But it may well be doubted whether the question had any such effect on the election as was imagined in advance by the Congressional majority; and the wrong it would undo by rescinding its action is incomparably greater than any which it might possibly do.

But if the question has been or is to be reopened, it ought to be much more carefully considered than it has been heretofore. Those who most desire the open Sunday should welcome everything that can honestly be brought against it, not only from the religious but

also from the social-economic side. A few months' satisfaction would be dearly purchased at the cost of permanent or protracted harm either to the religious uses of the day or to its opportunity for rest from ordinary work and care. At the same time we should make sure that the objections to the open Sunday are valid objections. To attempt to show that those objections which come from the great body of earnest people who for convenience and with no thought of disrespect we may call Sabbatarians are not valid may seem to many a superfluous slaying of the slain; but such a vote as that cast by the Societies of Christian Endeavor, in their Convention reputed to be 30,000 strong, makes evident that it is not. These should have been and were undoubtedly fairly representative of the best intelligence of the evangelical bodies of believers. Many of them, it may be presumed, voted as they did for no scriptural or traditional reasons, but because, honestly believing that Sunday was its own best justification both as a day of worship and as a day of rest, they believed that the opening of the Chicago Fair on Sunday would inflict upon the day, both in its higher and its lower use, a serious and perhaps permanent injury. But it is hardly to be questioned that for the most part the Christian Endeavor vote was strictly Sabbatarian, and in being so represented the average evangelical objection to the Sunday Fair. By "strictly Sabbatarian" we mean strictly confined to the idea that the religious observance of Sunday, and especially its cessation from all labor, has its root and ground in the Old Testament command to remember the Sabbath day and keep it holy. For this idea to be so generally prevalent, and in the Christian Endeavor Societies so strong and resolute, suggests that there has been slight endeavor to appreciate the intrinsic worth of Sunday and to that end to learn its history, or that the hungry sheep have looked up and not been fed by those who should have given them the simple truth.

For it is not strange that so many of the laity are utterly astray in this regard when their most trusted teachers still persist in promulgating an opinion that has no critical justification whatsoever. Thus, for example, we have Dr. Patton, the President of Princeton College, credited with the remark, "If the nation and Fair should yield obedience to the fourth commandment it would be in a fair way to the other nine." But obedience to the fourth commandment would make Sunday a working day and Saturday a day of absolute cessation from all labor while still a day of social merriment. Besides, the fourth commandment has in the Old Testament many explanatory clauses—

nearly four-score—every one of which is equally binding with the fourth commandment on those who identify the Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath. But what Christian thinks of regulating his conduct on his sacred day by these commands: brings no water or wood, cooks no victuals, works no domestic animal, and so on through the catalogue of prohibitions, nor allows any one in his employ to do any of these things? Years ago when the question of Sunday travel was being agitated in Philadelphia, a preacher of that city fulminated from his pulpit against the proposed street-cars on Sunday, and while he devolved his stately periods his coachman was shivering on his box at the church-door and his servants were at home engaged in anxious preparation of the usual Sunday feast. Yet here was but a sample of the average consistency of the modern Sabbatarian.

The former President of Princeton is as confident as Dr. Patton in his identification of our Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath. The keeping of the Sabbath is not, he says, enjoined by our moral natures, but positively by God, who “instituted it at the creation of the world as a day of rest to commemorate His resting from the work of His creation.” The lack of intellectual seriousness in this kind of talk is sufficiently deplorable, but what must the candid student think of the further statement by which Dr. McCosh identifies the Jewish Sabbath with the Christian Sunday, thus: “After the resurrection of our Lord, the first day of the week instead of the seventh was kept as the Sabbath, in commemoration of His resurrection from the dead”? We have heard much of legal fictions, but here is a religious fiction which the most daring legal fiction never has surpassed. And it is a religious fiction that is fundamental to the Sabbatarian conception of the Christian’s sacred day. That the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Sunday are two different institutions is sufficiently established by the fact that for a long time after the death of Jesus the Christians observed both days, and had no more idea of confounding them than we have of confounding Christmas and the Fourth of July. This state of things lasted more than two centuries—till Jewish Christianity died out. Nor, while the Sabbath was still observed by the early Christians, had it with those who followed Paul and rescued Christianity from the status of a mere Jewish sect any such inviolable sanctity as is claimed for it by the modern Sabbatarian. Jesus had set a good example in His Sabbath walk amid the bearded corn, and had declared a good principle when He said, “The Sabbath was made

for man, and not man for the Sabbath." Paul said: "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." He said also: "Ye observe days and months and times and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain." And again: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days." But though all this was very offensive to the Judaizing Christians, they never thought of trying to confound the Jewish Sabbath with "the Lord's Day," as what we now call Sunday was called in the early Church. The former was observed on Saturday; and the next morning the Christians had some simple meeting and then proceeded to the various cares and pleasures of the day, as upon any other.

So long as the Lord's Day and the Sabbath were both celebrated there was little danger of confounding them. But when with the decline of Jewish Christianity the Sabbath was entirely given up, the disposition to find a prototype for all Christian institutions among those of the Jews begot a tendency to speak of the Lord's Day as a continuation of the Sabbath. We find Athanasius in the fourth century saying, "The Lord changed the Sabbath into Sunday"—"changed" it, not "carried it over"—and even for this he had not a syllable of warrant in the New Testament. As soon as the Lord's Day took a distinct form of its own it had the form of joy. On other days the Christian must kneel in prayer; on this day he "stood up on joyful feet." The early Christians had many fasts; never one on Sunday. "Every lover of Christ feasts on the Lord's day," said St. Ignatius. "We deem it wicked," said Tertullian, a third-century Puritan, "to fast on the Lord's day." Labor was not at first forbidden more than joy. But gradually, as Sunday came to be the principal day for religious meetings, less work was done, not because "doing" was esteemed "a deadly thing," but because it was a hindrance to the universal joy. When the Roman Empire became formally Christian Sunday was made one of its feast days, and in 321 A.D. labor in towns was prohibited by law, but agricultural labor not till 538. But the day continued one of joy and pleasantness until the Puritans in England got the upper hand. The first Protestants were not Sabbatarians in the modern sense. When John Knox went to Geneva he found John Calvin playing bowls on Sunday afternoon, and probably he took a hand and made good his name by knocking down the pins as if they were so many queens or bishops of Scotland.

From this course of history several things are clearly evident—first, that the construction of Sunday as a day on which all play as well as all work is wrong is not truly a Sabbatarian construction, seeing that the Jewish Sabbath was not merely a holy-day but also a holiday, a day of rest and social jollity; secondly, that Sunday is no historical continuance of the Sabbath, seeing that the two ran parallel for centuries, each with a character of its own; thirdly, that for thirteen centuries after Sunday ceased to be a working-day it remained a holiday throughout Christendom, a day of sports and pastimes. Then came the Puritan reaction. It came as a reaction from the excessive rudeness and coarseness of the sports which were directly fostered by English Catholics and half-way reformers like Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth. Thackeray says, "An Englishman is not necessarily a brute, but an English brute is the worst sort of a brute." He should have known; and he could have had no better proof of such a railing accusation than was furnished by those Sunday sports which roused the indignation of the Puritans. It is not strange that when they came into control they instituted that form of Sunday observance which has since been the ideal of evangelical Protestantism, less and less fully realized with each revolving year.

Thus it would appear that those who hold to the idea that Sunday is a day on which labor and play are both forbidden by divine command, and that hence the Chicago Exposition must be closed on Sundays, have neither Scripture nor antiquity upon their side. Their Sunday is a modern innovation, less than three centuries old. But it may not be any worse for that. "If we are to be guided by antiquity," said Hobbes, "the present age is the most ancient." By this rule the age of the Puritans was more ancient than any age before it, older in experience, inheriting the wisdom of the past. Moreover, they were men made of such intellectual and moral stuff that their opinions cannot be weighed too carefully. But a theory which is the result of a reaction is not apt to be entirely sound. There is certainly nothing in it, or in the circumstances of its adoption, or in the history of its operation, that obliges us to accept it in its entirety. We are simply thrown back on our own reason and conscience to determine what the use of Sunday henceforth ought to be. It is certain that we need it as a day of rest. Better hermetically seal the Exposition every seventh day than do anything to prejudice the weekly rest. It is certain that we need it as a day of religious thought and worship. Better a Sunday Fair as unpeopled as the moon, as silent as the grave,

than a less religious people than we have now. And the fact ought not to be in the least degree slighted or disguised that there are those who fully appreciate that no Jewish Sabbath-rules have anything to do with Sunday, and that the historical argument is no stronger than the scriptural for a Sunday without play as well as work, who yet contend that because Sunday is its own best justification as a day for rest and for religion and for a respite from the rapacious money-getting of the week, we cannot afford to have the open Sunday at the Exposition. What shall we say in answer to these folk?

First, that though we cannot prove in advance that the open Sunday would not prejudice the people's Sunday rest thereafter, it is most unlikely that it would. The tendency is much stronger to multiply holidays than to decrease their number. In France during the last Exposition, those most in favor of the privileges of laboring men and the multiplication of their hours of rest were also most in favor of the open Sunday, and its appreciation by the laboring classes was most satisfactory. As for the respite from money-getting, it would be a good thing if we could have it. But if the Fair is closed on Sundays, what assurance have we that any less money will change hands, or that what is got for it will be better than the instruction and the entertainment of the Fair? We have none. We have, on the contrary, good reason to believe that it would go for meaner things. There is rum as well as piety in the demand for the closed Sunday, and the pious people ought not to blink the fact. It is certainly significant that a petition circulated in Chicago for the open Sunday contained, with thousands of names of reputable citizens, the name of only one saloon-keeper. And it was not because those of his set were not asked to sign. They were asked and they answered contemptuously, sometimes with brutal insolence.

Then would the open Sunday affect injuriously the religious uses of the day? Do not those who think so too confidently assume that all those who are shut out from the Fair will go to church? But Falstaff was not entirely singular in his unwillingness to do a thing under compulsion. And it is not as if, without the open Fair, there would not be the Sunday papers, any one of them with reading enough for the whole day if not for a whole week, the splendid boulevards for driving, the national game, and a hundred other things, some of which are best unnamed. Let the great Exposition be in full blast, every engine throbbing, every money-changer on the alert, and it may well be doubted whether the successive Sundays would not be used

more religiously and trail behind them a more religious spirit than the closed Fair with all it would imply. For a great Exposition is a splendid object-lesson in the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. It shows us that "behind the mountains there are people," and that they are doing different things from ours but often quite as good. It rebukes our national conceit, our thanking God that we are not as other men are. Its natural products are a marvellous teaching of the immeasurable bounty of the world, the immeasurable providence of God.

But to open the Fair on Sundays would undoubtedly have a tendency to increase the amount of Sunday recreation in the community after it had run its course. But here would be no matter for regret. Here would be only a just return for the impressive argument which is furnished to the Sunday Fair by the success which has attended the opening of various libraries and museums and botanical gardens and art-galleries in this country and in Europe. No; it would also be a laudable return upon the tradition of the Jewish Sabbath and the tradition of the Christian Sunday before the Puritan reaction—the tradition of joy and gladness as well as happy rest and pious contemplation.

Better the Puritan Sunday than the Sunday it rebuked and thrust aside, which for all its bull-baiting and cock-fighting was hardly, if any, worse than the foul-mouthed loafing of to-day—foul-mouthed in every sense. But there is something possible which is better than either the Puritan Sunday or that which merited the Puritan's indignant scorn. It is a Sunday which, without abatement of religious service or of needful rest, should be a day of sweet and quiet recreation, such as we see it in our public parks and such as it is approximately where there are galleries and museums freely opened and good enough to attract the curious multitude. If by opening the Chicago Fair on Sunday, either wholly or in part, it might bequeath to us an habitual Sunday of wholesome recreation mingled with abundant rest and ample service of religion, it would need no other justification for all that it has cost. Dean Stanley may have exaggerated, but probably he did not, when he wrote, "The observance of Sunday, more than any other single religious question, touches the heart and conscience of the whole community." But the connection in which he wrote this gives it the deepest interest. It was in connection with a plea for the "better observance of Sunday" by means of opening libraries and museums and gardens and galleries on that day. The

whole passage is so good that I cannot better serve the cause he has at heart than by quoting it entire:

“In our great cities must we not feel that there are vast numbers of the humbler classes to whom that day furnishes the only, or nearly the only, opportunity for those innocent and, at the same time, elevating recreations and studies which we of the higher class enjoy, not only on the Sunday but every day of the week? The breathing of the fresh air, the sight of flowers in the fields, the gazing on noble works of art, the insight into God’s works as revealed by Science or by Nature—all these blessings, which those who have means and leisure so highly value, are the very gifts which, if they can be bestowed on our humbler brethren without interference with the sacred and solemn character of the day, and without entrenching on the hours of repose so dear to every workingman, we should most desire to place within their reach. Such enlargement of the opportunities of Sunday is advocated both in the direct interests of religion and in the interests of morality, which is, after all, only religion under another name; in the direct interests of religion, because it is important that the greatest religious institution of the country shall not suffer in the estimation of the young or the uneducated; in the estimation, I will add, of the hostile or the indifferent, by being associated with enforced gloom or listless idleness.”

When this was written the prophecies of what would follow the opening of picture-galleries and museums and like places on Sunday were more doleful than those at the present time of what will follow the Sunday opening of the Chicago Exposition. But none of them has been fulfilled. Some years ago a score of public places such as the Kew Gardens and the picture-galleries of Hampton Court with many libraries throughout the kingdom were thrown open, and with the happiest results. The attendance has been larger than on week-days, and in the smaller boroughs larger than on all the other days of the week—at Manchester library 289,000 persons in a year. The decorum and enjoyment have been as conspicuous as the attendance. No churches in Europe are more impressive in their Sunday quietness than the galleries of Paris and Berlin and Dresden and Florence. The People’s Palace in East London gathers thousands every Sunday into its cheerful space. No one who has seen our own open galleries and libraries on Sunday would wish to turn adrift the people who frequent them to more trivial things: The directors of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in their last report, though they had lost a large bequest and reduced their membership by opening their doors on Sunday, had no desire to take a backward step.

But to compare any of these things with the Chicago Exposition is almost ridiculous. If such places should be open on Sunday, how much more should the Chicago Exposition! For those the poor have

always with them, and whenever they will they can do themselves good by going to them, if they can spare the money. But the Chicago Exposition is to continue for only a few months. With the exception of a few holidays, the Sundays are the only days on which the poorer people of Chicago and the surrounding country can visit the Fair. Moreover, its appeal to the imagination of the visitor and the satisfaction he will derive from it, especially the less cultivated man, in its splendid aggregate of natural, industrial, and artistic products, must be vastly greater than any ordinary museum or gallery or library or garden could afford in the same length of time. But the success attending the opening of such places and the absence of distressing incidents and results are certainly important reasons for the Sunday opening of the Fair, which will as certainly react on them and make quiet recreation more and more the habit of the day.

Those who oppose the Sunday opening appear to think that their own favorite use of Sunday is going to be infringed. But no: they can go to church, if they desire to do so, morning, noon, and night. They are free to go their way; why should not others be as free as they? The majority of our whole population would not, we imagine, vote to close the Exposition one day in the week. The Roman Catholics would not; the Episcopalians would not; the various liberal sects would not, nor the Jews, nor the German Lutherans, nor the great multitude of the unchurched; and all these together make up an immense body, if not the majority of our population. Whether the Fair should be open all day on Sunday, and whether on that day it should be a "silent Fair," are questions that can wait until it is decided whether we shall have any Sunday Fair at all. Two things in this connection are, however, sure: first, that "the silent Fair" would debar the working classes—a bad term, as if we did not all belong to them—from that part of the Fair in which they would have the most interest and from which they would derive the most advantage; secondly, that for a half loaf the poor man ought not to be obliged to pay as much as his rich neighbor pays for a whole loaf. The "silent Fair" should mean half-rate admissions, consequently more money for the Fair; but that is a comparatively unimportant matter.

It has been urged that in bribing the managers of the Fair to close its doors on Sunday with its big appropriation, Congress exceeded its constitutional rights; for is it not written: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"? The letter of this provision may not be infringed

by the condition which Congress has imposed upon its appropriation, but the spirit of it is infringed most certainly. A more palpable piece of religious legislation could not be, nor a more palpable concession to one part of the religious community at the expense of another. Open the Fair on Sundays and the Puritan party is deprived of nothing that it wants, except the privilege of shaping the religious conduct of other people. But the liberal party—or those it represents—is deprived by the Sunday closing of something that it needs for the widening of its education and the deepening of its religious life. For we cannot have a better understanding of the world without knowing more of God and loving Him with a more wise and trustful love.

JOHN W. CHADWICK.

WRITERS FOR THE DECEMBER FORUM.

PRESIDENT CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT (*Wherein Popular Education Has Failed*), born in Boston, Mass., in 1834, was graduated at Harvard College in 1853, and after serving as tutor became professor of chemistry there. In 1865 he accepted the chair of chemistry in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and in 1869 he was chosen president of Harvard. He is a frequent public speaker and an occasional contributor to the magazines.

DR. J. M. RICE (*The Public Schools of St. Louis and Indianapolis*), born in Philadelphia in 1857, was graduated from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1881. He took a course in psychology and pedagogy at the universities of Jena and Leipzig, after which he visited the schools of various European countries. Dr. Rice, in the service of the FORUM, has this year visited the public schools in thirty-six cities, spending every school-hour in school-rooms, making the investigations upon which he has based these articles.

EX-SENATOR GEORGE FRANKLIN EDMUNDS (*Politics as a Career*), born in Rutland, Vt., in 1828, began to practise law in 1849. In 1851 he moved to Burlington. He was a member of the State Legislature from 1854 to 1859, for three of these years acting as Speaker. In 1861-62 he was President *pro tempore* of the State Senate. In 1866 he was appointed to the United States Senate, where he served for successive terms until his resignation last year, and was during the administration of President Arthur President *pro tempore*. He was a member of the Electoral Commission in 1876 and is the originator of the "Edmunds Act" for the suppression of polygamy in Utah, presented to Congress in 1882, and of a similar act passed in 1887.

MRS. MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT (*Women in English Politics*) is the wife of Henry Fawcett, the English economist. She is one of the leaders in the Women's Suffrage movement in England, and has besides done much for the education of women. She has published a "Political Economy for Beginners," "Tales in Political Economy," and, with her husband, "Essays and Lectures on Social and Political Subjects."

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY (*Dialect in Literature*), born in Greenfield, Ind., in 1852. For many years he has been a member of the staff of the Indianapolis "Journal." He began in 1875 to publish verses in Western dialect, and he is the best contemporaneous writer of dialect verse. He is a frequent contributor to newspapers and magazines and he has published several volumes of poems, stories, and sketches.

PROF. FRANCIS G. PEABODY (*How Should a City Care for Its Poor?*), born in 1847, on graduating from Harvard College in 1869 studied for the Unitarian ministry. After his ordination he preached for a few years in Cambridge, Mass., and then became an instructor at Harvard, where he is now professor of social science. He has also been for several years a preacher to the University. He has devoted himself chiefly to the study of questions of social reform.

JACOB A. RIIS (*Special Needs of the Poor in New York*), born in Denmark, 1849, was educated in the old Latin School of Ribe, in Denmark, where his father was a master. He came to this country in 1869, worked for several years at whatever came to hand, and eventually became a reporter for a news agency. In 1878 he was sent as a member of the staff of the New York "Tribune" to Police Headquarters, where he has been ever since, for the past few years collecting police news for the "Evening Sun." His work gave him material for his magazine articles on the poor in New York which formed the bases of his two books, "How the Other Half Lives" and "The Children of the Poor," the last named just published. During the past few years he has lectured frequently on the subject of poverty.

WILLIAM HURRELL MALLOCK (*Are Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray Obsolete?*), born in Devonshire in 1849, was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, where in 1871 he wrote the Newdigate prize poem. He is a frequent contributor to the English reviews, chiefly on philosophical topics. His best-known books are: "The New Paul and Virginia;" "Is Life Worth Living?" and "A Romance of the Nineteenth Century." He has published not a few studies in literature, philosophy, and economics.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS (*Brandy and Socialism: the Gothenburg Plan*) was formerly a lecturer on economics at Harvard College. For the past five years he has been studying social and economic questions in Europe. He is a contributor on these subjects to leading publications in this country and in England.

MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER was born in New York City, where she now lives. She has devoted herself to the study of art and architecture. She is the author of "Six Portraits," a collection of essays on artists and their works, "American Etchers," a life of Richardson the architect, and she is a frequent and versatile contributor to the magazines.

REV. JOHN WHITE CHADWICK (*Why the Fair Must be Open on Sunday*) was born in Marblehead, Mass., in 1840. He was graduated at the Harvard Divinity School in 1864, and during the same year was called to the pastorate of the Second Unitarian Society in Brooklyn. His sermons have attracted wide attention. Mr. Chadwick was elected Phi Beta Kappa poet at Harvard in 1885, and in the following year preached the *alumni* sermon at the Harvard Divinity School. He has published many of his discourses, which for some time were issued serially, and he is a frequent contributor to the Unitarian journals. Among his publications in book form are: "A Book of Poems," "The Bible of To-Day," "The Faith of Reason," "Some Aspects of Religion," "The Man Jesus," "Belief and Life," "Origin and Destiny," and an obituary sketch of George William Curtis.

The Forum.

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THE CRISIS IN SILVER.

I PROPOSE in this article to consider some aspects of the silver question, principally the effect on commerce of the separate action of individual nations, with particular reference to the money legislation of the United States in its successive stages.

The monetary malady, always formidable in its effects on commerce, appears now to have entered an acute stage, causing great unrest in the United States, wide-spread discontent and alarm in India (and in the banks and other commercial establishments connected with India), a condition of affairs approaching ruin in some of the manufacturing districts of England, and a stagnation of business in all dealings with countries whose money is silver. Industrial enterprises with foreign capital have nearly come to an end in all such countries.

Can nothing be done to remedy the evil, to dispel the cloud which hangs over commerce, to strike off the fetters which bind the limbs of trade? Surely what has been ill done can be well undone. There are two classes of people who think that nothing ought to be done: a small but very vociferous class who think perhaps that they derive a benefit from the present unhealthy state of things; and a large and very powerful class, powerful through *vis inertiae*, who believe that everything is for the best in this best of all possible worlds, who have no direct knowledge of the evils under which we suffer, and think commerce may safely be left to take care of itself. "Everything will settle down," they say, they are never tired of saying. It is so much easier to say so than to take the trouble to think. But there is also a

large and increasing class, both here and in India and in the United States, who themselves wear the shoe and know where it pinches.

The two pleas by which the do-nothings seek to justify their inaction are:

1. "It is wrong to interfere with what has been after all a natural development. If there is sickness, leave nature to work the cure."

2. "Whatever mischief there is has come through the action of others, and it is no business of ours to interfere."

We traverse their pleas and we say: 1. The whole system of money is artificial, and nature has nothing to do with the matter. Those who say it must be left to nature are the old *laissez-faire* people, who indeed interfere at all points, even when they know it not, but deprecate all interference but their own. They imagine the sovereign as the representative of the pound sterling to be sacrosanct, a sort of "image which fell down from Jupiter," and that its weight, 123.27 grains, has its origin in natural law; not reflecting that the whole thing is merely a matter of statutory enactment, and that the law which prescribed that could prescribe also, as the law of 1666 did, that 1893.54 grains of silver should be an alternative form of the pound sterling. 2. It is not true that the mischief has come wholly through the action of other states; nor, if it were, that the state to which we belong is freed from the responsibility of defending its own citizens by the fact that it is the other states are injuring them.

It is hard to say who was the first offender and how far the circumstances of the time should condone the offence. In earlier times, during an era of ill-regulated bimetallism, when gold and silver served everywhere the purpose of money at such ratio as seemed convenient to the rulers of the several states, it could never have occurred to any one of them that it would be desirable to assimilate the ratio ordained in his state to that in force in a neighboring country; nor in the then political condition of the world would any such agreement have been possible. Every one fought for his own hand and strove (as indeed they have not yet ceased to do) to get an advantage over his neighbor. If either money metal became scarce, he sought by a new ordinance to rectify the ratio; but always in vain, because some discrepancy remained which caused the metals to change their monetary sphere of action.

England was the first to enact, in 1666, a definite law of free coinage of both metals, at a fixed ratio, 15½ to 1, and legal tender; but while the ratio in France was lower than this, being under 15 to 1, it

was inevitable (as Sir Isaac Newton showed in his report to the Treasury in 1817) that English silver of full weight should be exported, the various attempts to correct the ratio being either inexact or counteracted by changes in France. Thus it resulted that gold became the chief money in use. In 1774 a law was passed in England that silver coin was not to be legal tender above the value of £25, though uncoined silver was still legal tender to any amount. This was in consequence of the worn condition of the silver coinage, and in no way abrogated the bimetallic law. Nor did the absolute suspension of silver coinage in 1798 have in practice this effect, seeing that the suspension of cash payments had taken place the year before.

In the mean while France, under Calonne, had adopted, in 1785, the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, on the ground that "the *louis d'or* was worth more in other countries than its nominal value in France." This, reenacted in full detail by the Napoleonic law of 1803, would, as far as England and France were concerned, have formed in fact, though without concert, a bimetallic union; but we were entering upon a period of war, which made concert and even friendly communication impossible, and none therefore could perceive and appreciate the beneficent change which would have been brought about in removing the inducement to export one metal rather than another. It was the more deplorable that on the resumption of cash payments the wholly unnecessary step should have been taken, in the act of 1816, of adopting a single gold standard—unnecessary, because, if gold were desired, gold would become the chief money of England by the natural action of trade, unimpeded by the bimetallic law; and prejudicial, because it curtailed the liberty of commerce and broke that union which the laws of the two countries, enacted independently, had brought about.

The harm that it did was concealed for the time by the continuance of the French law; but when France in 1873 took independent action and suspended the operation of an important part of the law, the free coinage of silver, her action affected not only England and the United States, but the whole world of commerce; and the evil effects continue in increasing force to this day. I think it may be safely asserted that in every case independent monetary action on the part of a single state must have an effect, great or small according as the commerce of the state so acting is great or small, on the monetary affairs of all other civilized states. The effect has been shown in one striking example, but it can be easily seen in other examples as well. The United States also has often varied its money laws independently

of other nations. First, as to the ratio: beginning in 1793 with 15½ to 1, which was the French proportion, it varied the ratio from time to time, always with the effect of causing now gold, now silver, to be exported according as the one or the other metal was undervalued by its monetary law. At present, the ratio being 16 to 1 (more correctly 15.988 to 1), if France should remove the suspension of silver coinage without concert with the United States, silver would inevitably flow to France and gold to America.

Secondly, as to the standard metal: From the date of the Independence of the United States the standard was bimetallic. In 1873, under various influences and, as President Grant declared, "inadvertently," it demonetized silver. In 1878 it remonetized the silver dollar and coined two million four hundred thousand dollars a year, but it did not restore the public liberty of coinage either by this law or by the law of 1890. By the law of 1878 the Treasury was obliged to buy two million dollars' worth of silver monthly, issuing certificates against the silver, which were legal tender for taxes and practically passed from hand to hand throughout the Union. By the law of 1890 the Treasury is obliged to buy four million five hundred thousand ounces monthly, paying in certificates which were full legal tender.

What has been the effect of these ordinances of 1878 and 1890? Almost every writer on this side of the Atlantic who touches the subject declaims on the imprudence and futility of such legislation—of laying up, as I read in a recent London "Times," "a vast and ever-accumulating stock which may not impossibly be thrown on the market if the hoarding process ceases to be in favor." The writer of those words has failed to bear in mind that these purchases are precisely parallel to our purchases of gold. They are indeed limited, while ours are unlimited; theirs are made at market price, and so are ours; our market price, however, being fixed (owing to our free coinage), theirs fluctuating. Their vaults are "bursting" (that is the classical phrase proper to this allegation) with silver and ours with gold. The gold circulates as money in the form of notes of five pounds and upward; the silver as money in the form of silver certificates and treasury notes of one dollar and upward. The amount of silver so held on the 31st of July in the United States Treasury was \$437,864,467, the whole of which, except an ever-varying balance (on that date, \$488,993) in course of delivery, was thus distributed: in the hands of the public, \$429,093,124; in the Treasury as reserve, \$8,282,350; making a total of \$437,375,474. The fear is, I suppose, that

this whole sum of \$437,375,474 will be some day sold for what it will fetch; but there seems very little probability that anything will induce the United States to follow the example of Germany and demonetize a very large portion of the money current in the country, not only at an infinitely greater loss than that suffered by Germany, but with no sum such as that provided by the war indemnity to fill the void.

No doubt if it was expected that the United States Treasury purchases would restore the price of silver, the hope has been disappointed. But I doubt if it is to be regretted by Europe and India that with no apparent cost to the United States the price of the white metal has been prevented from falling to the depths which it would have otherwise reached. I doubt, on the other hand, whether the course adopted was a wiser one than a bold adoption of free coinage would have been. The latter course would, for a time at least, and perhaps permanently, have steadied the price in Europe at the point indicated by the American ratio, and the exports of silver would have been greater and the amount brought into the Treasury less.

The fifty million dollars in ounces brought in under the present law nearly absorb the whole production of the United States, leaving a margin for export so insufficient that the official unsold stock, which stood at about eight million ounces in June, 1890, is now only two million nineteen thousand ounces; and the "invisible" stock, that, namely, in the banks, then estimated at six million ounces, may now be one million five hundred thousand ounces. The belief that a rise of price would greatly augment production will commend itself to none who is acquainted with miners and their habits. The seeker for the precious metals takes as much as the earth will give him. So long as there is ore in sight he will bring it to grass; and even if he gets only a cent an ounce it is better than nothing. If his cost is greater than the price he gets, hope still leads him on. Nor need any one have feared a vast accession of imports of silver. Why should the Indian, whose rupee, though worth less gold than it was, buys him as much of the necessities of life as it used to do, spend three per cent in getting it melted and turned into dollars? The fact that it could be so turned would, as the London "Times" justly said, equalize the gold price all over the world, and no one would care to send it.

Few who have studied the subject will be found to deny the

advantage of international concord in monetary law. I remember, indeed, the impressive tones of one of our statesmen deprecating in behalf of England "partnership with foreign nations" and urging that we should be "independent." But then he had not studied the subject, or he would have perceived that we are now partners, without any voice in determining the policy of the firm; and that we might as well demand to have winds of our own and tides of our own as seek to be independent of the action of other nations on that medium through which alone commerce between us all is possible.¹

The nation that acts separately in these matters can by an arbitrary adoption of a diverse ratio cause the inconvenience of contrary currents in the movement of the metals. The rejection of its own existing money metal and the adoption of that of its neighbors will cause the adopted metal to be scarce in proportion to the increased demands on it, and will lower prices accordingly. So much the better, say those who think that by increasing the length of the yard-measure we should get more cloth for our money. But the rejection of either money metal by a group of states will do much more than disorganize price. The rejection of silver in Europe has reduced

¹ Independent of foreign nations ! In 1872-73 the action of Germany put a force on France, and the action of France thrust down the price of silver, lowering the gold value of the money of our Indian Empire and raising the commodity value of the money of England and of all gold-using countries, and lowering *pro tanto* the prices of all commodities measured by gold. Scandinavia follows suit, making matters worse; Italy resumes cash payments, taking sixteen million pounds in gold and increasing the mischief; the United States passes the Bland Bill in 1878, and silver improves for a time and then resumes its downward course. The President, in 1885, recommends the repeal of the Bland Act, and his words alone suffice to put silver down a penny an ounce. In 1890 the new purchase bill passes, and silver goes up twenty per cent and again rapidly declines, being thenceforward in a state of flux—a condition exaggerated ever and anon by the introduction of new bills concerning silver in the Congress of the United States, by rumors and more than rumors of the adoption of the gold standard by Austria-Hungary. The result is that the price of silver is now about thirty-seven pence an ounce, against a minimum of sixty pence an ounce, which lasted a hundred years; that in a like state of flux, affected by every movement of silver, has been the trade of Lancashire and of all our manufacturing centres, and that in a like state of uncertainty has been the business of every merchant dealing with silver-using countries. Such "independence" is slavery, and the desire for it on the part of those who advocate it, ignorance and ineptitude. Happily this is not a battle-ground of the two great political parties in England, and the necessity for coöperation has been recognized by statesmen on both sides, notably by Mr. Gladstone's administration in 1881, and by Mr. Goschen in his speeches at Leeds and to the London Chamber of Commerce.

trade with silver-using countries to barter, by destroying that par of exchange between gold and silver which had so long prevailed to the great advantage of our common commerce.

Both in England and on the other side of the Atlantic the cry is in the same key but with variations. "Our gold will leave us," say my countrymen in England, such of them as take their inspiration from Lombard Street. "Our gold will leave us," say voices from America, not, I suppose, without some prompting from Wall Street. The Englishman has two fears, one internal and one external. 1. He is accustomed to the use of one hundred million pounds of sovereigns in pocket-money and till-money, and he fears that it will all vanish like fairy gold. 2. He is the Lombard of the nineteenth century, a universal lender; and he fears that his borrowers will pay him in an inferior money. I will deal with the allegation of inferiority presently, and I will say here only that if M. Chevalier's anticipations had been correct (which they might well have been) and his advice followed in 1857, gold, in which all such debts have been paid, would have been the depreciated metal. Such fears and such vaticinations are wholly untrustworthy. The American—I do not know precisely what it is that he dreads; probably that he will not have gold enough wherewith to pay his gold debts. I will deal with this fear later on.

The alarmists, both English and American, imagine, but surely they imagine wrongly, that they will themselves suffer, not only if gold goes, but if silver comes—if silver is restored to its ancient position as a partner with gold in the money-work of the world. What harm each alarmist apprehends as likely to happen to himself I have never been able to induce any one of them to state in plain terms, no doubt because they have never clearly formulated it in their own minds. They content themselves with lamentations over the future of their respective countries should this terrible measure ever become law. "The gold standard," says the Englishman, "has been the foundation of the prosperity, of the commercial supremacy, of England. Change our standard and we are lost!" "Abundance of gold," cries the American, "is the mainspring of our mercantile and industrial prosperity. It is that which enables us to rival and surpass the boasted commercial supremacy of Great Britain." Surely this is an excess of humility, humility which is scarcely congenial to the warm blood which runs in the veins of both nations, usually not lacking in self-appreciation.

The financial prosperity and the commercial greatness both of Great Britain and the United States are built upon a wider and stronger basis than the color of the metal of which we make our money. They are built upon the energy, the enterprise, and the integrity of our fathers, and are maintained by the same qualities in our fathers' sons. They rest on our accumulated capital, on our accumulated mercantile experience, on the skill and sinews of our artisans and operatives; owing much to our excellent harbors, much to the abundant produce of the soil of our respective countries, but most certainly nothing to the color of our monetary standard nor to its exclusive singleness where, as with us, it is confined to one metal. If the United States had only silver for its money, as we have only gold, provided merely that there were an established ratio between the two metals, it is impossible that it could make one single grain of difference in the relative prosperity of the two nations.

An Englishman may venture to say, without being exposed to the charge of arrogance, that London is the financial centre of the world, from and to which the world's exchanges flow. Our bankers seem disposed to think that this is due to our having a gold standard, that there is nothing like leather, and that to our being the centre of financial and banking credit is due our uncontested commercial supremacy. Let us hear Mr. Goschen, an acknowledged master of the subject of "Foreign Exchanges." He is discussing the question why London is the great centre of the world's exchanges, and his words are remarkable, both for what they say and for what they do not say. There is not a single word about our gold standard, although in 1866, when he wrote the book from which I quote,¹ we had it all to ourselves. What he does say is this:

"A partial cause might be found in the credit granted by London bankers, and also in the great reputation of the London houses, extending to all quarters of the world. But this can only be called a secondary reason, and appears on closer examination to be itself the result of the primary cause which makes England the great banking centre of the world. That primary cause is to be found in the stupendous and never-ceasing exports of England."

Venice and Florence and Genoa, each in its day, took the lead in banking and the trade of the world; and their standard was silver, though they failed not to use gold money also to supplement silver. Later Holland became the commercial centre of the world and Amsterdam the centre of banking and finance, but the money standard

¹ "Foreign Exchanges," p. 33.

of Holland was silver. Was England last among the nations when her standard also was silver?

A little study of English history might be a not unprofitable occupation for some of our pseudo-monometallist¹ fanatics. They would find that our commercial grandeur was the cause and not the effect of our banking system, and that neither the one nor the other was produced by, nor dependent on, the color of our money metal. The character and quality of our money do indeed affect the commercial property, not of England and the United States alone, but of every civilized nation, not by reason of a happy selection of one rather than the other of the two precious metals, but by reason of the purity and honesty of our money, and because whether it be gold or silver or both united, the foreigner and the home-born alike can be sure that nothing will issue from our mints that has not the due weight and fineness. But we are asked to believe—and I have heard it adduced as a serious argument at a monetary conference—that gold is the proper money for a wealthy nation and silver for a poor one. The reasoning seems to be this: Sweets to the sweet. A wealthy man should have tools that argue wealth. A rich nation is composed of rich men (which it is not), and therefore, money being a tool, the money metal of such a nation should argue wealth, should contain great value in small compass. Now, besides the fact that rich nations probably contain more, in proportion, of poor and needy folk than poor ones do, what can it signify to any nation, poor or rich, whether its capital is measured in silver dollars or in gold sovereigns?

In great transactions no one touches either the one coin or the other. In small transactions who uses any large quantity of either? Are there not bank-notes? Is a bank-note for one hundred dollars more cumbrous than a bank-note for twenty pounds? Are there not such things as checks? Is it so very much more troublesome to write a check for one hundred thousand dollars than to write one for twenty thousand pounds? It is pretty nearly as easy for a poor man or a poor nation to pay the one as to pay the other. Gold is, except for the purpose of storage or for the uses of pocket-money, an inconvenient money metal. You cannot pay the wages of your laborers with gold, and rich nations have to pay wages at least as much as poor

¹ Surely they are pseudo-monometallists who insist on the money of the empire consisting of two metals, with no legal *nexus* between them. It is a bastard bimetallism that they worship, begotten without the solemnization of true and lawful matrimony between the metals.

ones. You cannot pay your soldiers with gold, especially if you are engaged in foreign war; and rich nations have to go to war sometimes as well as poor ones. You may hoard gold for war purposes; but as soon as war begins you must change it into silver either at home or at the capital nearest to the seat of war.¹ Some may think it easier to transport; but the freight is *ad valorem* and gold is easier to steal than silver. Neither silver nor gold is used in great transactions, except, occasionally, in war and for the purpose of redressing the balance of trade. The great mass of international indebtedness is met by the transfer of consumable commodities, and in redressing the balance between their imports and exports it is necessary that the specie be, as far as possible, unvarying in value. But especially is this quality necessary when we consider it as the measure of all other values, and this is, by the admission of all the best authorities, not obtainable in any single money metal, and least of all in gold, the production of which has been most fitful and the variations in the stock of which have been consequently greatest. The two metals bound together by the tie of a legal ratio give, as Jevons shows, the best guarantees for stability under such a system. Silver, then, is only a worse money than gold, and gold, then, only a worse money than silver, when, there being no legal uniformity of ratio established between them by international accord, artificial changes are produced in the relative value of the two metals by arbitrary legislation of particular nations.

But if it is proposed to establish such international accord an outcry is at once raised. "Our gold will leave the country," says an eminent banker, "and our debtors will pay us in an inferior metal. It will be disastrous; and it will be inoperative, for every one will contract himself out of the law." How he is able to reconcile the two statements, that the measure will be disastrous and at the same time inoperative, has not been made clear. Nor has it been shown that our debts will be paid in silver, or that there will be any inducement so to pay them, nor that it would do us any harm if they were. What constitutes inferiority in a money metal? Nothing, I apprehend, of any importance, but its possessing less purchasing power than some other. When, therefore, gold had become so scarce in France that silver money was almost the only measure of value in internal transactions, then, if that metal was inferior to gold, prices so measured must have inevitably risen. But that was notoriously not the case.

¹ The specie sent abroad for the use of the troops during the Peninsular War was: silver, £5,305,806; gold, £519,647; copper, £654.—"Bullion Report," 1810.

So its inferiority remains to be proved. The argument from bulk is surely not worth refuting before readers who are conversant with checks.

Our friends in the United States, those of them who are moved by the fears to which I have referred and are haunted by the dread of having to deal with some nineteenth-century Gehazi with his two talents of silver bound in two bags, think that a flood of silver is to pour upon them from the Western mines, perhaps also a flood from other bimetallic or silver-using countries, which will, it is imagined, use the United States as a "dumping-ground," as the phrase is, for their silver; and that silver, in virtue of some law unknown alike to Gresham and to Newton, will extrude gold out of the country, just as water, if enough were poured in, would eject oil out of a tub. Our friends in England, those, that is to say, who dwell in Lombard Street or Downing Street, the bankers who deal only in the counters (while we merchants play the game), who have no direct interest in the question, nor indeed any practical knowledge of what the words "par of exchange" mean; the statesmen who take their cue from the bankers, and who shut their eyes to the realities of the position—all incline to fear that gold, which in their vain dreams they regard as the only palladium of British commerce, will leave us; and they decline for the most part even to examine the question. They are, as Mr. Goschen said, so confident of the monometallist faith that is in them that they refuse to give, or even think out, any reasons for it. To awaken them from these dreams and help them more truly to appreciate the situation, let us examine the allegations: first, that the gold will go; and, second, that, as newspaper writers assure us, it would be a national calamity if it did go.

Under what circumstances does specie leave a country? Certainly it does not go of itself; and certainly no one sends it away because he has no use for it, or because he has too much of it, or because having enough or too much of one kind of it he wishes to get rid of the other kind. Broadly speaking, nothing will take money metal from a country but the balance of trade. If the value of the exports of purchasable commodities does not equal the value of the imports, specie, which is stored commodities, is exported to rectify the balance. The production of silver, monetized and absorbed under the provisions of the United States law of 1890, cannot, however large it may be, directly and immediately drive specie, whether it be silver or gold, out of the country. The effect of an excessive production and of a

consequent enlargement of the circulation would be primarily to increase prices in the United States, and thus, unless impeded by other legislation, to stimulate imports and discourage exports. The balance of trade would go against the country and specie would have to be exported to redress it. To a silver-using country, such as India, silver might be sent. To gold-using countries, or to bimetallic countries where the law of free coinage of silver is suspended, gold must be sent; and if the balance of trade should continue adverse, whether from the cause above mentioned or from other causes, gold would continue to be sent away; and even though there is no obligation to deliver gold rather than silver, and though with each export of gold a counteracting influence would be set up, the stock would gradually diminish.

So also in England the balance of trade has to be rectified by import or export of specie; and as the law interposes no check on the free export of gold, but every one who has a credit with the Bank of England can demand and must receive gold, gold must go unless checked by other means. This is what happens under our monometallic law in this country and, indirectly, in the United States also; and bankers and those who share their fears might reasonably, under present circumstances, be expected now and then to cry out, "The gold will go," even though its going may not be so harmful as they suppose. But under an international bimetallic law, with a common ratio, would either the probability or the evil results of its going be increased? The ready and thoughtless answer comes: "To be sure it would." Does not every one by this time know the Gresham law (which is as certain as the law of gravitation), and that under it the cheaper metal drives out the dearer? Silver costs less to produce than gold: therefore it is the cheaper; and therefore it must drive out gold, which is the dearer."

Every one no doubt thinks he knows the Gresham law; but has that omniscient personage ever taken the trouble to read what Gresham wrote? Gresham said nothing about "cheaper" or "dearer," nor about "one metal driving out another." Nor, if he had used the words "cheaper" and "dearer," could he have meant "cheaper and dearer in cost of production"; because about the relative cost of the vast existing stocks of silver and gold, or about the average cost of one ounce of either, he knew absolutely nothing; and no doubt he well knew that he knew nothing. We know that some silver can be produced at one shilling and four pence an ounce; and some—by the

unsuccessful miner—at five pounds, or any larger cost, per ounce; but of what was or will be the average cost at any given time of each ounce of the total stock of the silver measure of value, we know nothing at all.

What Gresham said—in effect—was that if there were two shillings in circulation, one weighing one hundred grains and the other ninety-five, both being equally legal tender, the heavy one would be exported when export was wanted, and the light one would stay; just as England was, till lately, full of light sovereigns and half-sovereigns, while heavy ones served for export. The heavy shilling and the heavy sovereign were *dearer* in France as measured in French commodities than the light ones. They would buy more of them, and were sent thither accordingly. The light sovereign and the light shilling would buy less of them, *i.e.*, were *cheaper* when measured in them, and accordingly stayed at home. The dearer metal is that which is dearer elsewhere, and the cheaper is that which is cheaper, not in its own country but in another. This is the true operation of the Gresham law; and it is consonant with Sir Isaac Newton's exposition in his report to the Treasury.¹ Thus when, in the United States, silver was valued 16 to 1 of gold, it was dearer in France, where the ratio was $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; and it was sent thither because the sender discharged his debt of an ounce of gold with $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver and kept half an ounce in his pocket, the French sender remitting gold for the like reason. Gold and silver were each the dearer (and cheaper) metal at the same moment, but in different markets. The diversity of ratio caused silver to flow to France and gold to America.

Under an international bimetallic agreement, with identity of ratio, what is to cause one metal to go rather than the other? If you say, "Gold must go," I ask, "Whither will it go?" That is a question which I have asked over and over again, but without ever receiving a satisfactory answer. One combatant in this field, having, I think, little personal experience of the present conduct and exigencies of foreign trade, tells us that it will leave all countries, so far as its money-work is concerned, and be "used for other purposes." What purposes? Ah, there the oracle is dumb. Is it to be in the arts? In what branch of art? Is it, when by the hypothesis gold is to be by far the dearest metal, that we are to invent new uses for it in common life? Or are its old uses to be multiplied? Shall gold toothpicks

¹September, 1817.

abound? Shall the crossing-sweepers have, to every man, a gold watch, gold buttons to his coat, and a gold-headed handle to his broom—all, no doubt, provided out of the rates by the county councils of the future?

We may leave these speculations for the councils, county or otherwise, of Utopia, and come back to the questions that are of real and practical importance. Whither will the gold go under the ordinary stress of the balance of trade? Let us suppose a bimetallic union of the United States and the principal commercial nations of Europe with their dependencies. There would then be no inducement to send away gold, because there would be no nation where gold would have (at the ratio) a greater purchasing power than silver, or where (as in England at present) gold, or token representatives of gold, would have alone purchasing power. But even in England, though gold alone has purchasing power, up to 1873 no merchant cared whether he received a remittance of fifteen hundred and fifty ounces of silver or one hundred ounces of gold. The *minimum* value of the silver was necessarily the same as the gold, inasmuch as a kilogram of silver sent to Paris produced by law two hundred francs, which were at his disposal by bill of exchange. Why, then, if that law were restored, should America be under any necessity of sending gold to London rather than silver? China can now take our gold at her pleasure if she chooses to suffer the preliminary loss. Why should we continue any longer helpless, as we are now to a great extent, when the enactment of the bimetallic law would give us back the option of parting with it or keeping it as might suit ourselves? But China, some one may say, will adopt a gold currency and draw away all our gold. China may do that *now* if she is so minded; and if she sells her silver at whatever sacrifice and has credits on England, she can do so by us, for we must answer them in gold. But under a bimetallic law there would be no such compulsion.

Again, let us consider the case of an imperfect accord among the nations. Let us suppose England and Germany, or England alone, holding aloof. Then it may be thought there would be a gulf into which the gold of the bimetallic countries could be poured; and the United States, and all the others also, would be brought to be "on a silver basis." Let those who think so ask themselves what force it is that is to drive the seven hundred million pounds or so of gold money in other countries to take refuge here and remain here. What should we do with it? We have what we want for our commerce. Nothing

can come to us and stay but what the balance of trade sends and what gives directly or indirectly profit to the senders. The idea is as chimerical as that of its being used "for other purposes."

Let us suppose a third case, and one that is very germane to the bills which have lately caused so much controversy in the United States and so much perturbation in Europe. What if the United States stood alone, all other states being gold-using, as England, silver-using, as India, or under a limping standard, as France; and the United States mints were open to the unlimited coinage of both metals, at a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ or 16 to 1, with full legal tender? Would it be impossible that the United States should be able to do what France did for seventy years, maintain the law unimpaired? "But the system broke down," it is said, "in 1873." No, the powers of the French mint broke down under the unexampled pressure of the sudden influx of silver from Germany and the expected influx of ten times as much. So would the American mint break down if the United States were worsted in a war with China and had to pay her some one hundred million pounds indemnity in gold, and she took the opportunity of demonetizing her silver and pouring it into the American mint. We need not discuss such a *reductio ad absurdum* as that; but it would require no less a catastrophe to break down so irrefragable a system.

It will be replied, perhaps, that the case of France from 1803 to 1873 is not parallel with the present condition of the monetary world. It will be said, "What an enormous influx of silver there has been, an influx which will no doubt continue." This is a reply which can be made only by those to whom figures and facts are of no account in argument, and who are content to be certain in matters of the greatest uncertainty. During the fifty years from 1803 the production of silver was about twice that of gold, and in the next twenty years, during which the stock of gold in the world was doubled, its production was more than twice that of silver. And yet the French law of 1803 was not shaken. The so-called flood of silver is but a rivulet to the vast outpouring of gold in those two decades, and has done nothing of any account to redress the balance between the two metals. Such as it is, it has sufficed to bring down the market price of silver, because the mints have been closed. It will be time, when the mints are once opened as before, at a fixed ratio, to take into account the forty millions by which silver production has, at $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, exceeded gold production since 1877. Calculating the relative production at a

ratio of 22, the excess would have been on the side of gold to the extent of fourteen million three hundred and thirty-nine thousand pounds.

If, then, the task were undertaken by the United States, there is an antecedent probability that the same equilibrium would be maintained by it as was maintained by France. The only reason why it should not be done is that it is not the best that can be done, seeing that an international accord would be far preferable. The United States, I think, could maintain it, either alone or in concert with one other state, with India for instance, where the present condition of things has become intolerable; but there would be one thing lacking—a perfect conviction and satisfaction in the minds of those in the United States who now oppose free coinage. An international accord would, I suppose, commend itself to them at once; whereas sole action, and possibly even an accord with one state only, would allow of doubt and distrust, which only time could dispel. There might perhaps be always in some minds a fear, however unfounded, that the United States would find itself “on a silver basis.” These words seem to me to be always uttered in a tone of horror. What does the phrase mean? The only possible way in which the United States could really pass to a silver basis would be by demonetizing gold and becoming by law a silver-using country like Mexico or China; and I apprehend that it would have no temptation to do any such thing. This phrase, then, would seem to be only another form of words for the fear above discussed, that gold would leave the country. I have shown that that fear is chimerical; but if it were a thing that could possibly happen, silver would indeed become the chief money in use, but the standard would in no way be altered; the mint would still be open for the coinage of both metals into legal-tender money. That is what happened in France from 1830 to 1847, when gold was scarce, and from 1853 to 1865, when silver, owing to the great demand for India, was in like case. But the bimetallic law still existed, and in none of those years did the parity between the metals, as defined by the ratio, disappear. Every debtor, saving previous stipulation, could pay his debt in the coins of either metal; and in case of an especial demand for export of one or the other metal, would assert his right by exacting payment for foregoing it in the shape of a small *agio* on the metal in demand.

There is a mode in which a nation's money laws may be said to be on a silver basis and be yet in a different case from China; just as they may be on a gold basis and yet be in a different case from Eng-

land since 1819. That was the silver basis which Locke approved and Newton after him. Locke knew that both metals were needed for a nation's commerce; but silver had been the ancient money of England, and he did not favor any departure from it, but advocated the rating of gold to it by law at a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. It was bimetalism, but under the name of a silver standard.

I have now set forth, as fully as my space would permit, the fact that in respect of "current money with the merchant" all nations are bound together by their common interest; that independent action has always tended to produce dislocation of trade and commercial distress; that the time has come when our statesmen must no longer be content with empty platitudes under which they take refuge from the trouble of intelligent examination; and, finally, I have shown the futility of the fears of the only remedy for the disorder expressed by men who have no personal experience of the misfortunes suffered by too many under our present monetary laws. The question has now passed from the sphere of theory to the sphere of practice. Enough has been done, by argument, by preliminary conferences, by royal commissions; enough has been suffered by commerce all over the world, and by English manufacturers in particular. It now rests with the states that have called and assented to the international conference to bring order out of chaos, and do what alone can restore national and international prosperity.

The time has passed when statesmen could look calmly on, as they have done till within the last year or two, caring for none of these things, floating in an empyrean of their own far above us little men in whose paltry commercial concerns they took not the very faintest interest. Lancashire may lose its trade, merchants trading with South America, Mexico, India, China, Japan, may find their profit-and-loss accounts year by year more and more on the wrong side. So much the worse for Lancashire; so much the worse for the merchants. Statesmen cannot be expected to go to school again and unlearn the lessons which they learned forty years ago. Times indeed are different, circumstances have changed, events have happened which were not dreamt of forty years ago. "But what is that to us? So much the worse for the circumstances; so much the worse for the people who are affected by them."

Statesmen, if you refuse to learn new lessons from new phenomena, you will find that you will have to be taught *malgré vous*. The Secretary of State for India will no longer be able to shut his ears to

the cries which are reaching him from India itself. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will have to consider what it is that makes trade decline and continue to decline, and to remember—if he has forgotten it—that it is commerce that has made England what she is, and that all impediments to commerce are so many blows struck at the prosperity and happiness of the multitudes, high and low, rich and poor, laborers and employers of labor, producers and consumers, who make up the population of this country. The wage-earners will feel, and they will let him and his colleagues feel, that the wealth which pays their wages is diminishing, that employment is more irregular, and that the number of the unemployed is increasing; and they will ask the reason why.

What I say to England I say also to the United States. To the United States it applies also, *mutatis mutandis*. The conditions are different, the laws are in some important points different. But it, as well as we, is a nation whose very life-blood is commerce; and it and we too must sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, take the only step which can possibly restore that which is a necessity for successful and extended commerce—practical unity of the medium of exchange. In this, if in anything, there is a solidarity between nations. Their interests are in this not antagonistic, but identical; and it needs only good-will and a truly patriotic spirit to tear away the bandage of prejudice which obscures the sight of too many leading men in both countries who have hitherto failed to look, so far as this question is concerned, to the true interests of the people.

HENRY H. GIBBS.

SHALL THE STATE-BANK TAX BE REPEALED?

THE tax on State-bank circulation was imposed by Congress, and its repeal has been advocated solely upon the ground that it forms the one impediment to the issue by State banks and private bankers of their notes to be used as circulation. The tax was not imposed for revenue purposes, and its repeal is not advocated as a measure of tax reduction.

On the 7th of June, 1892, Mr. Richardson, a representative in Congress from Tennessee, moved to suspend the rules of the House of Representatives and pass a bill repealing the tax of ten per cent on the circulation of State banks and bankers. After the brief debate permitted by the rules of the House on such a motion the vote was taken and the proposition was defeated by a vote of eighty-four yeas and one hundred and sixteen nays. The persons voting yea were all Democrats and seventy-five of those voting nay were also Democrats.

The Chicago convention, on the 22d of June, 1892, adopted as part of its platform a plank in these words: "We recommend that the prohibitory tax of ten per cent on State-bank issues be repealed." The Republican contention during the campaign as to the meaning of this part of the Democratic platform was unquestionably accurate, both as to the motive and purposes of the men who framed this particular plank and as to the results which they sought to attain. On the one hand this plank was advocated by those who were alarmed by the agitation for the free coinage of silver as offering a substitute upon which the advocates of free silver coinage could stand, and on the other hand it was accepted by the latter class as something which could be tendered to their constituents as a partial if not a complete satisfaction of their demand for more money.

An analysis of the vote in the House of Representatives, as well as a knowledge of what took place in the room of the committee on resolutions at the Chicago convention, makes me entirely sure of the accuracy of this statement. The over-zealous advocates of free silver coinage and the over-anxious opponents of it united in the support of Mr. Richardson's resolution in the House of Representatives.

An earnest Eastern anti-free-coinage member of the committee on resolutions at Chicago pleaded with an advanced unlimited-silver-coinage man from the Southwest to accept both the silver plank and the bank-tax plank in the Chicago platform, the one as the antidote of the other.

The situation, therefore, brings the country face to face with the proposition that the issuing of the paper money, which has heretofore formed the principal medium for the transaction of business in this country, shall be controlled, not by the Federal Government and its laws, but by the legislation of the several States. That we may understand what the proposition really is, two things should be clearly noted: first, there is involved no question of the right of a State to charter a bank, but we are to determine as a matter of public policy whether banking institutions and bankers shall issue currency upon a uniform system regulated by national authority, or under at least as many systems as there are States; secondly, there is not involved as an original proposition the question of the propriety of levying such a tax, but the proposed repeal requires the consideration of the question whether the conditions are such as justify the present immediate removal of the tax.

It seems to me that no doubt can be fairly said to exist as to the right of the Federal Government to regulate the currency which, from the necessity of the situation and the intimate connection between the different parts of the country, is both intended and is certain to circulate throughout the country and be the medium of exchange in all interstate as well as internal commerce, and which, without regard to State lines, is restricted in the extent of its use only by the nature and value of the currency itself. Nor are there any facts which justify the statement that there is any imminent peril of the destruction or immediate extinguishment of the national banking system as a means of furnishing circulation. The truth is that there has been and is a steady growth in the number and distribution of national banking associations throughout the land. The fact that State banks and trust companies have been successfully established demonstrates only that the right to issue circulation is not essential to the business success and consequent existence of banking institutions.

In the last February number of the FORUM the late John J. Knox stated that "the attributes of a perfect system of paper currency in this or any other country are: 1, safety; 2, elasticity; 3, convertibility; 4, uniformity." Of course the most essential attri-

bute of any such currency is its safety, and next in importance in this country is its uniformity. Without these two the elasticity of the currency would fall, as indicated by Mr. Knox, into the unfortunate *ante-bellum* condition when it was "as elastic in value as in volume." The convertibility of such currency is a necessary consequence of its absolute safety and uniformity. The national banking currency has given us an entirely safe and an entirely uniform currency, and its blessings in that respect cannot be computed or over-estimated.

We are told by some of those who advocate a return to the system of allowing State banks to issue notes that there is no danger at this time of a return to a depreciated-bank-note circulation should this restriction be removed. One writer says:

"There is not a State in the Union which would authorize or allow it. It was the want of suitable means of communicating with every part of the country, with the object of demanding immediate redemption of the unworthy notes, which gave any facilities for what was known as 'wild-cat' bank-notes."

Had the writer who prophesies so certainly upon this subject examined some of the bills introduced into the last House of Representatives and intended to meet the supposed need for more money, or listened to the arguments in favor of the repeal of the tax on State-bank circulation, his views of what some portions of the country are likely to do if left to regulate this matter for themselves would certainly be modified. No "wild-cat" scheme of banking, no ultra-doctrine of *fiat* money could go to any greater length than did some of the measures soberly proposed and earnestly advocated by members of Congress at the last session. And it is not to be overlooked that the gentlemen making these propositions and advancing these arguments claimed to be, and doubtless were, fairly and sincerely representative of the opinions and wishes of the people in the localities from which they came. These opinions and these wishes can be expected to crystallize into laws in the communities whose representatives advocate such measures whenever such communities are left to act their pleasure unconstrained by their more conservative and experienced neighbors.

Some of the advocates of the repeal of this tax claim that the resulting State-bank circulation will be a more elastic currency, a currency which will be local and which will respond to the demands of the locality in which the bank issuing the circulation is located. Earnest and sincere questioning, however, failed to develop any reason

for anticipating that such currency would remain local, would not flow to the money centres, and would not leave the more remote sections of the country unprovided for, precisely as it is claimed the national-bank currency now does, except that it was hoped and expected that such local currency would not be at par and of equal value away from home with the legal-tender money of the country or better-known and better-secured bank currency of the older and more wealthy States. With more or less frankness the advocates of a return to the use of such currency admitted that, unless it was depreciated, it would obey the law applicable to all money in circulation and tend to accumulate in commercial centres. The question whether a State-bank-note currency can be made as safe and of as uniform value as one regulated by national authorities so nearly answers itself against those who contend for it that about one-half the advocates of the repeal of this tax are found advocating also the regulation and supervision by Federal authority of the circulation issued by State banks.

The answer to the arguments of the rest of the advocates of this repeal can be found, first, in the history of the old State-bank circulation; and, secondly, by a consideration of the existing condition of the legislation relating to this matter in the States themselves. I have not space to recite at length the history of State-bank circulation. Some of the results of it, however, were that a bank-note detector was as necessary to a mercantile house as a ledger; that the purchase of uncurrent money, meaning the money of banks of other States, the value of which was not readily ascertainable, was as regular a business in the city of New York and elsewhere as banking itself; that the rates of exchange between the different portions of the country were enormously larger than under the present system; and that it was as necessary for a person travelling from one portion of this country to another to provide himself with money current in the locality to which he was going as it is to-day for an American going to Europe to exchange his American money for foreign money. With the enormously-increased interstate commerce and general travel, the confusion, inconvenience, and absolute loss entailed by the former system would be incalculably increased. The safety of any bank-bill not issued in his own State would always be a conundrum unsolvable to the ordinary citizen, and to the expert difficult. The uniformity of circulation, which, next to its safety, is its most important attribute, would absolutely disappear.

This is written in no spirit of prophecy. An examination of the constitutions and laws of the various States as they exist to-day shows that in thirteen of them the issuing of circulation by State banks is expressly prohibited; in fifteen of them there is no provision made upon the subject; and in the rest more or less adequate provision has been made. To the inhabitants of the thirteen States the repeal of this tax would afford no relief whatever. To the inhabitants of the fifteen who have adopted no regulations whatever upon the subject of State-bank circulation, it is impossible to conjecture what the result would be. Assuming, as one eminent financier stated to me, that it is the natural right of every man to give to his neighbor his written promise to pay for the purpose of having that neighbor use it in payment, or in other words to create, if he can, a circulation upon his personal credit, it is not difficult to see that the inhabitants of the fifteen States who have no regulations upon this subject are left to the mercy of the wildest sort of "wild-cat" banking. In the remaining sixteen the regulations vary from the prudent laws of the State of New York to those which provide that banks may issue circulation without depositing security therefor to the extent of three times the amount of their paid-up capital stock. In view of this condition of legislation it would seem to be entirely plain that at the present time, at least, the safety of the community and its commercial tranquillity require that the circulation of the country shall not be left to so divergent and so confused a condition of legislation. The confusion which must follow is not a matter of prophecy, but is a matter of absolute certainty. A depreciated-bank-note circulation will be with us the day the tax is repealed. There are States which authorize and others which allow it. Chaos will take the place of order.

To those of us who have opposed the repeal of this tax and the return to State-bank circulation, there has often been quoted the assertion ascribed to Senator Sherman, that the national banking system is doomed; that it must expire with the bonds upon which it is based. The national banking system might expire with the maturity of the existing bonds, provided those bonds were not extended, as national bonds have been heretofore, or provided no others were issued, or provided no substitute for them were attainable as a basis for bank circulation. The existing United States bonds ought to be paid off on maturity, but that may not occur. Other forms of security are attainable. The greenbacks ought to be paid off and withdrawn from circulation. The whole or some part of them could be funded

in a bond bearing a low rate of interest and entirely adequate as a substitute for the existing bonds as security for bank circulation. The credit of the Government in its present condition enables it to keep the greenbacks at par, and will enable it to refund them at a low rate of interest. Those of us who remember the time when it taxed the ingenuity of our ablest financiers to float the greenback at all ought to understand that the perpetuation of these Government promises to pay must some day bring us again to an emergency when the Government, really needing to use its credit, will find that it is greatly impaired, if not exhausted, by its existing unredeemed promises. If thirty years ago, without any debt at all, the Government's promise to pay was discredited, it is entirely probable that that credit must some day, and when most needed, be found exhausted, not merely discredited, by the fact of the existence unredeemed for a long period of years of these mere promises to pay. A prudent man in business borrows money when he needs it and repays it when he has the means, so that his credit may be good when he again needs to use it. The same plain rule of business prudence should be applied to Government transactions.

In a tentative way, and following the views expressed by more experienced men, I suggest that a safe uniform bank circulation can be issued, secured, first, by State, county, or municipal bonds under proper regulation, for which there are abundant precedents; secondly, by being made a first lien upon the assets of the bank issuing them, including the personal liability of stockholders; thirdly, by creating a safety fund by a small tax upon the circulation itself, which shall be the common property of all the banks, and from which the notes of any insolvent bank may be paid at once, the fund to be reimbursed from the bonds or assets of such bank as the liquidation of its affairs proceeds, less the amount contributed to the fund by the defunct bank itself. I am not prepared to accept as security for the circulating medium of the country any form of obligation the payment of which is not dependent upon the exercise of the taxing power. An objection is made to the use of State bonds for this purpose, for the reason that the States cannot be sued; but the objection applies with equal force to bonds of the National Government, and could be entirely obviated by the States providing by constitutional change or legislative enactment the method for the enforcement of such obligations. Such constitutional provision or legislation would certainly follow the enactment of a law excluding from this use the bonds of any State which

did not provide means for the enforcement of its obligations. The use of State bonds for this purpose would render them more valuable and their repudiation impossible. If there had been scattered through the States which have heretofore repudiated their obligations banks whose circulation was secured by the bonds of the State itself, repudiation would never have occurred. I refer with pleasure to the prophecy of the Hon. Orlando B. Potter with regard to national bonds made in an open letter addressed to Secretary Chase in August, 1861, when our national credit was lower than that of most States to-day:

“The fact that in this way banks and bankers could obtain a national circulation for their bills would make United States stocks eagerly sought after by them, and their price would be always maintained at or above par, though they bore only a low rate of interest. Four per cents could never fall below par after the system is fairly understood and at work.”

The event has justified the sagacity of Mr. Potter in making that prediction and confirms my faith in the accuracy of the view which I have expressed as to the effect that must naturally and necessarily follow the use of State bonds as a basis of circulation. An objection is also made that the Government is now the guarantor of the national-bank circulation, and that it ought not to be made the guarantor of any circulation based upon other than its own securities. To this the plain answer is that the Government is not the guarantor of the payment of the present bank circulation, but is the mere custodian of the bonds, of which it can make no other use than to sell them and apply the proceeds to the payment of the circulating notes. Similarly, it could sell the securities which should be deposited under the system suggested for whatever they would bring, and after applying the proceeds to the payment of the notes could use either the funds in the hands of the receiver of the defaulting bank or the safety fund in its own possession for the redemption of any balance of such notes remaining unpaid. With the certainty that the Government would pay these notes and recoup itself out of these securities, the notes under the new system, as under the old, would be safe and uniform in value the country over.

There is a wide demand for the use of mortgages on real estate as a basis of security for bank circulation. The objections which are unanswerable to the loaning of its capital or deposits by a bank of discount and deposit on real-estate security do not apply to the same extent or with the same force to the use of such security as a basis of circulation. The practical difficulty of ascertaining the validity or

value of such mortgages is very great, but possibly not insurmountable. Such securities have been used heretofore, in the State of New York, without loss to the note holders. I have, however, neither given the time nor have I the space in this article to attempt to elaborate a system for the use of such securities for this purpose which would be satisfactory even to myself.

My conclusions are that the country is not prepared and ready to-day to meet or cope with the problems which would arise from the repeal of the tax on State-bank circulation; that the return to the system of regulating the issue of such currency by State laws can never be safely or successfully made; that control over the issuing of bank circulation is a constitutional function of the Federal Government, and the exercise of such control in the present situation of the country is necessary and presents no insurmountable difficulty.

There are defects in the national-bank system which ought to be remedied. The system can, however, be perfected only by removing these defects as experience develops them. Two of them are now made apparent by the demand from a large section of the country for more circulation. The amount of circulation to be issued to a bank should be dependent upon the market, not upon the face value, of its securities. It is beyond dispute that the present bonds used as a basis of circulation justify, as the necessities of the country are claimed to require, the issuing of circulation to the banks to the full face value of the bonds deposited by them. As the banks receive their franchises from the Government for a public purpose, there is no hardship in compelling them to exercise to the fullest extent their privileges for the public good. They should be compelled by law to issue and keep in circulation their notes to the full extent to which they have the right to issue them granted as one of their privileges. The issuing of circulation should be not only a privilege but a duty.

HENRY BACON.

NOVEMBER 16, 1892.

NECESSITY FOR A NATIONAL QUARANTINE.

ALTHOUGH the Constitution of the United States authorizes the National Congress, in the same article which grants the power to protect the general public against the invasion of a foreign enemy, to guard the general welfare, seldom in the history of national legislation has this authority been exercised in providing ways and means for the defence of the nation against the enormous injuries which have been frequently caused by invasions of epidemic diseases. Neither have the legislative powers of the States ever been adequately or at all systematically put into operation in providing fully efficient local defences of this nature.

That the National Congress has authority to control quarantine the Supreme Court of the United States has virtually decided. In the case of the Morgan Steamship Company *versus* the Louisiana Board of Health (U. S. Reports, Vol. CXVIII., p. 455), Associate Justice Miller said, in delivering the opinion of the Court (May 10, 1886):

"It may be conceded that whenever Congress shall undertake to provide for the commercial cities of the United States a general system of quarantine, or shall confide the execution of the details of such a system to a National Board of Health or to local boards, as may be found expedient, all State laws on the subject will be abrogated, or at least so far as the two are inconsistent. But until this is done the laws of the State on the subject are valid."

He further stated that "quarantine laws belong to that class of State legislation which, whether passed with intent to regulate commerce or not, must be admitted to have that effect, and which are until displaced valid or contravened by some legislation of Congress."¹

While our statesmen and law-makers have with more or less wisdom and constancy, by the enactment of national and local laws, guarded the personal liberties and material interests of the citizen; while they have established more or less adequate regulations for internal trade and foreign commerce, and have performed the public duty of providing defences against a common enemy, they yet have

¹ Dr. Armstrong, New York "Medical Journal," September 24, 1892.

thus far, with singular neglect, failed to make any comprehensive provision against the ever-present danger to the *general welfare* from the ravages of epidemics brought to our shores from foreign lands.

I am aware that there are among distinguished sanitarians, even in this country, a few who more than question the power of any quarantine regulations that could be devised, however intelligently and thoroughly enforced, to protect efficiently the general public against foreign invasions of contagious and infectious diseases, and who are inclined to advocate the policy that the state should rather expend her energies and money in permanently removing local conditions which favor the development of epidemics and make their spread possible. But the only country where such a policy has been pursued with some measure of success is England, after fifteen or twenty years of expenditure of thirty millions of dollars a year (exclusive of and in addition to large expenditures made by the general government, for this large sum has been expended by local boards) within her compact, small territory, located as it is out of the main line of movement of the hordes of infecting emigrants constantly leaving all parts of Europe and outside the latitudes which favor the existence of yellow fever. After the United States of America shall have intelligently spent at least an equal sum in the persistent effort to improve the hygienic surroundings of the homes of a population already nearly twice as great as that of England, and scattered over a territory thirty-four times as extensive, we may reach a condition of public health in which it will be wise to abandon maritime quarantine and to rely mainly upon a perfect local hygiene.

Meanwhile, perceiving the enormous cost of destroying local conditions which foster epidemics by removing the filth among which they thrive, but appreciating the incalculable economic benefit which would certainly follow such a wise expenditure of hundreds of millions of the public money, I feel convinced that, in view of the danger which threatens the public health from abroad, there are only two courses between which we in this country must choose, namely: a practical abandonment of the public to a more or less individual and fruitless struggle with the agents of contagion wherever the movements of immigrants may chance to convey them; or an intelligent, constant, earnest, and vigorous effort to stop and destroy them at the ports of entry. While it is true that to remove the local conditions which favor the development and spread of diseases is to lessen greatly their harmfulness, it is none the less undeniable that

to destroy the infecting agent or to prevent its entrance into the country is by a single act to prevent the implantation of the seed and to render the harvest of death and destruction impossible, let the soil be never so fertile. Furthermore, the cost of preparing to wage a successful combat against the entrance and spread of disease among thousands of scattered villages, towns, and cities would be indefinitely greater than the cost of placing our ports in a nearly perfect state of defence against those diseases which are now subjected to quarantine. As an example of what it costs and of the time required to improve radically the hygienic condition of a single dirty city, I would point to what has recently been determined upon with regard to the city of Naples, which suffered so severely from cholera in the epidemic of 1884, namely, the demolition of seventeen thousand houses and sixty-two churches in the very heart of the city. This means the expenditure of over forty million dollars in a single sanitary work which cannot be completed in less than ten years; even then only a beginning will have been made of the radical removal of unsanitary conditions for which Naples is notorious.

The information contained in my "Report on Cholera in Europe and India" concerning the wide-spread, miserable hygienic conditions of the villages, towns, and cities of Egypt, France, Italy, Spain, and India shows conclusively the futility, at least for decades to come, of any hope of preventing the introduction, spread, and ravages among them of such a disease as cholera by purely local hygienic measures. With a faulty water supply and imperfect household and general drainage of most of our cities and towns, added to a filthy and unsanitary state of some parts of them and to a great lack of efficient local health organizations, I regret to be obliged to affirm that our own country is in almost as bad a condition. But the loss to the public occasioned by a single wide-spread epidemic of cholera, yellow fever, or small-pox is in the economic value of the lives destroyed and in the vast injuries to trade and commerce, far greater than would be the cost of the proper maintenance for many years of a perfect quarantine establishment at all of our ports. When one undertakes to estimate the loss to the country of the intrinsic value only of the lives destroyed by a wide-spread epidemic, the amount, though great, is insignificant when compared with the loss of incalculable millions of treasure due to the paralysis of industry and commerce.

The hundreds of thousands of European immigrants who annually reach our country, after starting from or passing through localities

infected with contagious diseases, frequently, in their persons or in their pestiferous clothing and effects, carry with them the active germs of these diseases. The herding of these immigrants into the miserably ventilated and unsanitary quarters usually provided for the steerage passengers on Atlantic steamships, the modern rapidity of ocean travel, and the great facility with which these swarms of people are soon distributed all over our country, combine to multiply the danger to the public health with which, under the incompleteness and the lax administration of our laws, this incessant influx ordinarily but now especially menaces our country.

In their enormous numbers, their poverty and their squalor, and in their frequent transport of all sorts of infections and contagions, these immigrants can be likened only to the Oriental pilgrims, in whose track pestilence has so frequently followed. It is, indeed, with the extremest rarity that small-pox or cholera has at any time been introduced into North America by travellers other than the immigrant class. To take the proper means to guard the ports of entry against the infected persons and baggage of all immigrants would probably keep cholera from our shores; to do the same with the addition of requiring compulsory vaccination—whether the person has been previously vaccinated or not—as an invariable condition precedent to the privilege of landing, would go far toward banishing small-pox from the land; and the importation of scarlet fever, diphtheria, and like diseases might likewise be prevented by adequate measures. The epidemics of yellow fever, typhus (or ship) fever, small-pox, and cholera which have raged from time to time in this country have always been imported. The past history of cholera and a study of its manner of spreading during the recent epidemic (in which its movement from east to west was unprecedentedly rapid) show that the chief, if not indeed the sole, conveyers of the infection were—as in all previous times—the persons and personal effects of immigrants, pilgrims, or large masses of soldiers.

Recognizing the enormous interest of the nation in the prevention of the incalculable injuries that follow the spread of a wide and devastating epidemic of any kind, and particularly of Asiatic cholera, I feel by many reasons impelled to advocate national supremacy in the control of quarantine as the only reliable means at the present time of safeguarding the general welfare. During the existence of cholera in Europe the transatlantic steamship companies, by carrying immigrants, not only expose the general welfare to great

danger, but they also make it necessary to place great burdens upon maritime commerce. It was almost exclusively the immigration traffic which last summer, as in the past, caused the serious danger and damage we experienced from cholera.

It is a fact beyond dispute that cholera preys upon and breeds among those living in squalor and filth and closely follows their movements. It is exceptional even in Bengal, the home of cholera, that Englishmen there are attacked by the disease. It is true, also, in unsanitary localities in Southern and Eastern Europe, that the intelligent and well-to-do classes suffer greatly during a cholera epidemic. There is but little danger of the class of people who constitute the cabin passengers of the transatlantic steamer bringing with them, either in their persons or in their clothing, the infection of cholera.

The establishment of a policy of non-intercourse, *so far as immigration is concerned*, when Europe is suffering severely from a cholera epidemic would, in my opinion, constitute the best, and perhaps the only, means of safeguarding the United States from the ravages of this disease. I have repeatedly had occasion, in several publications, to point out the dangerous state of imperfection at several of the Atlantic quarantine stations known to my personal knowledge to exist. The ports of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore would certainly, in their permanent establishments and in their limited corps of administration, be unable to cope successfully, for any long period, with an invasion of the immigrants allowed to come incessantly to our shores during cholera epidemics in Europe. Even the quarantine station at New York—the largest and the most completely equipped of all our quarantine stations—would, with the frequent arrival of transatlantic steamers carrying infected immigrants with pestiferous baggage, quickly reach the point of uncertain defence and would be overwhelmed, unless indeed the policy of long detention of travellers, ships, and cargoes were rigidly enforced—a policy which would involve tremendous financial losses to those engaged in maritime trade or associated, directly or indirectly, with maritime commerce. The capacity of the New York quarantine is reached for purposes of safe defence with the landing of, say, one thousand immigrants held for observation. We have already seen how soon, with an uninterrupted stream of immigrants from infected localities, the capacity of this, our most capacious quarantine station, has been strained to the utmost.

The placing of an embargo *on immigration only* would be the

most direct means of securing safety from cholera and would not be coupled with the impediments to trade involved in long detention of ships and cargoes or annoying restrictions upon the movements of those travellers little likely to introduce infection. It is needless to point out that with the ship's inhabitants limited to the crew and the cabin passengers, the quarantine station of New York could, in its present condition, be relied upon to guard the country against the introduction of cholera through that port. The present arrangements that have been temporarily made and placed in operation at the quarantine stations of Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—imperfect as these stations are in permanent facilities—would also be in little or no danger of being overwhelmed by the exigencies of such a situation.

The inadequate permanent establishments at most of our maritime quarantine stations and the apparent impossibility (except perhaps when confronted with emergencies such as the recent emergency) of obtaining appropriations from local authorities of sufficient money to erect extensive and complete quarantine establishments in accordance with modern science and accurate knowledge of the nature, the mode of spreading, and the means of preventing cholera are further and, to my mind, incontrovertible reasons why the public cannot rely upon independent local quarantines for the defence of the whole country against the introduction of the common epidemics, much less of epidemics of cholera, which are the most dangerous of all and the most difficult to arrest. In this connection the question may be very pertinently asked: Why, then, should the direction, expense, and responsibility of a system of common defence against the inroads of foreign diseases, any more than against invasions of foreign foes, be assumed and borne by those municipalities or States that happen to have a maritime location? Why should the vast majority located inland be allowed to shift their responsibilities and obligations or be denied a voice in the direction of affairs which so closely concern them? The protection of the public health by maritime quarantine is a matter that interests not merely a narrow belt of sea-coast; it seriously concerns the whole of the vast territory between our shores. *Salus populi suprema lex.* This fundamental principle of the laws of ancient Rome should broadly underlie the legal code of every wisely-governed land. I am treating here, it must not be forgotten, of measures which affect many interests, which often violate personal liberty. Complaints are therefore inevitable.

The objections of any weight urged against maritime quarantine as a means of protecting the public health from preventable diseases imported by sea are only two: first, the alleged failures to keep out these diseases by this means; secondly, the alleged injury to maritime trade. In my opinion, the first objection finds a complete answer and explanation in the grossly imperfect state and the maladministration of the quarantine defences almost everywhere. This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the numerous facts which can be arrayed in support of this opinion. Those who wish to know the full truth concerning this matter may consult my "Report on Cholera in Europe and India" and other similar publications. It seems, therefore, absurd to argue against the capabilities of a thoroughly-equipped maritime quarantine, strictly and wisely administered, from the historic failures of those establishments which have been obviously deficient in the essential requirements of a maritime quarantine.

The second objection is always a serious one for a people extensively engaged in maritime trade. But it is met, I think, by a due consideration in the light of present knowledge of the wide and essential difference between the requirements for proper treatment of the ship's cargo and the ship's inhabitants. It is the ship's inhabitants with their personal effects that almost invariably introduce the infectious germs into this country; the merchandise rarely or never conveys the contagion, with the exception of wool and rags, and possibly also some forms of edibles from districts or ports infected. There is no excuse in the treatment of ships with cholera, small-pox, scarlet fever, diphtheria aboard, to detain the cargoes in quarantine for a long period. With adequate facilities at hand the proper disinfection of the ship itself need not require her detention or that of the cargo longer than a few hours—an impediment to trade too insignificant to be taken into account when the paramount interests of the public health are considered. It is just the absence of facilities for handling the ship's inhabitants and treating them and their personal effects which has made it impossible to avoid great impositions upon the course of trade where quarantine must needs be enforced.

With regard to the detention at quarantine of those of the ship's inhabitants who are well, it need be prolonged but little beyond the period of incubation of the particular disease against which the quarantine is directed. If none of the immigrant classes are on board the detention may safely be much shorter. The inconvenience of this detention the travelling and immigrant classes alone suffer, the com-

mercial interests of the general public being but little disturbed thereby, if only the proper facilities are at hand. In the great majority of instances, however, it is among the immigrants only that actual cases of disease exist and in their apparel and baggage that infection lurks; and when we consider the advantages which the immigrant is about to receive, the necessary detention is but a small sacrifice for him to make for the benefit of the people among whom he seeks a home.

In view of the foregoing considerations, I would therefore uphold the following propositions:

A. National supremacy in the control of quarantine is necessary.

1. It is only in this way that the necessary protection against the importation of epidemic diseases in all our ports can be constantly secured.

2. It is the only practical mode by which uniformity of establishment and administration, regard being had to the modification required by difference of latitude and other circumstances, can be assured. Such necessary uniformity can be obtained by no other arrangement, for the reason that the National Government alone is able to defray the expense of complete quarantine establishments at every port, according to the requirements of each and without regard to the revenue derived from the shipping of any.

3. The benefits of quarantine inure to the welfare of the whole country; therefore it is just that money should be as freely expended when necessary at one port as at another, without respect to their relative commercial importance or to the amount of revenue collected in the shape of boarding and inspection fees, etc. It is manifestly unjust that the seaboard cities and States should be obliged to bear the entire expense of quarantine establishments whose most important function should be the protection of the inhabitants of every region of the vast territory of the United States.

4. A national quarantine, properly administered and conducted by trained officials accustomed to deal with contagious and infectious diseases, would tend to prevent panic, to allay undue anxiety, and to favor a reasonable sense of security.

5. Experience has shown that much needless alarm, as well as preventable danger, arises upon the appearance of an unfamiliar epidemic disease at quarantine stations; as when cholera has shown itself at New Orleans or New York or yellow fever in Philadelphia or Boston. A national quarantine would very greatly lessen the neces-

sity for vexatious temporary interstate quarantines, which so seriously disturb inland trade.

6. A national quarantine system, directed in such a manner as to meet fully the requirements of existing sanitary knowledge, would not adversely disturb any commercial interest. It would, on the contrary, do away with many of the embarrassments incident to maritime trade due to lack of proper facilities and to maladministration of existing local regulations, and would avoid the enforcement of measures which are unnecessary and are prompted by a state of panic due to ignorance of the best methods of prevention.

7. A national quarantine would not necessarily supersede any existing arrangements regarded by local authorities as expedient for their own protection. It would constitute another line of defence under exclusive control of the National Government; and it should be conducted wholly without extra cost to shipping, and should thus work no additional pecuniary hardship, even if the present fees were still to be exacted by the local authorities for the maintenance of their own establishments.

8. The ability of the National Government by an existing act of Congress to come to the aid of local quarantine authorities in answer to the appeal of the Executive of any State in time of grave danger implies a function of very narrow scope and uncertain application. Appeals of this kind are likely to be deferred until the emergency is extreme and the aid obtained from the Government is therefore likely to be rendered too late to accomplish its most important purpose, namely, the prevention of an invasion.

B. A national organization would secure advantages not attainable by independent local quarantine establishments, however complete.

Among many other advantages the following may be enumerated:

1. Suitably-arranged and commodious buildings for the housing of ships' inhabitants and for the care of the sick, etc., provided with necessary furniture and appliances, at all ports.

2. An efficient corps of trained officials and assistants always on duty and an able corps of sanitary engineers and of police.

3. The practicability of the concentration of force, money, and attention at any threatened port without loss of time.

4. Officials under the control of the National Government and free from local, political, and commercial influences of rival ports.

5. The objects of quarantine would be furthered by full and reliable consular reports and sanitary inspection of emigrants at ports of

embarkation, functions properly belonging to officials of the General Government.

The organization of a supreme national quarantine system in the United States should require:

1. That the whole matter be placed under an appropriate department of the General Government, with a central bureau of control constituted by the ablest sanitary experts in the country and established at Washington.

2. A sufficient corps of medical officers and assistants, with nurses, sanitary police, laundrymen, engineers, and officers and crews for boarding tugs, organized at every station. Among the requirements for the medical service should be a speaking knowledge of at least two modern European languages besides English—say of German and Italian. In view of the frequent and systematic attempts to falsify the ship's log for the purpose of concealing the existence of infectious disease during the voyage, the health-officers should be able when necessary to go among the passengers and themselves closely question them, without the mediation of an interpreter. The establishment of one or more schools and laboratories for sanitary instruction and research for all persons connected with this service would be an advantage. In addition to the men on duty at the respective stations there should be a sufficient number of medical and other officials, fully trained in quarantine duties and familiar with contagious diseases, unattached and available for immediate auxiliary service at any threatened port. The service should be permanent, the pay ample, employment and promotion should depend on fitness shown by searching examinations, and there should be a uniform and comparative military rank in order to develop and maintain a strong *esprit de corps*.

3. The erection of necessary hospital and other buildings, wharves, disinfecting apparatus, wash-houses, *latrines*, etc., in suitable localities, when possible, upon islands at or near the entrances to harbors and at some distance from the main channel.

4. These stations should be organized and fully equipped at every port of entry on the coast, in such manner as to meet the requirements of each port in the measure of its commerce and immigration and of the special diseases to which it is most exposed.

5. The cost of the establishment and maintenance of the national quarantine should be provided for by appropriation from the National Treasury, and not by fees exacted from vessels.

It must be remembered, however, that the danger from immigrants would not be entirely banished though the quarantine of the coast of the United States were perfect; for the way through the British provinces and through Mexico would still be open to these travellers. In the absence of efficient quarantine inspection in the St. Lawrence River and in Nova Scotia, the attempt to protect ourselves thoroughly from importations of epidemics would necessitate the doubtful and difficult expedient of a land quarantine along our northern frontier. The attempt to exclude these objectionable and, at this time, particularly dangerous, classes from entrance through our Atlantic ports when they come immediately from Europe, coupled with the determination to admit them *via* North and South America—as I understand is proposed by Senator Chandler's committee—would certainly be fraught with great danger to the public health as well as productive of unfair advantages in favor of Canadian, Mexican, and West Indian ports and steamship lines, not to mention discrimination in favor of Canadian and Mexican railways. The diversion to those countries of swarms of European immigrants who are destined to some point in the United States would be the inevitable result of such incomplete legislation. The health of the country would probably be as much jeopardized ultimately as if the great masses of immigration were still allowed to come direct and pass through our own maritime ports. Universal experience proves that land quarantines are always more difficult of effective enforcement than the maritime. If indeed the object of this proposed discrimination be to favor the Chicago Fair, by all means admit *citizens* of North and South America who can show proper passports; but if we are to adopt the very best means of escaping a devastating epidemic of cholera next year, the exclusion of European emigrants must be general and rigid. The more efficient plan would be to have the same precautions taken at the ports in the British provinces and Mexico as would be practised in the United States; but this course could be secured only through treaty or international agreement, which our local authorities are not competent to make.

Harmony in provisions of law relating to quarantine in the United States, in Canada, and in Mexico seems indispensable for the full protection of our extensive northern and southern frontiers, and our National Government should be strongly urged to obtain proper conventions with the Canadian authorities relating to such an important matter of common interest and with the Mexican government.

In conclusion, I would especially invite the attention of our national

legislators to the following facts and suggestions: While cholera appears to have nearly died out in northwestern Europe, it seems to be still lingering in epidemic form in the southeastern portion of that continent. From reliable information, in part from reports of the United States consuls to the Department of State at Washington, it is certain that a great portion of the immigration to this country from southern Russia and southeastern Europe, as well as from central and northern Russia, Poland, and Germany, embarks at Hamburg, Antwerp, and Havre; much of that which proceeds from southern Russia and Hungary passes through Switzerland and across France to take ship at Havre; while not a little goes by ship from Odessa to Marseilles, thence by rail also to Havre for transportation to America. These facts would seem to indicate a necessity for the continuance at the present time of the embargo on immigration, at least so long as we have any news of the existence of cholera in southeastern Europe.

It is a well-known fact that in the past, whenever cholera has obtained a foothold in Europe, it has never disappeared from that continent in less than from three to ten years. While the cold of winter has usually been sufficient apparently to exterminate the disease in most parts of Europe, it yet has always remained dormant in other portions of the continent which have less severe climates, to reappear with renewed virulence at the approach of the next warm season. We have no reason to believe that this visitation of Europe by cholera will prove an exception in this respect to the rule which heretofore has had no exception. The mode of assault of a nation by cholera may be compared somewhat to the attack of the rattlesnake, which usually sounds a note of warning before striking his fatal blow. The history of cholera epidemics shows that threatened peoples, as a rule, receive ample warning of danger. We have received our warning. Let it be followed by the enactment of such national legislation this winter as will render our defences doubly secure against the danger of an invasion next summer.

EDWARD O. SHAKESPEARE.

WHAT IS A NOVEL ?

MY answer can only be a statement of opinion, which I make with much deference to the prejudices of my brethren. Whether it will be of interest to general readers I do not know; but the question I propose is in itself more or less vital as regards novel-writing. No one will deny that truism. Before going to work it is important to know what one means to do. I pretend, however, to no special gift for solving problems in general or this one in particular. To give "the result of one's experience," as the common phrase puts it, is by no means so easy as it sounds. An intelligent man mostly knows what he means by his own words, but it does not follow that he can convey that meaning to others. Almost all discussion and much misunderstanding may fairly be said to be based upon the difference between the definitions of common terms as understood by the two parties. In the exact sciences there is no such thing as discussion; there is the theorem and its demonstration, there is the problem and its solution, from which solution and demonstration there is no appeal. That is because, in mathematics, every word is defined before it is used and is almost meaningless until it has been defined.

It has been remarked by a very great authority concerning the affairs of men that "there is no end of the making of books," and to judge from appearances the statement is even more true to-day than when it was first made. Especially of the making of novels there is no end, in these times of latter-day literature. No doubt many wise and good persons and many excellent critics devoutly wish that there might be; but they are not at present strong enough to stand against us, the army of fiction-makers, because we are many, and most of us do not know how to do anything else, and have grown gray in doing this particular kind of work, and are dependent upon it for bread as well as butter; and lastly and chiefly, because we are heavily backed, as a body, by the capital of the publisher, of which we desire to obtain for ourselves as much as possible. Therefore novels will continue to be written, perhaps for a long time to come. There is a demand for them and there is profit in producing them. Who shall pre-

vent us, authors and publishers, from continuing the production and supplying the demand?

This brings with it a first answer to the question, "What is a novel?" A novel is a marketable commodity, of the class collectively termed "luxuries," as not contributing directly to the support of life or the maintenance of health. It is of the class "artistic luxuries" because it does not appeal to any of the three material senses—touch, taste, smell; and it is of the class "intellectual artistic luxuries," because it is not judged by the superior senses—sight and hearing. The novel, therefore, is an intellectual artistic luxury—a definition which can be made to include a good deal, but which is, in reality, a closer one than it appears to be at first sight. No one, I think, will deny that it covers the three principal essentials of the novel as it should be, of a story or romance, which in itself and in the manner of telling it shall appeal to the intellect, shall satisfy the requirements of art, and shall be a luxury, in that it can be of no use to a man when he is at work, but may conduce to peace of mind and delectation during his hours of idleness. The point upon which people differ is the artistic one, and the fact that such differences of opinion exist makes it possible that two writers as widely separated as Mr. Henry James and Mr. Rider Haggard, for instance, find appreciative readers in the same year of the same century—a fact which the literary history of the future will find it hard to explain.

Probably no one denies that the first object of the novel is to amuse and interest the reader. But it is often said that the novel should instruct as well as afford amusement, and the "novel-with-a-purpose" is the realization of this idea. We might invent a better expression than that clumsy translation of the neat German "*Tendenz-Roman*." Why not compound the words and call the odious thing a "purpose-novel"? The purpose-novel, then, proposes to serve two masters, besides procuring a reasonable amount of bread and butter for its writer and publisher. It proposes to escape from any definition of the novel in general and make itself an "intellectual moral lesson" instead of an "intellectual artistic luxury." It constitutes a violation of the unwritten contract tacitly existing between writer and reader. So far as supply and demand are concerned, books in general and works of fiction in particular are commodities and subject to the same laws, statutory and traditional, as other articles of manufacture. A toy-dealer would not venture to sell real pistols to little boys as pop-guns, and a gun-maker who should try to sell the latter for Colt's

revolvers would get into trouble, even though he were able to prove that the toy was as expensive to manufacture as the real article, or more so, silver-mounted, chiselled, and lying in a Russia-leather case. I am not sure that the law might not support the purchaser in an action for damages if he discovered at a critical moment that his revolver was a plaything. It seems to me that there is a similar case in the matter of novels. A man buys what purports to be a work of fiction, a romance, a novel, a story of adventure, pays his money, takes his book home, prepares to enjoy it at his ease, and discovers that he has paid a dollar for somebody's views on socialism, religion, or the divorce laws.

Such books are generally carefully suited with an attractive title. The binding is as frivolous as can be desired. The bookseller says it is "a work of great power," and there is probably a sentimental dedication on the fly-leaf to a number of initials to which a romantic appearance is given by the introduction of a stray "St." and a few hyphens. The buyer is possibly a conservative person, of lukewarm religious convictions, whose life is made barren by "marriage, or death, or division"—and who takes no sort of interest in the laws relating to divorce, in the invention of a new religion, or the position of the labor question. He has simply paid money, on the ordinary tacit contract between furnisher and purchaser, and he has been swindled, to use a very plain term for which a substitute does not occur to me. Or say that a man buys a seat in one of the regular theatres. He enters, takes his place, preparing to be amused, and the curtain goes up. The stage is set as a church, there is a pulpit before the prompter's box, and the Right Reverend, the Bishop of the Diocese, is on the point of delivering a sermon. The man would be legally justified in demanding his money at the door, I fancy, and would probably do so, though he might admit that the Bishop was the most learned and edifying of preachers. There are indeed certain names and prefixes to names which suggest serious reading, independently of the words printed on the title-page of the book. If the Archbishop of Canterbury, or General Booth, or the Emperor William published a novel, for instance, the work might reasonably be expected to contain an exposition of personal views on some question of the day. But in ordinary cases the purpose-novel is a simple fraud, besides being a failure in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand.

What we call a novel may educate the taste and cultivate the intelligence; under the hand of genius it may purify the heart and

fortify the mind; it should never under any circumstances be suffered to deprave the one or to weaken the other; it may stand for scores of years—and a score of years is a long time in our day—as the exposition of all that is noble, heroic, honest, and true in the life of woman or man; but it has no right to tell us what its writer thinks about the relations of labor and capital, nor to set up what the author conceives to be a nice, original, easy scheme of salvation, any more than it has a right to take for its theme the relative merits of the “broomstick-car” and the “storage system,” temperance, vivisection, or the “Ideal Man” of Confucius. Lessons, lectures, discussions, sermons, and didactics generally belong to institutions set apart for especial purposes and carefully avoided, after a certain age, by the majority of those who wish to be amused. The purpose-novel is an odious attempt to lecture people who hate lectures, to preach at people who prefer their own church, and to teach people who think they know enough already. It is an ambush, a lying-in-wait for the unsuspecting public, a violation of the social contract—and as such it ought to be either mercilessly crushed or forced by law to bind itself in black and label itself “Purpose” in very big letters.

In art of all kinds the moral lesson is a mistake. It is one thing to exhibit an ideal worthy to be imitated, though inimitable in all its perfection, but so clearly noble as to appeal directly to the sympathetic string that hangs untuned in the dumbest human heart; to make man brave without arrogance, woman pure without prudishness, love enduring yet earthly, not angelic, friendship sincere but not ridiculous. It is quite another matter to write a “guide to morality” or a “hand-book for practical sinners” and call either one a novel, no matter how much fiction it may contain. Wordsworth tried the moral lesson and spoiled some of his best work with botany and the Bible. A good many smaller men than he have tried the same thing since, and have failed. Perhaps “Cain” and “Manfred” have taught the human heart more wisdom than “Matthew” or the unfortunate “idiot boy” over whom Byron was so mercilessly merry. And yet Byron probably never meant to teach any one anything in particular, and Wordsworth meant to teach everybody, including and beginning with himself.

I do not wish to be accused of what is called smart writing. It is much easier to attack than to defend and much more blessed to give hard knocks than to receive them. A professed novelist is perhaps not a competent judge of novels from the point of view which interests the reader, and which is of course the reader's own. We know the

"*technique*" of the trick better than the effect it produces, just as it is hard for a conjuror to realize the sensations of the old gentleman in the audience who finds a bowl of gold-fish in his waistcoat pocket. We do not all know one another's tricks, but we have a fair idea of the general principle on which they are done and a very definite opinion about our own business as compared with that of the parson or the professor. We know our books from the inside and we see the strings of the puppets, while the public only guesses at the mechanism as it sits before the stage, watching the marionettes and listening to the voice from behind the scenes. A novel is, after all, a play, and perhaps it is nothing but a substitute for the real play with live characters, scene-shifting, and footlights. But miracle-plays have gone out of fashion in modern times, except at Ober-Ammergau. The purpose-novel is a miracle-play—and if it be true that any really good novel can be dramatized, nothing short of a miracle could put a purpose-novel on the boards.

Most people have a very clear conception of what a good play ought to be and of the precise extent to which realism can be effective without being offensive. But it is strange, and it is a bad sign of the times, that persons who would not tolerate a coarse play read novels little, if at all, short of indecent. An answer suggests itself which may be comprehensive as an explanation, but is insufficient as an excuse. In our Anglo-Saxon social system the young girl is everywhere, and, if the shade of Sterne will allow me to say so, we temper the wind of our realism to the sensitive innocence of the ubiquitous lamb. Once admit that the young girl is to have the freedom of our theatre, and it follows, and ought to follow and very generally does follow, that our plays must be suited to maiden ears and eyes. It is a good thing that this should be so, but the effect is rather strange. The men who hear plays in English are not, perhaps, much more moral than their contemporaries of Paris, Vienna, and Berlin. We like to believe that our women are better than those of foreign nations. We owe it to them to put more faith in them because they are our own, our dear mothers and wives and sisters and daughters, for whom, if we be men, we mean to do all that men can do. But we are all men and women nevertheless, and human, and we have the thoughts and the understanding of men and women and not of school-girls. Yet the school-girl practically decides what we are to hear at the theatre and, so far as our own language is concerned, determines to a great extent what we are to read.

Yet the taste for "realism" is abroad and in opposition to all this. Out of the conflict arises that very curious production, the realistic novel in English—than which no effort of human genius has sailed nearer to the wind, so to say, since Goethe wrote his "Elective Affinities," which an Anglo-Saxon young girl pronounced to be "a dull book all about gardening." That our prevailing moral literary purity is to some extent assumed—not fictitious—is shown by the undeniable fact that women who blush scarlet and men who feel an odd sensation of repulsion in reading some pages of "Tom Jones" or "Peregrine Pickle," are not conscious of any particular shock when their sensibilities are attacked in French. Some of them call Zola a "pig" with great directness, but read all his books industriously and very often admit the fact. When they call him names they forget that he writes for a great public of men and women—not young girls—and when they read him he makes them remember that he is a great man—mistaken perhaps, possibly bad, mightily coarse to no purpose, but great nevertheless—a Nero of fiction. But Zola's shadow, seen through the veil of the English realistic novel, is a monstrosity not to be tolerated. We see the apparent contradiction in our own taste between our theory and our practice in reading, but we feel instinctively that there is a foundation of justice to account for the seeming discrepancy. Both are coarse, but the one is great and bold and the other is damned by its own smallness and meanness. The result of the desire for realism in men who try to write realistic novels for the clean-minded American and English girl is unsatisfactory. It is generally a photograph, not a picture—a catalogue, not a description.

A community of vices is a closer and more direct bond between human beings than a community of virtues. This may be because vice needs solidarity among those who yield to it in order to be tolerated at all, whereas virtue is its own reward, as the proverb says, and is happily very often its own protection—far more often than not in our day. This seems to be the reason why the realistic method is better suited to the exposition of what is bad than of what is good. Wordsworth and Swinburne are two realistic poets. Most people do not hesitate to call Wordsworth the greater man. I need not express an opinion which few would care to hear, but so far as the relative effect of their works is concerned it can hardly be denied that, of the two, Swinburne appeals far more strongly and directly to sinful humanity as it is. Wordsworth speaks to the higher and more spiritual part of us, indeed, but too often in language which rouses

no response in the more human side of man's nature which is most generally uppermost. These are but illustrations of my meaning, not examples, which latter should be taken among novelists—a task, however, which may be left to the discriminating reader.

It has always seemed to me that the perfect novel, as it ought to be, exists somewhere in the state of the Platonic idea, waiting to be set down on paper by the first man of genius who receives a direct literary inspiration. It must deal chiefly with love. For in that passion all men and women are most generally interested, either for its present reality or for the memories that soften the coldly vivid recollection of an active past and shed a tender light in the dark places of by-gone struggles, or because the hope of it brightens and gladdens the path of future dreams. The perfect novel must be clean and sweet, for it must tell its tale to all mankind, to saint and sinner, pure and defiled, just and unjust. It must have the magic to fascinate and the power to hold its reader from first to last. Its realism must be real, of three dimensions, not flat and photographic; its romance must be of the human heart and truly human, that is, of the earth as we all have found it; its idealism must be transcendent, not measured to man's mind but proportioned to man's soul. Its religion must be of such grand and universal span as to hold all worthy religions in itself. Conceive, if possible, such a story, told in a language that can be now simple, now keen, now passionate, and now sublime; or rather, pray, do not conceive it, for the modern novelist's occupation would suddenly be gone, and that one book would stand alone of its kind, making all others worse than useless—ridiculous, if not sacrilegious, by comparison.

Why must a novel-writer be either a "realist" or a "romantist"? And, if the latter, why "romanticist" any more than "realisticist"? Why should a good novel not combine romance and reality in just proportions? Is there any reason to suppose that the one element must necessarily shut out the other? Both are included in every-day life, which would be a very dull affair without something of the one and would be decidedly incoherent without the other. Art, if it is "to create and foster agreeable illusions," as Napoleon is believed to have said of it, should represent the real, but in such a way as to make it seem more agreeable and interesting than it actually is. That is the only way to create "an agreeable illusion," and by no other means can a novel do good while remaining a legitimate novel and not becoming a sermon, a treatise, or a polemic.

It may reasonably be inquired whether the prevailing and still growing taste for fiction expresses a new and enduring want of educated men and women. The novel, as we understand the word, is after all a very recent invention. Considering that we do not find it in existence until late in the last century, its appearance must be admitted to have been very sudden, its growth fabulously rapid, and its development enormous. The ancients had nothing more like it than a few collections of humorous and pathetic stories. The Orientals, who might be supposed to feel the need of it even more than we do, had nothing but their series of fantastic tales strung rather loosely together without general plan. Men and women seem to have survived the dulness of the dark age with the help of the itinerant story-teller. The novel is a distinctly modern invention, satisfying a modern want. In the ideal state described with so much accuracy by Mr. Bellamy, I believe the novel would not sell. It would be incomprehensible or it would not be a novel at all, according to our understanding. Do away practically with the struggle for life, eliminate all the unfit and make the surviving fittest perfectly comfortable—men and women might still take a curious interest in our present civilization, but it would be of a purely historical nature. To gratuitously invent a tale of a poor man fighting for success would seem to them a piece of monstrously bad taste and ridiculously useless. Are we tending to such a state as that? There are those who believe that we are—but a faith able to remove mountains at “cut rates” will not be more than enough to realize their hopes.

It may fairly be claimed that humanity has, within the past hundred years, found a way of carrying a theatre in its pocket, and so long as humanity remains what it is it will delight in taking out its pocket-stage and watching the antics of the actors, who are so like itself and yet so much more interesting. Perhaps that is, after all, the best answer to the question, “What is a novel?” It is, or ought to be, a pocket-stage. Scenery, light, shade, the actors themselves, are made of words and nothing but words, more or less cleverly put together. A play is good in proportion as it represents the more dramatic, passionate, romantic, or humorous sides of real life. A novel is excellent according to the degree in which it produces the illusions of a good play—but it must not be forgotten that the play is the thing, and that illusion is eminently necessary to success.

Every writer who has succeeded has his own methods of creating such illusion. Some of us are found out and some of us are not, but

we all do the same thing in one way or another, consciously or unconsciously. The tricks of the art are without number, simple or elaborate, easily learned or hard to imitate, and many of us consider that we have a monopoly of certain tricks we call our own and are unreasonably angry when a competitor makes use of them.

But this is not the place for a study of methods. So far as I have been able, I have answered the question I asked, and which stands at the head of this article. But I have answered it in my own way. What am I, a novel-writer, trying to do? I am trying, with such limited means as I have at my disposal, to make little pocket-theatres out of words. I am trying to be architect, scene-painter, upholsterer, dramatist, and stage manager, all at once. Is it any wonder if we novelists do not succeed as well as we could wish, when we try to be masters of so many trades?

F. MARION CRAWFORD.

WHAT IMMIGRANTS CONTRIBUTE TO INDUSTRY.

“The genius of the country has marked out our true policy—opportunity. Opportunity of civil rights, of education, of personal power, and not less of wealth ; doors wide open. If I could have it—free trade with all the world without toll or custom-houses, invitations as we now make to every nation, to every race and skin, white men, red men, yellow men, black men ; hospitality of fair field and equal laws to all. Let them compete, and success to the strongest, the wisest, and the best. The land is wide enough, the soil has bread for all.”—*Ralph Waldo Emerson's Lecture on “The Fortune of the Republic.”*

THE question of restricting the immigration into the United States of persons born in other lands is not a new one. It has been suggested and discussed by every generation since the thirteen struggling colonies were successful in forming a government for the conduct of their own affairs. Even before internal problems of the most pressing kind were solved, many men became apprehensive lest the new experiment should fail if foreign persons were not turned back from the shores of this country. But the news that work was to be had travelled fast. Then began that great movement of men which is still in progress.

The demand for the restriction of immigration, as it now exists, can be traced to two influences. It is probably due most directly to the efforts of the people of the Pacific coast first to restrict and ultimately to prohibit the coming of people from China. No sooner did the handful of inhabitants beyond the Rocky Mountains find that the Chinese had built their railroads, constructed their reservoirs and irrigating canals, and planted their vineyards, than they began a clamor, raised by the unreasonable members of labor organizations and abetted by demagogues, against the further admission of Chinese. When this agitation was crowned with success it was only natural that its advocates, their sympathizers and successors, should seek new worlds to conquer. So, when a considerable contingent of Italians, Hungarians, and Poles began to arrive to do the necessary and honorable work awaiting their strong and willing hands, just as the Chinese had done before them, the cry went up to Congress that American

labor was imperilled and the integrity or perpetuity of our institutions endangered.

The other influence that has suggested restriction as a possible policy is our fiscal system. After protective laws had been in operation some twenty years, and organized labor had assumed an importance never before known or possible, the leaders of these organizations began to doubt whether they and their fellows were getting their share of the work to be done. It was then claimed that there was a tariff on goods for the benefit of the manufacturers and that the laborers then in the country, together with their children, ought, in justice, to have a monopoly of all the work to be done here. It was clearly a case of like producing like. On the one hand, the beneficiaries of an unjust and inequitable fiscal system avowed their intention to let in no manufactured product, their purpose being to create for themselves a monopoly of the domestic market. On the other hand, the laborers, who in some way thought themselves cheated, proposed to reserve for themselves an absolute monopoly of the market for labor. This new agitation has thus far produced no other results than the enactment of a ridiculous law forbidding entrance to persons who have made contracts which would enable them to go to work immediately upon arrival, and the assertion by the Federal Government of the ordinary police power of towns, parishes, or counties, under which it deals with paupers, insane, and criminals in such a way as to provide that they shall not come here to become public charges.

There is very little sentiment in this matter of immigration. It is purely a matter of business. In some parts of the world there are too many people for the work there is to do; in other parts, our country among them, there is more work than there are people to do it. Whenever in the history of the world these conditions have arisen, the redundant population has left the soil upon which it was born and has gone out to seek and to do the work of other lands. The process began with Adam and has been going on ever since.

No records of immigration were kept until 1821, but it has been estimated, perhaps with reasonable accuracy, that about two hundred and fifty thousand persons came here from foreign countries, as intending settlers, between the time of Washington's inauguration in 1789 and the beginning of Monroe's second term in 1821. Since the latter time the number is known with substantial accuracy, and since the beginning of our sixth decennial period, completed by the publication

of the census report for 1850, the number of foreign-born persons resident in the United States, with their distribution, occupations, social condition, and rate of increase, natural and by immigration, have all become well-known facts.

In 1880 the proportion of foreign-born people drawn from Teutonic countries and Ireland was about 91 per cent of the whole number of foreign-born. Of the immigration for the ten years since that time, 81 per cent was drawn from the same sources. Of course the Irish included in these returns are not, strictly speaking, part of the Teutonic races, but since their country is a subject one they fall of necessity into this classification. These figures of themselves answer the charge, so often made, that the character of our immigration has changed because considerable accessions have been made from Latin countries, and Magyars, Czechs, and Semites have come. Opposition now to the immigration of Italians and Hungarians is as unreasonable as was the prejudice against the Irish thirty-five years ago.

The Italians come from a country whose people within the past half-century have made a greater comparative advance than any in Europe. Freeing themselves almost simultaneously from ecclesiastical and foreign domination, they have won a recognized place as one of the great powers of Europe. The regeneration of Italy is one of the stupendous facts of the century. While the struggle was going on she was able to command practically the united support of our people, but now that a few hundred thousand of the countrymen of Columbus have come here they are met with a storm of abuse and with ignorant denunciation. No immigration ought to be more welcome than this. They are a strong, sturdy class of people, who come here to do work that must be done, if our industries are to suffer no hurt. The Irish have ceased building railroads and doing the hard labor of constructing great public works. The Italians have taken their places, and it is the universal testimony that no more faithful men have come among us. The same is true in many respects of the Hungarians. When Kossuth was carrying on a brave but futile contest for Hungarian liberty he commanded the very general support of our people. This immigration comes from a people distinguished from the earliest days of its history by love of liberty, hospitable customs, industry, frugality, and endurance.

The Jewish influx from Russia has recently been unnaturally large, as the result of serious complications at home. But these people are not paupers or dependents. They are anxious for work, intelli-

gent, quick to learn our language and customs, and promise, in the fulness of time, to become useful additions to our population.

It is said, too, that many of our German immigrants are Socialists and Anarchists. It is to be doubted whether there are a thousand Anarchists in the United States—men who accept the logic of the doctrines they are supposed to believe. When the Haymarket outrages were perpetrated in Chicago, the leader, the man with the brains and courage to plan and execute, was an American of unquestionable purity of Americanism, so far as lineage could give it to him. So far as socialism is concerned, a United States consul in Germany, reporting to the Department of State in 1886, said: "I learn that it takes no stronger form than a desire for a republican form of government. . . . The number who follow the red rag is below zero." Certainly a political party in a foreign country, with no more radical or destructive doctrine than this, ought not, in such a land as ours, to be deemed dangerous. The only dangerous form of "socialism" to be found in this country is the demand for just such legislation as that combated in this paper: the tendency to look to the Government for favors and to ask, in behalf of individuals or classes, those special privileges that should be accorded to none.

As one outcome of the New Orleans lynching, a noisy demand was made for the prohibition of immigration from Sicily, Corsica, and other Mediterranean islands. It is represented that the people of these islands are leagued together in organizations with the single purpose of committing murder. During the ten years from 1881 to 1890, 307,333 Italians came to this country as immigrants, of which one-half were "temporary" immigrants with passports permitting an absence for one year. Of these, 1,464 came from Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Since only 1,067 were males of all ages, and as more than half of them were likely to return, it ought to be clear even to the anti-immigration alarmists that the institutions of this country are not to be seriously imperilled by the countrymen of the first Napoleon and their associates from the neighboring isles.

The services rendered by foreign-born men as soldiers, fighting for the struggling colonies in the war for independence, have always been recognized, even if they have never been fully requited. No trustworthy statistics have been gathered of the number of French, Germans, and Irish who allied themselves with the American cause. That each of these nationalities rendered valuable services at delicate times during

that war is, however, well known. There is almost as little accurate information about the number of foreign-born soldiers in our armies in the second war with Great Britain, in the war with Mexico, and on both sides in the Civil War, as there is about our first armed conflict. We know with accuracy the number, the residence, and the occupations of foreign-born persons in every relation of civil life, during each decade, beginning with 1840. But no compilation has been made by the War Department even of the nativities of the Union soldiers. We know that many regiments and companies were composed entirely of foreigners and that thousands more of them were scattered through every regiment and almost every company. It is known, however, that substantially all the foreigners in this country in 1860 were resident in the Northern States and Territories.

It is easier to get a fairly accurate measure of the contribution of the foreign-born population to industrial development. In 1870 this element comprised 14.44 per cent of all the people of the land. This 14.44 per cent furnished 21.62 per cent of the persons engaged in all occupations. In other words, one-seventh of the entire population did something more than one-fifth of all the work.¹

¹ The following table shows, somewhat in detail, our dependence upon our foreign-born population as indicated by the figures of the census of 1880, the latest available for the purpose:

THE PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN IN 1880 AND THE PERCENTAGES OF THE FOREIGN-BORN ENGAGED IN OCCUPATIONS.			
Population	13.32	Trade and transportation.....	25.33
Engaged in all occupations.....	20.09	Manufactures and mechanical and mining industries	31.94
Agriculture.....	10.59		
Professional and personal services.....	24.72		
IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS.			
Agricultural laborers.....	04.85	Architects.....	29.42
Boot and shoe makers	35.75	Chemists and assayers.....	33.82
Clergymen.....	19.52	Designers, draughtsmen, inventors.....	28.25
Cotton, silk, and woollen mill operatives..	41.52	Civil engineers.....	14.11
Domestic servants.....	24.82	Blacksmiths.....	33.13
Farmers and planters.....	14.69	Brewers and maltsters.....	75.08
Iron and steel workers.....	37.19	Cabinet-makers, carpenters, joiners.....	25.21
Laborers.	28.15	Carpet-makers	43.55
Lawyers	5.90	Cigar-makers.....	44.37
Manufacturers.....	24.90	Locomotive-engineers, firemen.....	27.36
Miners.....	53.88	Engravers.....	21.64
Employees of Government	16.32	Machinists.....	30.11
Employees of railroad companies.....	27.28	Masons, marble and stone cutters.....	37.68
Physicians and surgeons.....	10.01	Leather workers and tanners....	45.30
Sailors, steamboatmen, stevedores, canal-men, pilots, and watermen.....	24.51	Paper-mill operatives	33.10
Stock-raisers, herders, and drovers.....	23.24	Printers, lithographers, stereotypers.....	16.09
Tailors, dressmakers, and milliners.....	28.00	Ship-builders.....	32.11
Teachers.....	07.0	Silk-mill operatives.....	36.93
Traders and dealers.....	28.64	Wheelwrights.....	20.78
		Woollen-mill operatives.....	39.05

While the foreign-born population did more than its share of the work of all occupations, it performed considerably less than its part of the work pertaining to agriculture—the single great interest which, during the past twenty years, has not kept full pace with the general development. The distinction may also be noted that while 14.69 per cent of the farmers and planters were foreign-born, only 4.85 per cent of the agricultural laborers were foreign-born. This indicates that when a foreigner goes upon a farm in the country of his adoption, it is as an owner as well as a tiller of the soil. In these days, when we are told much of the necessity for protecting American labor, the great preponderance of foreigners in the manufacturing industries deserves notice from the advocates of this policy, as well as from the promoters of restriction.

To show the dependence upon foreign-born workers, the proportions in fifty principal cities were as follows in 1880: the percentage of the foreign-born in all occupations was 40.07; in professional and personal services, 44.26; in trade and transportation, 34.33; in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining industries, 41.38.

The contention most persistently made by the opponents of immigration is that foreigners have manifested a tendency to congregate in large cities. The scene may shift from New York to Chicago, to St. Louis, or to San Francisco, when the public taste in these cities is under discussion of the result of any experiment in politics or society is announced; but the assertion is calmly made that the people are no longer "American." This statement has been circulated so long and so persistently that a great number of people, perhaps most people, have assumed it to be true, as a matter of course. This fallacy may be more forcibly demonstrated by consulting the census: the percentage of foreign-born in the ten principal cities in 1880 was 31.97, and the percentage of those that were engaged in classifiable occupations was 43.58.

Perhaps next in seriousness to the fallacy that our large cities are becoming more and more foreign is the fallacy that our prisons and almshouses are little more than harbors of refuge for persons born in foreign lands. It is only natural that paupers should be drawn from the ranks of the poor, and it is the experience of society that most of its criminals are drawn from the same classes. But that in either class foreigners abound in alarming disproportion, is not true.

When the details of that important immigration on the first trip made by the "Mayflower" were under discussion and the question

arose as to which portion of the congregation should leave Holland, it was arranged for "the youngest and strongest part to go." This process of choosing the youngest and strongest part has gone on in obedience to the laws of nature. Of the natives of the United States living here in 1880, only 47.33 per cent were between the vigorous and self-supporting ages of 15 and 50; of the foreign-born, 68.06 per cent were between these ages. This fact of itself serves to explain in some degree the unequal share of work performed by persons of foreign birth. Surely there is not much danger that a population of this kind, with no inherent or abnormal tendency toward mendicancy or crime,¹ will be found with nothing better to do than to fill almshouses and prisons.

It would be easy to show the connection between railroad-building and immigration, or between the development of our manufactures and immigration, at different periods, as illustrations of the tendency of idle or ill-paid men to go where work is to be done. Enough facts have, however, been presented to show that the operation of this law has maintained a steady stream of immigration to the United States. If at times it has been overstimulated, it has always regulated itself. While immigration has been large and steady, the return to the land of birth has also been large. If industrial conditions here have been unfavorable, a goodly proportion of immigrants have left us, most of them never to return. Many have found the struggle harder than they thought, and no doubt a part, even after naturalization and a long struggle here, have returned to find refuge from the storms of life in the almshouses of their native towns.

In the ten years from 1876 to 1885, 1,255,652 immigrants came to the United States from Great Britain and Ireland; during the same period 404,203 persons who had emigrated returned. In Italy the government grants passports for a single year, which the immigrant accepts with the purpose, well understood, of seeking work and returning to his own country. The paupers, the unsuccessful, the petty offenders whose crimes have been forgotten or condoned, are far more likely to return to their old haunts and to their miserable comforts than the courageous, the ambitious, and the successful. In this way the sifting process is applied continually without the intervention of laws, restrictive or police. Thus "the youngest and strongest part" are again chosen, to our incalculable advantage.

¹ PAUPERS AND CRIMINALS IN 1860, 1870, AND 1880, NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN.

	1860.	1870.	1880.		1860.	1870.	1880.
Paupers.....	82,942	76,737	66,193	Prisoners.....	19,086	32,901	58,609
Native.....	50,483	53,939	43,226	Native.....	10,143	24,173	45,802
Foreign-born.....	32,459	22,798	22,967	Foreign-born.....	8,943	8,728	12,807

That man must be cold indeed who cannot admire the unflinching courage of the sturdy young people of other lands who, leaving everything dear to them, come here to assist in subduing the earth. So long as they will come, so long as we need them—a question which cannot possibly arise for discussion until our population has multiplied ten or twenty fold—we cannot afford, either in fairness or in humanity, to erect a single barrier against the flow of this tide of men.

GEORGE F. PARKER.

ALIEN DEGRADATION OF AMERICAN CHARACTER.

HAS the feeling against immigration any strong, deep root, and will it last? Or is it like the same feeling of fifty years ago which went by the name of Know-Nothingism and passed away?

The Know-Nothing or Native American party began to show signs of life soon after 1830, grew and developed with considerable violence during the forties, and in 1856 appeared as a distinct political organization with Millard Fillmore as its candidate for the presidency. Fillmore's opponents were James Buchanan, the candidate of the Democrats, and John C. Fremont, the candidate of the Republican party, then in its infancy.

The strength of the Know-Nothings is seen in a comparison of the votes. Buchanan received 174 electoral votes, 1,838,169 being his popular vote; Fremont 114 electoral votes and 1,341,264 popular votes; Fillmore 8 electoral votes and 874,534 popular votes. It has been said, and apparently with much truth, that this vote failed to show the full strength of the Know-Nothing feeling. The Know-Nothings were a faction of the Whigs and their successors the Republicans. Thousands of Republicans who strongly sympathized with the Native-American movement refused to vote for its candidate because they were convinced that their votes would be thrown away. They preferred to give them to Fremont, who stood some chance of being elected.

If we trace the rise of the Native-American feeling we find that it always existed in greater or less degree among the Federalists, who were the predecessors of the Whigs. At the very beginning of the Government, after the close of the Revolution, it became a question how the numerous foreigners who had taken part with us in our struggle for liberty should be treated. Washington was emphatic in saying that they should not be given places in the Government, and that, with the exception of Lafayette, it would be well to be rid of all of them. He went even further, and on the general subject of immigration said that we had better not encourage the coming of foreigners of any kind, except a few skilled mechanics in certain arts. During the administration of John Adams a law was passed making a con-

tinued residence of fourteen years an essential condition of naturalization. Under Democratic influences, this probationary period was afterward changed to five years. In 1814 the Federalists professed to be much disturbed at what they described as the increasing foreign influence. Even Jefferson, though a Democrat, was at one time more outspoken than Washington in his objection to every kind of immigration, and in stating his opinion, used that expression so often used since for other purposes. He wished, he said, that there was an ocean of fire between this country and Europe. His party had not then discovered the value of the foreign vote.

But the rise of the Know-Nothings as a distinct party did not begin until after the great influx of immigrants had begun to attract attention. These immigrants not only came in greater numbers than had ever been known before, but they were not of English race and their religion was Roman Catholic. Up to that time we had been a distinctly English and Protestant people. Any mixture of races among us was slight and unimportant. A few French Huguenots had come to us in colonial times, but they amalgamated so quickly that as a distinct race they were soon lost to sight and could be distinguished only by their names. There was a mixture of Dutch and English in New York, a mixture of Dutch, English, and Swedes in New Jersey, and in Pennsylvania the greatest mixture of all, Dutch, Swedes, English, German, and Scotch-Irish. In fact, Pennsylvania was the only one of the colonies which contained such a thoroughly-mixed population as we have been accustomed to see all over the country in our time. But all the mixture in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey put together was not enough to give a mixed tone to the country. Massachusetts and the other New England colonies were thoroughly English and so were Virginia and the Southern colonies. From the Revolution to the year 1810 or 1815 there was no immigration worth counting, and the original foreign element of colonial times had been absorbed and overwhelmed by the native growth. In that period our population doubled itself by births alone every twenty-three years, a rate of increase which has never been equalled since, even with the aid of the greatest foreign immigration that could be poured upon us. We were then a homogeneous people in both race and religion and becoming more homogeneous every day.

The shock to this condition of affairs by the swarms of immigrants who came in after the year 1830 was very serious. It is a shock that has been repeated annually ever since. It marked a turning-point in

the history of the United States. It is a chapter that has been neglected by historians; but any one who reads and reflects upon the facts cannot well resist the conclusion that at that time this country turned a sharp corner and started out on new lines.

Many old things came to an end and many new things began. It was about that time that the new form of the Democratic element showed itself, wilder and more unterrified and vindictive than any time before. The old type of statesmen, like Madison and Jefferson, disappeared. Albert Gallatin, the last of them, was about that time chased out of politics, and retired to private life. From that time Webster, who was a continuation of the old line, is described by his biographers as wading against overwhelming currents of popular opinion and striking savage but futile blows against a new order from which his mind revolted and which he could scarcely understand. Before that time political corruption had been occasional and comparatively rare. Since then it has become the order of the day, and only its very great excesses attract attention.

The Know-Nothings, who increased the more this shock was applied to the country, were at times a party of considerable violence. The immigrants were largely adherents of the Pope and connected in the mind of the Native Americans with despotism, union of church and state, the inquisition, and other enormities. Hence the Catholic riots of 1844, and a set of laws still to be found on the statute-books of many States and intended to check the undue accumulation of property in ecclesiastical hands. It was distinctly charged that the immigrants were corrupting the ballot. This charge is repeated in all the pamphlets of that time as something taken for granted and well known. In fact, the opponents of the Know-Nothings often admitted its truth, qualifying it by saying that not all the immigrants were guilty and that the evil could be checked by restrictive laws which would prevent the worst classes from landing. In their early days, the Know-Nothings confined themselves to the one object of protecting the purity of the ballot.

This had first aroused them to their work, and as we look back at those times we can hardly refrain from feeling that it was the most important reason for their existence. It is commonly asserted now that native and foreigner are alike corrupt in politics. But unless we deny the almost universal testimony of fifty years ago, we must believe that during the first half of the present century the native was honest and the foreigner corrupt. If the native is now equally corrupt

with the foreigner, from whom did he learn his corruption? In a pamphlet entitled "Emigration, Emigrants, and Know-Nothings," published in Philadelphia in 1854, the author, who describes himself as a foreigner and an opponent of the Know-Nothings, admits that the native population are being degraded by the foreigner. "Go where you will," he says, "in the United States you find that nearly all the dens of iniquity—taverns, grog-shops, beer-houses, gambling-places, and houses of ill-fame and of worse deeds—are kept by foreigners." Other pamphlets of the time speak in the strongest language of the sudden increase of pauperism and crime. In 1850 the statistics showed one native pauper to every 317 natives and one foreign pauper to every 32 foreigners. In crime, the natives were 1 to 1,619 and the foreigners 1 to 154. The effect of this, it was said, was gradually to degrade the native. "The native population," says the pamphleteer already quoted, "is deteriorated and made poor, needy, and subservient." The native had not only an evil example before him, but he was under-bid, driven from his old employments by a competition which was cheap because it could flourish in dirt and degradation.

But is it true that the native is now equally corrupt with the foreigner? If he is, then so much the worse for the foreigner. The statistics of the census of 1880, however, show that since 1850 the native has managed to hold his own in honesty, and that the foreigner has continued to be the greater criminal. The statistics recently collected by Professor McCook on venal voting in Connecticut point in the same direction. He has given us four tables of both rural and city districts in which the venality of the voters is arranged according to race, intemperance, and other conditions. If we put these together, so far as they show the percentage of venal in each race, and add together the percentages, we shall have a rough estimate which may be good enough for general purposes. This estimate shows that the Irish and Germans, who constitute the large majority of our foreign population, far exceed the American stock in venality. It is also to be observed what a low percentage in venality is assigned to the English. This accords with the fact that before the arrival of the Irish and Germans, when the country was peopled by English or the descendants of Englishmen, there was very little venality and very little political corruption.

Why did the Native-American movement come to an end? A principal cause was undoubtedly the coming on of the Civil War. The party was growing all the time; but four years after its first at-

tempt to elect a President of its own faith, the Rebellion burst upon the country and that and the reconstruction period absorbed all our energies for the next ten or fifteen years. It is extremely significant that since the Rebellion and its after-effects were laid to rest this Native American party should spring up again. In its Know-Nothing stage it was undoubtedly a movement in the direction of unity. The feeling of unity characterizes all peoples. Our own Revolution was fought on its lines. We had no material advantage to gain except unity. We were to become one continent, and so the fathers called their army the Continental army and their Congress the Continental Congress, and even gave their money the same name. The Civil War was another stupendous effort of the same sort, and native Americanism, though similar in purpose, had to stand aside. If we look at European history we find that the most important movements of the present century have been the unification of Italy and the unification of Germany.

The Know-Nothings had another difficulty to contend with besides the coming on of the Civil War. Most of their arguments, when viewed from a mere material point of view, seemed very weak. The platform of the party did not advocate the entire exclusion of immigrants as we have now excluded the Chinese and as many would like us to exclude the Irish, the Germans, the Russians, and the Italians. The most radical members of the party went no further than to suggest a capitation tax which should restrict, without stopping, immigration. In the sober utterances of their platform the party confined itself to urging the better control of such importations, a long probationary period for citizenship, and the retention of the reins of government in the hands of the old stock.

But from the point of view of business enterprise and the production of wealth, the general opinion of that time and ever since has been highly favorable to the immigrants. The country was young, with boundless unexplored opportunities, and eager for prosperity and riches. The immigrants would build railroads and work in mills and work cheaply. They would swell the population and increase the productive force. Of course, it was not known then, as it is now, that the immigrants plus their births and plus the births of the natives would not increase the population any faster than the births of the native population alone had increased it before the coming of the immigrants. That the native population should suddenly, after the beginning of the influx, cease to have large families was a fact which

could not have been foreseen. But independently of any consideration of that kind, immigration was regarded as no hindrance whatever, but, on the contrary, a help to material development.

The Know-Nothings were, therefore, at the disadvantage of seeming to oppose the "business interests" of the country. They had to base their arguments on what seemed to be a feeling, a sentiment, or perhaps an instinct. The modern advocates of restriction of immigration are in the same predicament. A glance at the various articles, reports, and investigations on the subject during the last five years shows, so far as material interests are concerned, a strong weight of reason and statistics in favor of the immigrant, except of course that there is good ground shown for closer restriction against those who are professedly paupers, criminals, and anarchists. But the mass of the immigrants do not show characteristics of this sort immediately on arrival. Most of them, although of alien race and language, are able-bodied and apparently respectable. Why should they be excluded?

If you press these reasons on the chance advocate of total restriction whom you meet in the cars or the street he will finally end the conversation by saying, "Well, it has gone on long enough. We have had too much of it. I don't like it." In other words, he retreats to his feeling, his instinct—a feeling, an instinct only, but the instinct of every race and nation and of all mankind. It is not so fierce a feeling, nor so directly practical and concrete, as that other yearning for unity which prevents a country from being dismembered, as in our Civil War, or brings the dismembered fragments together again, as in Italy and Germany. It is of no great assistance in the production of wealth, yet there seem to be some things which cannot be had without it.

It is a noticeable fact in the history of this country that during the Revolution and for fifty years afterward, most of the great men were produced in two commonwealths, Virginia and Massachusetts; and these were the two commonwealths which were more homogeneous than any of the others in race, religion, and general ideas. Massachusetts was all English and all Puritan. Virginia was all English and all Church of England. No one pretends to maintain that any equally numerous set of men has since appeared which equalled those "fathers of the Republic" in the loftiness of their ideals, the wide intelligence of their ability, and the grandeur of their lives.

So far as mere material development is concerned, a mongrel population is as good as any other. If there is never to be anything in

this country save the almighty dollar and the almighty greed for it, then the sooner we stop all this discussion about immigration the better, for it is a waste of time. But the greatest nations, the nations which have achieved the most from a moral standpoint, which have left the most enduring remains in religion, in literature, and in art, have been homogeneous people. The Jews, the Greeks, the French, the English, speak for themselves. All the great schools of art have been national schools, the product of a united and homogeneous people, living the same life, thinking the same thoughts, and sympathizing with each other for a long period of time. Cosmopolitan literature and cosmopolitan art are unknown. The fine arts, as well as all forms of beauty, depend for their excellence on the sympathetic feelings, which are easily alarmed and disgusted. The artistic and the beautiful are for the thoroughbred and are impossible to the cur.

About the year 1825 there began to appear in Massachusetts the beginnings of a great literature. It moved on, and before the time of the Civil War had produced, in their full flower, Longfellow, Emerson, Channing, Prescott, Motley, Hawthorne, and others. It was a complete literature, not a literature like that we have now, consisting only of novels, which, as some one said, describe cups of tea rather than men; but a literature which contained all the departments in the highest state of excellence—poetry, romance, philosophy, history, and theology. The men who produced it were not writing for money. They were not trying to produce stories which would sell because they were of the kind that women want to read. It was a broad, spontaneous, sincere, national literature, produced in one corner of the country which had long been and still remained homogeneous. It began before the great immigration set in and it continued for some years afterward. But it is a significant fact that Massachusetts was one of the States which was not reached by the immigrants in any considerable numbers until after the Civil War, and since the immigrants have entered it those brilliant men of literature have left no successors. Since the Irish and French-Canadians began to swarm in twenty years ago, except for the voices of the old survivors of the past, Massachusetts has had no more to say in the higher and greater walks of literature than Arizona.

The modern movement against immigration, if it go on increasing and take definite form, will have many advantages over the Know-Nothingism of 1850. It will avoid the absurdity of being a secret organization and the absurdity of recommending that the foreign-born

shall never hold political office. It will be entirely free from attacks on the Roman Catholics and all the violence and bitterness which that involved. Our people have grown accustomed to the sight of the Roman religion and the fear of it has largely subsided. Whatever designs the priests may have on American institutions, they are not heartily supported in them even by their own laity. After fifty years of effort to substitute the parochial-school system of the Middle Ages for the American public-school system, they are now scarcely any nearer success than they were in the beginning.

The modern movement against immigration will confine itself to its legitimate sphere, which will be the advocacy of a law putting a capitation tax on all immigrants. Absolute exclusion would be difficult to accomplish. We cannot treat the Irish and the Germans, or even the Italians and the Russians, as we do the Chinese. But a high protective tariff on these would exclude the greater number and reduce immigration to a very small stream, which would be neither very polluted nor very dangerous. If we protect ourselves against refined sugar, wool, shot-guns, and works of art, why not against human products which degrade the morals of the country and drive its native owners from profitable callings by under-bidding them in wages?

SYDNEY G. FISHER.

THE PUBLIC-SCHOOL SYSTEM OF NEW YORK CITY.

THE degree of excellence of a school system is represented by the degree of inferiority that the teaching may reach and yet be accepted as satisfactory, or, in other words, by the minimum requirement, by what the teachers are required to do in order that they may retain their positions.

If the teachers are required to use scientific methods as well as secure results, to discard the text-book when things can be learned from observation, to develop the reasoning faculties as well as tax the memory, and to educate the child without robbing him of his happiness, and if those teachers who do not do what is required are promptly stricken from the list, the school system is a healthful and progressive one.

If, on the other hand, the teachers can retain their positions as long as they secure certain *memoriter* results, regardless of the methods employed, regardless of whether in securing the results the children are rendered happy or unhappy, the school system is antiquated and unscientific. And if, in addition, the teachers can retain their positions as long as they choose to do so, however incompetent they may be, the school system is upon the lowest possible level. If, in spite of the latter conditions, bright spots may be found in some of the schools, the system itself is nevertheless upon the lowest level, for the reason that good work is optional and not obligatory, and reflects credit not upon the school system, but upon those individual principals and teachers who are sufficiently interested in their work to do more than is required of them.

Now, what is the character of the instruction that will be passed as satisfactory by the superintendents of the public schools of New York City? Surely no one can call me unjust when I answer this question by describing the work of a school whose principal has been marked uniformly "excellent" during the twenty-five years or more that she has held her present position. I cannot say that this school is a typical New York City primary school—I shall describe

typical work later—but I do most positively assert that the mere fact that a superintendent is permitted to give a school of this nature his warmest indorsement is sufficient to prove that the school system of New York City is not conducted for the benefit of the child alone.

The principal of this school has pedagogical views and a maxim peculiarly her own. She believes that when a child enters upon school life his vocabulary is so small that it is practically worthless, and his power to think so feeble that his thoughts are worthless; and she is consequently of the opinion that what the child knows and is able to do on coming to school should be disregarded, and that he should not be allowed to waste time, either in thinking or in finding his own words in which to express thoughts, but that he should be supplied with ready-made thoughts as given in a ready-made vocabulary. She has therefore prepared sets of questions and answers, so that the child may be given in concise form most of the facts prescribed in the course of study for the three years of primary instruction. The instruction throughout the school consists principally of grinding these answers *verbatim* into the minds of the children. The principal's ideal lies in giving each child the ability to answer without hesitation, upon leaving her school, every one of the questions formulated by her. In order to reach the desired end, the school has been converted into the most dehumanizing institution that I have ever laid eyes upon, each child being treated as if he possessed a memory and the faculty of speech, but no individuality, no sensibilities, no soul.

So much concerning the pedagogical views upon which this school is conducted; now as to the maxim. This maxim consists of three short words—"Save the minutes." The spirit of the school is, "Do what you like with the child, immobilize him, automatize him, dehumanize him, but save, save the minutes." In many ways the minutes are saved. By giving the child ready-made thoughts, the minutes required in thinking are saved. By giving the child ready-made definitions, the minutes required in formulating them are saved. Everything is prohibited that is of no measurable advantage to the child, such as the movement of the head or a limb, when there is no logical reason why it should be moved at the time. I asked the principal whether the children were not allowed to move their heads. She answered, "Why should they look behind when the teacher is in front of them?"—words too logical to be refuted.

During the recitations many minutes are saved. The principal has indeed solved the problem of how the greatest number of answers

may be given in the smallest number of minutes. In the first place, no time is spent in selecting certain pupils to answer certain questions, every recitation being started by the first pupil in the class, the children then answering in turn, until all have recited. Secondly, time is economized in the act of rising and sitting during the recitations, the children being so drilled that the child who recites begins to fall back into his seat while uttering the last word of a definition, the next succeeding child beginning his ascent while the one before him is in the act of descending. Indeed, things appear as if the two children occupying adjoining seats were sitting upon the opposite poles of an invisible see-saw, so that the descending child necessarily raises the pupil next to him to his feet. Then again the minutes are saved by compelling the children to unload their answers as rapidly as possible, distinctness of utterance being sacrificed to speed, and to scream their answers at the tops of their voices, so that no time may be wasted in repeating words inaudibly uttered. For example, the principal's definition of a note—"A note is a sign representing to the eye the length or duration of time"—is ideally delivered, when it sounds something like "Notsinrepti length d'ration time."

Another way in which time is saved is by compelling the children to stare fixedly at the source whence the wisdom flows. When the teacher is the source of wisdom, all the children in the room stare fixedly in the direction of the teacher; when a word on the black-board is the source of wisdom, all eyes stare fixedly at a point on the black-board. There is one more peculiarity. When material, of whatever nature, is handed to the children, enough to supply a whole row is given to the end child. The material is then passed along sideways until each child in the row has been supplied. During this procedure the children are compelled to look straight in front of them, and to place their hands sidewise in order to receive the material, without looking whence it comes. The pupils are thus obliged to grope, as if they were blind, for the things passed to them. The principal assured me, however, that to drill the children in this groping is not attended with much difficulty, the pupils in the lowest primary grade—the little five-year-olds—learning to take and pass things like blind people during the first week or two of their school life.

Sense-training is a special feature of the school, and at least a half-dozen different methods, nearly all of which are original, are used for the purpose. The first of these methods is one by means of which form and color are studied in combination. I witnessed such a lesson in

the lowest primary grade. Before the lesson began there was passed to each child a little flag, upon which had been pasted various forms and colors, such as a square piece of green paper, a triangular piece of red paper, etc. When each child had been supplied, a signal was given by the teacher. Upon receiving the signal, the first child sprang up, gave the name of the geometrical form upon his flag, loudly and rapidly defined the form, mentioned the name of the color, and fell back into his seat to make way for the second child, thus: "A square; a square has four equal sides and four corners; green" (down). Second child (up): "A triangle; a triangle has three sides and three corners; red" (down). Third child (up): "A trapezium; a trapezium has four sides, none of which are parallel, and four corners; yellow" (down). Fourth child (up): "A rhomb; a rhomb has four sides, two sharp corners and two blunt corners; blue." This process continued until each child in the class had recited. The rate of speed maintained during the recitation was so great that seventy children passed through the process of defining in a very few minutes. The children are drilled in these definitions as soon as they enter the school, and the definitions are repeated from week to week and from year to year, until the child has finished his primary-school education.

In one of the higher classes I saw a modification of this procedure. Here each child was given a wooden geometrical form, and when the starting signal was given, instead of one child bobbing up and facing the teacher, two children sprang up, geometrical forms in hand, and faced each other. Then the following conversation ensued:

The second child asked the first child: "What have you in your hand?"

First child: "I have an oblong."

Second child: "Why do you say it is an oblong?"

First child: "Because it has two long sides, two short sides, and four corners."

When this answer had been rapidly screamed, a rather complicated triple motion, which was accomplished almost instantaneously, ensued. At one and the same time the first child sat down, the second child wheeled around, and the third rose to his feet and turned so as to face the second pupil. By the time the first pupil had fallen into his seat, the second and third pupils were already facing each other, and the third child was asking the second child, "What have you in your hand?"

Second child: "I have a square."

Third child: "Why do you say it is a square?"

Second child: "Because it has four equal sides and four corners."

When this had been said the triple motion again took place, so that in the twinkling of an eye the third and fourth pupils were already staring each other in the face and beginning to talk. This process was also continued until each child in the class had recited.

In the third lesson in form the teacher played the "star" part. This lesson was carried on as follows: The automatized teacher stood before the black-board and began the exercise by drawing upon the board, with a rapid stroke, a straight line. When this stroke had been made the following words were spoken:

Teacher: "What is this?"

First pupil: "It is a line."

Teacher: "What kind of a line?"

Second pupil: "It is a straight line."

The teacher now drew a crooked line upon the black-board and asked: "What is this?"

Third pupil: "It is a crooked line."

Teacher (to third pupil): "Wrong." (To fourth pupil): "Why don't you get up when the child before you makes a mistake?"

Fourth pupil: "It is a line."

Teacher: "What kind of a line?"

Fifth pupil: "It is a crooked line."

The teacher here said to me that the third child was a new pupil, who hadn't yet learned the methods of the school; but she assured me that the new pupils come round all right in a few days.

The reason why the third pupil's answer was considered wrong was not because it was wrong, but because each stroke of the chalk was intended to bring forth two questions and two answers, so that when the first question was answered in such a manner as to leave no occasion to ask the second question, the charm was broken and the answer could not be accepted.

In one of the rooms I saw a lesson in paper-folding which was so mechanical that a perfectly rhythmical motion was maintained throughout and the children appeared to have been wound up for the occasion. A lesson in arithmetic that I attended was fully as machine-like as the other exercises. The children ran through rows of figures just as they had run through definitions. When they were told to add the twos, the first pupil rose to his feet and cried, "Two"; the second child rose and said, "Four"; the third child rose and said, "Six," etc.

The expressions in this exercise being so short, no child remained during any perceptible period upon his feet; so that the recitation consisted mainly of a bobbing up and down, and the class presented rather the appearance of a travelling pump-handle than of a large number of human beings.

Even a good part of a lesson in music is devoted to drilling the children in definitions. I heard the pupils in one of the classes give at least twenty-five music-definitions. In penmanship, the pupils learn by heart any number of principles of writing, none of which is known to most of those who earn their livelihood with the pen.

In reading, the word-method is followed, and the pupils are taught to read the number of words prescribed for the grade and no more, and they are taught to spell the words as they learn to read them. They are not encouraged to acquire the ability to read new words, each new word being developed before it is shown to the child, which means practically that the child is told what the word is before he is allowed to name it. But this method is typical of the New York primary schools. I asked the principal whether the children in the highest grade were not able to read new words without being told what they were. She answered in substance: "How can they know what a word is when they have never seen it before? Could you recognize a thing that you had never before seen?"

In no single exercise is a child permitted to think. He is told just what to say, and he is drilled not only in what to say, but also in the manner in which he must say it. There is no doubt that the principal succeeds to the letter in putting the children through the work of the grade, and the superintendents therefore see no reason why they should not criticise her most favorably.

The typical New York City primary school, although less barbarous and absurd than the one just described, is nevertheless a hard, unsympathetic, mechanical drudgery school, a school into which the light of science has not yet entered. Its characteristic feature lies in the severity of its discipline, a discipline of enforced silence, immobility, and mental passivity. The difference found in going from room to room and from school to school—I have seen many of them—is a difference in degree only and not in kind. One teacher will allow her pupils to move their heads a little more freely than the standard, another will allow a little more freedom to the shoulder-joints, but less freedom in moving the head, and the third requires the children to keep their hands in their laps, instead of behind their backs.

The character of the instruction is identical with that found wherever this false system of discipline prevails, being of that form which appeals to the memory alone. The aim of the teacher is simply to secure results by drilling the pupils in the facts prescribed for the grade. The public-school system of New York City affords, therefore, another example of how, under unwise management, a trained teacher may be reduced to the level of one who has had no training. Many a New York school-teacher has told me that the New York school gives her no opportunity to put her knowledge of psychology and pedagogy to practical use, and that soon after beginning to teach she felt the normal-school influence vanish.

As the methods are unscientific, little can be gained by dilating upon them. Reading is taught by the combined word and spelling method; that is, the child is taught to recognize a word at sight and to spell the word as soon as he is able to read it. Each new word is taught by the above-mentioned development method. As has been said, to develop a word before the child is allowed to read it means practically to tell the child the name of the new word. For example, if the teacher desires to develop the word "boat," she will say in substance: "The other day I went down to the river and I saw something with a whole lot of people on it floating on the water." She then writes the word boat upon the black-board and asks the pupils, "What do you think this word is?" One child will say, "Ship"; another will say, "Steamer"; and a third will say, "Boat." In this manner the word "boat" is developed. Many teachers really believe that when the child thus reads the word "boat" he has succeeded in finding it out by himself. The word "dog" is developed by telling the children that it is something that says "bow-wow," and the word "cow" by informing them that it is an animal with horns and says "moo."

By the use of this method the child is actually prevented from exercising his reasoning faculties, and reading is converted into a pure and simple process of memorizing word forms. The results of the exclusive use of the combined word and spelling method I have always found to be very inferior. In New York City the primary reading is so poor that the children are scarcely able to recognize new words at sight at the end of the second school year. Even the third-year reading is miserable. In many cities the children read better at the end of the second year than they do in New York at the end of the third. Indeed, I feel as if I could truthfully say

that in Minneapolis the pupils read as well at the end of the first year as they do in New York at the end of the third, and this in spite of the fact that the Minneapolis schools are charming and the pupils—even those from the poorest of homes—governed by love and sympathy. In these schools many methods—the word method, the sentence method, phonics, word-building, etc.—are used in teaching reading.

In the lowest grade of many of the New York primary schools the reading is exceptionally dry. I visited such a grade and found seventy-five words written upon a portion of the black-board. I learned that these seventy-five words were those that the pupils had been taught to read prior to the time of my visit, that each had been written upon the board as it was learned and retained there, and that the children were drilled daily both in reading and in spelling these words. I asked the principal, who had accompanied me to the class-room, whether the children never read sentences. I was informed that the teacher occasionally formed sentences by pointing with her stick to various words among the seventy-five. Of course, sentences so read in no way retain the spirit of letting the child read a sentence because it is the unit of thought. There is indeed no difference between reading sentences by pointing to isolated words and the mechanical reading of isolated words.

I next asked the principal how the seventy-five words on the board had been selected. She told me that they were words found in the reading-book that the children would receive in the next higher grade. She said, further, that she selected from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty words to be learned in this manner in the lowest grade, so that when the children took up the reading-book in the next class they should be able to read some of the words contained in it. In the lowest grade, therefore, the children are not supposed to read thoughtfully, but simply to memorize a large number of word forms. Can instruction be made less scientific?

In the same class I heard the children spell some of the words. When the spelling-lesson was announced, a number of children rose to their feet and turned their backs to the board, so that they might not be able to look at the words that they were asked to spell.

Throughout the primary grades arithmetic is taught fully as unscientifically as the reading. It is mechanical and abstract from the very beginning. In the class of which I have just been speaking, I heard the pupils add a column of "ones" and "twos" that had been written upon the black-board. The children added thus: "One and

one are two"; "two and two are four"; "four and one are five," and so on.

I now asked the principal whether arithmetic was ever taught by a concrete method.

"They will have concrete arithmetic work when they are a little further along in their reading," she replied.

"Will you kindly inform me what connection there is between reading and concrete arithmetic?" I asked.

"You see," she answered, "when the children can read the word 'oranges' or 'apples,' the teacher writes the word 'oranges' or 'apples' at the top of the column of figures, and then the pupils, instead of saying, 'One and two are three,' 'three and two are five,' will say, 'One orange and two oranges are three oranges,' and 'three oranges and two oranges are five oranges.' In that way the work in arithmetic is made concrete."

Space will not permit me to cite further instances showing that the methods followed in the New York primary schools are unscientific. But before beginning the discussion of the general management of the schools, I beg to repeat that the work described as typical may be found in all but very exceptional schools, the differences shown, not only in the discipline, but also in the methods, being differences in degree and not in kind. I have visited many of the New York primary schools, but have not yet found any exceptional ones.

It is not difficult to account for the low standard of the New York schools; indeed, under existing conditions, it would be surprising if the instruction were of a higher order. In the first place, there is absolutely no incentive to teach well. If mechanical teaching be in general deemed satisfactory, why should the teacher trouble with the preparation of lessons and the study of educational methods and principles, and then teach upon scientific principles at the risk of not covering the work of the grade? Further, a teacher scarcely imperils her position by doing exceedingly poor work, the only penalty being that an incompetent teacher cannot claim the maximum salary after she has taught the required fourteen years. In New York City teachers are very rarely discharged, even for the grossest negligence and incompetency. In order that a principal may be discharged, sixteen of the twenty-one members of the Board of Education must vote against her, and for many reasons it is practically impossible to secure that number of adverse votes.

To discharge a teacher is also a matter attended with considerable difficulty. Before a teacher can be removed, a number of barriers must be passed. The majority of the members of the Board of Trustees of any ward can order the removal of a teacher in the ward, but before she can be removed the consent of the majority of the inspectors of the district must be obtained in writing. But even after the consent of three trustees out of five and two inspectors out of three has been obtained—it is not easy to obtain—the teacher has the right to appeal to the Board of Education, this body having the power to reverse the decisions of the trustees and inspectors and to order her reinstatement.

Secondly, there is no source of inspiration. As far as the supervising officers are concerned, practically nothing is done to raise the standard of the teachers. Indeed, the supervision as now conducted is little more than a farce. The Superintendent of Schools is simply an executive officer, who exerts no pedagogical influence upon the schools. What he does, beyond meeting the assistant-superintendents once a month and the principals three or four times annually, and keeping certain sets of books, is a question that no one as yet appears to have answered.

Besides the chief officer, eight assistant-superintendents are employed to supervise the work of four thousand teachers. Though some of them possess expert qualifications and the ability to educate teachers, the circumstances under which they labor appear to be such as to render their services of very little value. Even under the most favorable circumstances, a single supervising officer cannot successfully direct the work of five hundred teachers. But, in addition, the method of supervision—if indeed there be a method—is so unsystematic as apparently to render their services of least value. Each classroom in the city is supposed to be visited and examined by one or more supervisors once a year.¹ But there are no district lines, and the visits are consequently very irregularly arranged. Further, the visits are too few to be of real benefit to the teacher, and yet frequent enough to disturb the teacher's mental equilibrium during the intervening period. Under the circumstances, it were better for all concerned if there were no supervision at all, and this is doubly true for the reason that whether or not the supervisors find the teachers competent is a matter of very little practical consequence. Besides examining classes,

¹ Teachers with good records are exempt from regular supervision; the poorer teachers receive extra visits.

the assistant-superintendents lecture from time to time. Each teacher attends in all three or four such lectures annually.

The argument is used that the duty of instructing the teachers does not devolve upon the supervisors, but upon the principals. The principals of the New York schools do not teach, and it is believed that their time should be devoted to the training of their teachers. But when we consider that in selecting principals expert qualifications are not taken into account, the argument becomes worthless. Indeed, as a rule, the newly-appointed teachers are better qualified professionally than the principals. While the new teachers are normal-school graduates, many of the principals have had no professional training whatever, nor have they at any time, either with or without guidance, devoted a sufficient amount of time to professional studies to learn the A, B, C of scientific pedagogy. Some principals read enough educational matter to pick up a few devices, but those who may be said to be experts are very rare exceptions. In the grammar departments quite a number of principals may be found who are alive and active, and who exert an excellent influence upon their teachers, and of their own free will have developed very good schools. But the same can hardly be said of the primary principals. The typical primary principal does not know that education means anything beyond cramming into the minds of the pupils a certain number of cut-and-dried facts. What the average principal does beyond keeping an accurate account of the attendance of pupils and teachers and listening to complaints from parents and teachers, is also a matter that has puzzled more than one intimately acquainted with the New York public schools.

Now, a word concerning those who are responsible for the condition of the schools—the members of the various Boards of Education. The Board of Education, properly speaking, consists of three independent bodies. The first of these is the central Board, known as the Board of Education. It consists of twenty-one members, who are appointed by the Mayor. Secondly, there are eight Boards of Inspectors, each of which has three members, who exercise a sort of supervision over the schools of three wards. Inspectors also are appointed by the Mayor. Thirdly, there are twenty-four Boards of Trustees—one for each ward—each of which has five members. The Trustees are appointed by the Board of Education. There are, therefore, in all, one hundred and sixty-five persons directly connected with the management of the schools.

Things appear to be arranged among these bodies upon the princi-

ple of power without responsibility. When anything goes amiss, it is impossible to discover which one of these one hundred and sixty-five persons is responsible. "No one is responsible for anything" has become a by-word among those who in any way seek to fix responsibility. In many of the schools a most horribly unsanitary condition of affairs prevails, for which no one is in any way responsible. The course of studies is highly unscientific, but no one constructed it and no one is responsible for it. When appointments are to be made, every one is on the alert; when responsibility is to be fixed, no one is in readiness to step forward. Everything appears to be involved in a most intricate muddle.

The power to appoint the teachers is vested in the Board of Trustees, while the appointment of superintendents and principals lies in the hands of the Board of Education. In no way has any one connected with the educational side of the system a word to say concerning the appointment or discharge of principals or teachers. Nearly all appointments are made by "pulls," merit being a side issue. The superintendents should naturally be held responsible for poor teaching, but justly they cannot be so held, for the reason that it is almost impossible for them to have incompetents discharged. Indeed, the superintendent has said that he has given up, as a hopeless task, attempting to have incompetent principals and teachers discharged. Therefore the supervisors can justly lay the blame of poor teaching upon the members of the Board of Education, while the Board of Education can justly throw this responsibility upon the shoulders of those whose duty it is to secure proper teaching. So things have always been and so they will remain until a radical change is effected. Meanwhile, none suffer but those for whom the millions are appropriated—the children.

In regard to the public, the mere fact that things are muddled as they are proves that the citizens take no active interest in the schools. As for the parents in particular, the fact that they send their children to unsanitary schools—indeed, so unsanitary as to be unfit for the habitation of human beings—is of itself sufficient to prove that they are in no way concerned with what the schools do with their children. This is true not only of the more ignorant classes, some of the most unhealthful schools in the city being attended by children from the best of homes.

Now, how may the evils be eradicated and the schools improved? That the schools of small cities may be improved in a comparatively

small time is a matter that has been repeatedly demonstrated; but how to improve the schools of large cities is a problem that has never been solved. The large cities should therefore learn the lesson taught by the small ones, namely, that if the superintendent is an educator and spares no pains in endeavoring to improve the minds of his teachers, a few years will suffice to raise the standard of the schools, *provided the number of teachers in his charge be not too large.*

This principle might be applied to a large city by treating it as a collection of small ones. A superintendent cannot well care for more than one hundred and fifty, or at most two hundred, teachers; in other words, he cannot properly care, without assistance, for a city of more than seventy-five thousand inhabitants at the utmost. As New York City has twenty times two hundred teachers, twenty times seventy-five thousand inhabitants, its schools should be divided into at least twenty independent districts, each one of which should be placed in charge of a superintendent having all the powers and responsibilities of a city-superintendent. In the appointment of special supervisors, such as supervisors of drawing, music, etc., these district lines should be strictly observed, so that each district-superintendent might be held responsible in every way for the schools of his district. The district-superintendent should be required to devote all his working hours to visiting classes for the purpose of aiding the teachers and to meeting teachers in order to instruct them in methods and educational principles as well as in their grade work.

Under an arrangement of this nature, provided the right sort of superintendents be secured, there is no reason why the schools of each district should not improve as rapidly as the schools of a small city, when in good hands. Though each district would in great part be independent, it should nevertheless be regarded as but a part of a large system. Unity can and must be preserved. How, under these conditions, it may be preserved, I shall now endeavor to show.

In the first place, there should then, as now, be a city-superintendent responsible for the general condition of the schools throughout the city. The city-superintendent should take an active part in improving the minds of the teachers. All his time should be devoted to visiting classes and to teaching teachers. One day in each month might be spent by him in one of the districts, and this would enable him to make his rounds once a month. Three or four hours might readily be spent daily by the city-superintendent in visiting classes, and the hours from four to six in the afternoon in meeting the teachers.

He might meet the two hundred teachers of a district in a body for the purpose of conducting an educational conference. This would enable him to meet all his four thousand teachers once a month. Three or four hours devoted to visiting the schools of each district once a month would be sufficient to enable the superintendent to judge how things in any particular district are progressing. Such visits should be suggestive and not examinational. The city-superintendent should be in every sense an educator, and as such he would seek unity rather than uniformity, and he would give each district-superintendent liberty to develop his pedagogical powers, but would check that which partakes of the nature of license. The superintendent, principals, and teachers of each district would now be likely to do their utmost to develop the best schools in the city, and a healthful competitive spirit might readily be maintained. In four or five years marked differences in regard to the degree of excellence of the schools of individual districts would appear. The schools of the incompetent and non-energetic superintendents would be likely to fall so far behind the best that such officers could not well retain their positions, and a natural weeding out of incompetent persons would ensue.

Secondly, a board of superintendents, of which each district-superintendent should be a member and the city-superintendent the presiding officer, should be formed. This board should meet frequently for educational discussions, and all important matters concerning the pedagogical management of the schools should be brought before it. The course of studies should result from the conferences of this board. Above all, the power to appoint principals and teachers should be vested in this board of superintendents. As each district-superintendent would be held responsible for the condition of the schools of his district, his wishes concerning the persons to be appointed should be respected; he should be allowed to nominate the teachers, but the board of superintendents should confirm the nominations and retain a veto power. Under these conditions appointments would be made for merit alone, and each district-superintendent would certainly do his utmost to find proper persons to fill vacancies. The power to discharge teachers and principals should be vested in the board of superintendents. The city-superintendent should be appointed by the Board of Education, but as he would be held responsible for the schools of all the districts, he should have the power to nominate his assistants, and not more than a veto power should be vested in the Board of Education.

The financial management of the schools might remain undisturbed in the hands of the various boards as now existing, but all matters pertaining to the educational part of the system—the formulation of the course of studies, the appointment and discharge of principals and teachers—should be in the hands of the board of experts.

The additional expense that would be incurred under this plan would be, comparatively speaking, only nominal. An allowance of four thousand dollars for a district-superintendent and ten thousand dollars to each district for special supervisors would require an additional expenditure of less than two hundred thousand dollars a year, an increase of only five per cent over that now incurred by the maintenance of the corps of teachers.

J. M. RICE.

THE WEALTH AND BUSINESS RELATIONS OF THE WEST.

WHERE is the West? In popular estimation the West in this country seems to be an indefinite area between the Pacific Ocean and the standpoint of the observer, wherever that may be. In the matter of wealth, however, it may better be described as all that part of our country not in the vicinity of New York. At the very least it is not less than all that part of our country west of a line drawn from the city of Washington to the city of Chicago. This means that Florida, Ohio, and Wisconsin are in the West, as truly as Kansas and California. It also means that the States named and the States they represent have interests in common to a far greater extent than they usually seem to realize.

What wealth has the West and what part of it is hers? There is scarcely danger of disagreement as to the nature of wealth. Primarily it is that which will insure to man what he wants. Land is wealth, and houses for shelter, and building materials, and machinery, and mines, and cattle, and fisheries, and all else which will support life and protect and embellish it. The contrivances of society for the designation of wealth must not be confused with wealth itself. The railway track and the locomotive are primary wealth; a bond or a share of stock of the railway company is merely evidence of the holder's ownership of a part of the track and the locomotive.

The West possesses nearly all the primary wealth of the country. The East is not by nature an especially bountiful mother. She is inhospitable, even hostile. The sufferings of the first settlers of the East in New England would never have been much modified, at least for large populations, but for help from the Western provinces. Massachusetts is said to produce less than one-five-hundredth of what she consumes. If New York be rightly called the Empire State, what name shall be applied to such States as Missouri, Montana, Kansas, Colorado, Texas, and California? If Broadway property is worth a fortune a foot, it is merely, for the most part, because the business of the West is by arbitrary selection done there. I repeat, therefore, the West has nearly all the primary wealth of the country. It has, for

example, nearly ninety-five per cent of the total tillable acreage. It has on these acres forty million people, who are in possession of forty billion dollars' worth of property, including more than one hundred and fifty-two million farm animals, worth over two billion and seventy million dollars; and more than one hundred and forty thousand miles of railway, worth over eight billion dollars. How to express the value of fine climate, curative waters, and magnificent scenery in words and figures I leave to some volunteer from Tennessee, Minnesota, Kansas, Colorado, or California, with the skill of long practice. Our census is not authority on such branches. What wealth the West has and what part of it she owns are widely different matters. It is, of course, impossible to measure accurately the Eastern share of Western wealth. It is in two forms. The first is the form of security for debt; the second is the form of title in fee. The West owes at least six hundred million dollars of State, county, municipal, and township debt, the total of such debt in the country being (in 1890) \$1,135,210,442. The West owes its proportion of the \$891,960,104 of national debt. The private debt of the West is enormous. All this debt is practically owned in the East (including Europe), and the annual interest goes where the debt is owned.

As to Western property legally owned in the East, the amount is incalculable. The railway property is a good item to begin with. Then comes the telegraph; then come the mines; then come bank, mercantile, and manufacturing properties; then come all sorts of ordinary holdings, such as lands, buildings, cattle and other chattels. Probably the only strictly accurate statement that can be made is to say that the East owns a gigantic share of the West. It surely does. What has caused the present peculiar distribution of the ownership of Western wealth? The location of primary wealth by no means determines the location of its ownership. The modern machinery of civilization makes it easy for proprietors and their property to be and remain far apart. Riches take wings in more ways than one, and net profits are migratory. Accumulated dollars are like birds of a feather. Close communion is in the creed of rich men. This latter is not so much because they love each other as because they love the same things. Proximity also enables them to watch each other. And so it happens that while the West has produced and now possesses great wealth, the East owns perhaps the greater portion of it. To tell how this came about is partly to excuse and partly to condemn Western people.

What I have described as the financial West has been at a disadvantage, because it is all a new country, a young country, except the southeastern portion of it, and when the effect of the war is considered, that part is even newer and younger than the central portion. The inhabitants of this financial West are almost wholly immigrants from the East. They, or their immediate ancestors, emigrated from their homes in nearly all cases by reason of financial distress. The older new settlers came without money and left debts behind to be paid and obligations in the way of friends to be partly or wholly supported. The younger new settlers came without money and left at least friendly obligations behind, if not debts. These new dwellers in an old wilderness were largely hopeful, industrious, intelligent, and courageous; and just these admirable qualities made them eager to enjoy and therefore swift to borrow. A great anxiety for present possession and a great confidence in future development, together with rank financial carelessness in certain general localities and in spots everywhere, caused the credit of the West to be strained early near to its breaking limit.

Much of the debt thus created was wise and proper, such as the debt for educational purposes. Much of it, on the other hand, was unwise, such as parts of the railroad-aid debt. But, wise or unwise, it has had to be paid and will have to be paid, more or less duly, with interest and penalties. If a dollar of money had been invested in the West for every dollar of debt acknowledged by it, there would be far less grief than is now felt. The Western people can only plead ignorance or carelessness, or both, in explanation of why they gave away gratuitously so many promises to pay gold dollars. From the list of the guilty for this should be carefully deducted those who in the actual distress of frontier life have been forced to give more than they received that they might secure relief from immediate suffering.

The West has been at a disadvantage, because it has been in violent competition with itself. Every acre of Kansas land has been in competition with every acre of Illinois land, just as both the Kansas and Illinois land has been in competition with New York and New England land. The abandoned farms of Vermont and New Hampshire are abandoned for the same reason that the unoccupied lands of the West are unoccupied: the competition of vast areas of better land has made their profitable operation impossible.

Just as the lumber business of Pennsylvania was revolutionized by the opening of the great lumber regions of the central North and South, so the agricultural business in all its branches has been several

times revolutionized by the oceans of new land from time to time flooding the market. Farms in Ohio and Indiana which have been profitable in the past and will be again are now undesirable. The opening of one single irrigating ditch in Colorado added to the agricultural land of the country an area as large as the State of Connecticut; the building of a single Western railroad brought comparatively near market more good land than there is in all New York and New England. Thus millions of acres of agricultural and mineral lands have conspired to break down the prices of agricultural and mineral products. The sanguine settlers of the West were right in their estimate of the capabilities of their new country, but wrong in their assumption that the capacity of the markets would remain equal to the supply.

The West has been at a disadvantage because it has, necessarily or not, bought all its manufactured articles in the East. The absolute degree to which the West has been subjected to the East in the matter of manufactures is rarely understood. The canned corn and tomatoes, for example, used in Kansas and Nebraska and beyond come chiefly from Baltimore. Boston baked beans all the way from Boston are sold at every well-regulated lunch counter in the West. Until recent years the flour from Rochester, New York, held first place in all Western markets; and Pittsburg nails have, at least until lately, been carried beyond the Pueblo steel mills into the heart of one of the greatest iron areas in the world to the exclusion of the Pueblo product. Raw cotton goes—nobody knows where it does not go—to be manufactured, anywhere and everywhere away from its native place, no matter how much coal and timber may be near it or how close it may be to the sea.

In every line the West has gone far to get much—from pins and matches to clothing, food, and machinery. In fact, it is hard to think what manufactured articles do not come from the East. The Western manufactures spoken of in census reports are in some part secondary manufactures, such as the repairing of machinery, rather than its original manufacture. The fact that Western manufactures are steadily increasing does not change the fact that in the past there have been practically none. To diminish the net value of a Western product by hauling it East, and to increase the cost of an Eastern manufactured article by hauling it West, has been a whipsaw process which has steadily ravaged the Western pocket-book, and many times even the pocket-book of the common carrier that has participated in the hauling.

The West has been at a disadvantage because all the profits of the

transportation between the East and the West have gone East to remain. The railroads, all considered, have probably not made unreasonable profits, but whatever they have made has been an Eastern gain. If the West owned the roads, such profit as there is in the transportation business would, of course, remain in the West. As it now is, the East is almost alone in the business and enjoys a corresponding advantage. What is true of railroads in this respect is also true of telegraph and express lines. Moreover, the inventive spirit of the age has constantly furnished the East new resources which compete with Western resources. The ocean can now feed the people of the Atlantic States to an extent that it once could not. When a Baltimorean admits, as one recently did, that he can get good, fresh oysters and fish (from the Atlantic) in Kansas at a low price, it is fair to assume that the East gets them at a lower price, and that all such supplies used in the West are used in place of some Western product. New methods of culture, manufacture, and transportation have greatly changed the conditions in the food markets of the nation in the past few years.

The West has been at a disadvantage by reason of the inferior skill of its average agricultural and industrial workers. All over the southern West, as the natural result of *ante-bellum* methods, there has been a scarcity of genuine thrift—the thrift that has made France rich, to say nothing of England and New England—while the central and the ultramontane West have suffered from a very general feverish, speculative, restless, move-to-the-next-cheap-land-or-boom-town sort of a feeling which has been productive of bad farming, bad contriving, and reckless living generally. Wherever the plough spends the winter at the end of the last furrow, and wherever the fences do not command the respect of marauding cows, there men decay and wealth does not accumulate. The man of thrift gets many times as much service from his tin cup, his cook-stove, his harness, and his mule as the man of careless habits. The West needs to exchange an army of slovenly apprentices for as many well-trained journeymen. The exchange will be made in time.

The West has spent its money in the East for insurance, at a fabulous profit to the East. For example, over one hundred companies are elaborately represented in Kansas alone. What is true of insurance to our disadvantage is true of education. Thousands of young men and women annually go East to study—many of them going where they get less for their money than they would nearer home. The machinery of the churches makes a drain from West to East for for-

eign missionary and other purposes, though in early days the Eastern churches sent a great volume of money West. Nearly every dollar spent in the West for entertainments, dramatic and otherwise, has gone East—is steadily going East. Practically all the money spent in the West for books and periodicals and pictures goes East. The West is relatively a far better market for literature than the East, because it is building up its libraries from the foundation, and its isolation, together with the Eastern interests of Western settlers, makes periodical literature in especial demand. Almost every pretentious book—even when “published” in Chicago—is manufactured in the East. Even the country paper in New Mexico or Idaho is half-printed on plates edited and made in the East and sent West by express. For medical and surgical skill the West goes to the East always when it can, though not always wisely or necessarily. The location of the national capital means constant and voluminous contributions from the West to the East. The annual flight of Western people to the Northeast to escape warm weather means an immeasurable sum of money going from West to East, for there is practically no reciprocal flight. The Florida and Southern California winter travel and the Rocky Mountain summer travel do not begin to equal the summer travel to the Northeast. Europe gets vast sums of money from Western tourists, who are rarely economical when they get among oriental attractions. Royalties on patented inventions go East, for that is where the rights are owned, no matter where the inventing may have been done.

When Western men have left money to educational and charitable objects, it has been true in the past that nearly always the objects of their generosity have been in the East. Within three months two bequests in Kansas City, amounting to nearly seventy-five thousand dollars, have been left to an Eastern school and an Eastern church organization. Cornell College, the pride of New York, is endowed in large part with money derived from the sale of Western lands which it obtained for practically nothing. Think of the public domain in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, and other States devoted to the support of a university in New York. The transaction, of course, was legitimate, and Cornell is to be commended and congratulated; but the fact remains that the nation made a mistake at the expense of the West. Under the same law all the Eastern States, in proportion to their respective populations, were given a like share of the Western domain for like purposes.

The West has suffered from its own internal public necessities.

It has been forced to build its public institutions quickly, where the East has had centuries of time. Kansas, for example, in thirty years has secured and nearly paid for a capitol, two insane asylums, a penitentiary, a reformatory, two reform schools, a university, a normal school, an agricultural college, an imbecile school, an institution for the blind, another for the deaf and dumb, a soldiers' home—in all some fifty or sixty buildings of modern style and great value, with appropriate grounds. What Kansas has done other States have done in varying degrees of generosity. The West has had to contend with the fact that a large number of its people have never considered it home or have removed from it after making fortunes in it. From the Chinamen on the Pacific coast to such men as Mr. C. P. Huntington, Mr. Austin Corbin, and the Messrs. Rockefeller, there have been widely divergent classes of people who have sent their money or themselves, or both, out of the West with the least possible delay. Thus the West has not come into the advantageous relations with resident capitalists which might have been expected, and which would have reduced interest charges and increased manufactures.

The West has been injured by the slow but sure rise in the value of gold. It has had to pay in gold as promised, and has suffered therefrom precisely as if it had promised to pay in bushels and the bushel had been steadily increased in size. But this change has not been of a hundredth part the importance assigned it by the misleaders of the people, as it has been exceedingly slow and slight and has helped as well as hindered almost every individual. Many securities calling for gold are not paid in gold, as the holders, when ready to sell, take that currency which can be had quickest. The whole money history of the country probably leans a little against the West, but it has been and is one of the least of her adversaries—in spite of the roar of the candidate to the contrary.

And thus might be enumerated a thousand methods by which Western money has been drawn East and Eastern ownership in the West many times multiplied. The offset to this outflow of money is confined almost entirely to what is paid the West for raw material. For corn, cotton, cattle, wheat, fruit, and other such products a large sum is paid yearly, but it is paid chiefly in the nature of a credit, there being always a large balance in favor of the East. The West gets some pension-money, but it first supplies most of the money with which this payment is made. It gets also now and then a liberal gift like that from the late William B. Spooner, of Boston, of one hundred

thousand dollars to Oberlin College, Ohio, and a like sum to the University of Kansas. It also gets something by the acquisition of new settlers of wealth who leave the East in search of advantageous climates or for other personal reasons. But, in the main, the West gets only such money from the East as its staple products bring.

What should the West do to protect itself? At least a partial answer to this important question may easily be given. In the first place, the West should secure to itself all the advantage of having first-class credit. It should pay all its debts with rigid honesty, and thereby get command of such money as it must borrow at the lowest possible rates. Every instance of repudiation, partial or complete, raises interest rates for all in proximity and costs a thousand times what it saves. When the lowest possible interest rate has been secured, then money should be borrowed only in the most conservative manner, for the surest purposes. The time has come when railroads and similar improvements will be built wherever they are needed, without especial assistance in the way of bonded indebtedness or its equivalent. The short way of expressing it is to say that no money should be borrowed for speculation. This applies to the farmer who borrows to make small ventures out of the proper line of his business, as well as to the town, county, or State that borrows money to buy a railroad, the title to which it does not get, in the hope that it will enhance the value of real estate and increase business. Speculation is speculation no matter who indulges in it, and it is a game usually planned against the player.

Close to the matter of refraining from debt is that of withholding municipal franchises from gift to private persons or corporations. Every city should furnish its own water, gas, transportation, and light, either directly or by contract let to the highest bidder, or otherwise, so as to make sure of good service at reasonable expense. It is possible that in the past Western cities have received more than they have paid for by giving away their public-service rights, as thousands of stocks and bonds have been absorbed in the East which have proven heavy losses to their owners. But this has been due to the fluctuating nature of the new towns in the new West. Now that conditions have become generally permanent, the various municipalities can act with perfect safety in becoming their own public servants in the matter of water and light and transportation, as well as in the matter of sewers and police protection.

The West should do more of its own manufacturing. This should

begin on the farm and in the home. Individuals should buy from abroad fewer things that they can contrive for themselves. The old-fashioned New England farm economies were in substance merely home manufactures. Out of them our ancestors grew rich. There has been a gratifying general increase in Western manufacturing in the past ten years, but only a start has been made on the right road. The West should do another thing which is related to home manufacturing. It should diversify its products. Regions which produce only corn, or cotton, or timber, or silver, or coal, or fish, usually wear the same badge—the badge of poverty. A farmer in western Kansas—in the middle of the western quarter of Kansas—said last October:

“I came to Kansas without a dollar. I have never made a dollar in Kansas except by farming. I went in debt for my first quarter section, to the extent of the purchase-price of ten dollars per acre. I now own a whole section clear of all debt, and have brought up my family decently. We have all worked hard, but not so hard really as town workmen. I have made money every year I have been farming in Kansas. How do I do it? By diversifying my crops. I have always hit on something for which there is a good market. One year it is water-melons, another alfalfa, another wheat. I have never failed to have at least one paying thing on my list.”

This is an accurate report of an honest man's remarks in response to close questions. Diversification of products first fortifies a Western farmer by giving him at home the necessary circuit of subsistence, so that he need not sell his surplus at an unfortunate time merely that he may live. The plea for increased home manufactures in the West is also equivalent to a plea for selling off its surplus only in the most condensed form. It is better to ship corn in the ear than in the shock; in the kernel than in the ear; in pork and beef than in the kernel; in high-grade pork and beef than in low grade; in dressed pork and beef than in live. The nearer its ultimate form a product comes, the less, proportionately, is the charge for transportation and the less is subtracted from the source of production.

The West should cultivate assiduously all those characteristics which will excite the love and admiration of her own sons and daughters and the stranger within her gates. Men of independent means may live where they please. When such men move from west to east their bank accounts go with them. Beautiful towns, good roads, the best schools (from *kindergarten* to university), active churches, reasonable laws—all these agencies will save the West far more than they cost. Everything of beauty in the West will surely be a joy forever

to some man who, without it, would go elsewhere and take his money with him. The best achievements of the architect, the builder, the artisan, and the artist should be encouraged without stint. The beautiful club-houses of Albuquerque, Helena, and Chattanooga will anchor more money there every year than the houses cost. The palaces of Portland and Pasadena, San Francisco, Denver, and St. Louis will always hold near them thousands besides their owners.

The West should keep her statute-books clear of all crude, extravagant, and extraordinary laws which accomplish nothing but the purposes of the demagogues and cranks who devise them, except to drive rich men to the seclusion of great cities and the immunity of non-residence. Nagging laws and gad-fly officials make a combination which draws poverty like a plaster. How to give the most attention and attract the least should be the design of every law—not to say law-maker. This must not be construed as a reflection on stringent liquor laws, or any other laws directly stimulating the virtues of the people; for no intelligent man can forget that vice occasions every nation many times more loss in any given time than all other causes combined.

The West should see that her political reforms, like charity, begin at home. There is not a town, county, or State government in the West that may not be better conducted than it now is for much less money than it now costs. Elaborate organizations for the government of small towns and sparsely-settled counties; payment of officers by large and unreported fees, instead of by fair salaries; slow and slovenly courts, half-paid but not worth half what they get; too frequent elections and too much legislation; too little restraint on the vicious and too little care for the unfortunate; cumbersome, careless, and corrupt management of cities, made possible by the neglect of citizens generally—all these matters, and such as these, are of far more consequence to the people than the ordinary affairs of the Federal Government. And, finally, if the West wishes to make sure of propitiating the gods, she should offer up her political demagogues as a burnt-offering.

In some sections of the United States the country has always been run by political leaders. In other sections the political leaders have been run by their country. The last is the correct method, and if the West would adopt it universally and at once send to the rear all her ambitious citizens who promise to cure in Congress ills that Congress cannot reach, a great relief would be realized. The real

people of the People's party are right in their discovery that something is wrong, that there is a degree of "calamity" in the West; but they are wrong in believing what most of their leaders tell them as to the cause. These leaders claim that there is but one trouble and one remedy. They say the trouble is bad law and the remedy a change of office-holders. They teach that government is all in all. Like the one-drug doctors, they prescribe for all miseries their sole remedy. In season and out they continually cry for the blood of those in office. Occasionally, of course, it has been impossible for the People's party to effect a change for the worse in this line, as the worst has been already in; but as a rule, so far, the party has only sacrificed skilled and faithful public servants, passed by those who have been founders and builders of their respective States or communities, and chosen instead cheap men lacking even a primary comprehension of political truth or political wisdom. In no single case, by either the good, bad, or indifferent of these leaders, have I heard the real truth told—the truth such as is here set down. No intelligent man elected to office by the People's party in its brief career—no such man as Col. William A. Harris, Congressman-elect, from Kansas, or Governor-elect Lewelling, of Kansas—will dare to deny over his own signature the statement that the financial troubles of the West are due mainly, not to bad Federal statutes, but to the facts enumerated in this paper.

What concern has the East in all these facts? It has abundant reason to think of them most seriously. It is to its advantage to maintain the most cordial relations with the West. The West can get along without the East better than the East can without the West. The East can retain the affection of the West only by showing affection. Since the earliest years very little affection has appeared. In a business way the East has driven as hard bargains as she could. In a social way—or in what may be termed a social-political-business way—there has been on the part of the East as little affection as there has been much ignorance. The East has treated the West somewhat as England has treated the United States. "Out to America" and "Out West" have been similar phrases in similar use. Eastern people have too much neglected the ties that bind. They have felt no obligation to know their own country before knowing Europe. Mr. Depew, the brilliant president of the Vanderbilt railways, which depend on the West for a great part of their traffic, up to within two years ago had never been west of Chicago, and at this writing has, I believe, been no further west than Denver, which is only about four

hundred miles west of the centre of the United States. When he mentioned the Chicago limit to his western travels he did not appear to be the least ashamed of it. Such relations to the West on the part of such men cannot but result in much inconsiderate and unwise action. If the East knew the West as it should, it would not now be true that the repositories of the East are crowded with idle money for which its owners know of no satisfactory investment. The ignorance about the West which prevails in the East characterizes even most of the newspapers. A long and careful study of the Eastern papers convinces me that, as a rule, they bear about the same relation to the West that the English newspapers do to the United States.

The East is rich and can wait for what it wants. It can wait for great advantages and great winnings and disregard the demands of conservative business. I need not quote a higher authority on this than the late Mr. Gould. An eminent ex-chief-justice of one of the Western States once put before him a business plan. Mr. Gould listened intently and interposed no discouraging remarks. When the lawyer had no more to say, Mr. Gould remarked briefly that he could not coöperate with him. "Which do you doubt, my words or my figures?" queried the astonished lawyer. "Neither," answered Mr. Gould. "On the contrary, I think you have outlined a most excellent conservative business scheme. But such things are not wanted in New York. If, instead of showing a certainty of making a fair interest on a large investment, you would show a probability of great profits on a small investment, you would have what will go here." The East can wait indefinitely, because she has only the distress of avarice, which at its worst rarely equals the distress of poverty. The East has come to its present condition by centuries of saving, industry, and thrift, and her possession is a power with which she may trifle whether she ought to or can afford to or not. Eastern financiers of real strength and character should do all in their power to discourage the fly-by-night financiers who flit about the West, treating the people to buncombe and bunco in about equal parts. The Eastern men who use the West as a base of operations for swindling their own Eastern neighbors, and then roll their eyes in horror at the wickedness of the West to which they charge all the blame, have their victims at both ends of the line and ought to receive double punishment. They are driving a wedge between the East and the West. A fatal wedge of this kind is not an unprecedented possibility. A glance at the map of Europe shows that people of the least geographical separation are

often furthest apart. If the East had done all its duty by the old West—the South—there would have been no War of the Rebellion. England has her Irish question. Primarily it was her own fault. The East should work as well as pray to be delivered from such calamities. This country wants no problem like the Irish problem in England.

It is not my purpose to croak about the West or to scold the East. The West is getting along slowly but surely toward all sorts of supremacy, while the East has not been guilty of much more than forgetfulness. My object is merely to contribute to a perfect mutual understanding, to the end that all may prosper to the uttermost. It is probably impracticable to ask, still more to expect, the average business man in the East to do much more than to get what money he can every day as the days come. But the giants in business and in politics and in education can be expected to act with reference to the whole people rather than the few. If they do not, their descendants will wish they had.

CHARLES S. GLEED.

LITERARY AND MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS IN ENGLAND.

As the throng which gathered to the funeral of our great poet melted slowly away from the Abbey, the same thought was borne in upon many of us—Have we then no poet left in England? The passing away of a great figure which for two generations has filled the mind and speech of men is always wont to leave this impression of a void. Forty years ago, when Wellington was laid beside Nelson in St. Paul's, Tennyson groaned out: "The last great Englishman is low." And as we left the Laureate alone with his peers in Poets' Corner, there rose to a hundred lips the murmur: "The last English poet is gone!" It was a natural feeling, an unthinking impulse; perhaps a blind mistake.

It is inevitable that we should seek at times like this to compare, to judge, to anticipate the verdict of our posterity. But the impulse should be resisted: it is futile and worse than useless. We are far too near to judge Tennyson truly or even to decide if he has left a successor. The permanent place of a poet depends on his one or two, three or four, grandest bursts, and his inferior work is forgotten. So too the poetry which startles and delights its immediate generation is almost always much weaker than the poetry which mellows like wine as generations succeed. It needed for Dante five entire centuries before his real greatness was admitted; it needed two centuries for Shakespeare.

It would be strange if English poetry were to close its glorious roll with the name of Tennyson. For three hundred years now our race has never failed to find a fine poet "to stand before the Lord." Shakespeare had done immortal things while Spenser still lived. Ben Jonson survived until the early lyrics of Milton. Dryden was in full career when "Paradise Lost" was published, and when Dryden died Pope was already "lisp[ing] in numbers." Pope survived till Gray was a poet and Cowper a youth; and with Burns, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron, and Shelley, the list comes down to the poet whom we have just buried. In these three centuries, from the "Faery Queen" until to-day, the only gap is for the ten years which separate the "Rape of the Lock" from the death of Dryden. But at Spenser's

death, who really knew what Shakespeare was, and at that of Byron and Shelley, who thought of Tennyson as their successor?

They who were present at the burial in the Abbey had opened to them, as in a vision, some glimpse down into the depths of the poetry, the persistence, and solemnity of English life—into that deep under-current which flows far below our gross and common every-day life. What a flood of memories from ancient history, what a halo of heroism, art, and devotion, consecrate that spot! A church built in the age of the Crusades, with foundations and memorials, tombs and crypts, that go back to the Saxon kings, in the history of which Agincourt, the Civil Wars, the Reformation, and the Commonwealth are mere episodes, and wherein even three centuries of a long succession of poets form but the later chapters—such a building seems to hold the very heart of the English people. Statesmen, artists, churchmen, poets, men of science and men of business, all schools, creeds, and interests, came together; sect, party, and rivalry ceased to divide men—all were Englishmen come to do honor to their poet. There was no parade, no eloquence, nothing of unusual show; no trumpets, helmet, or plume, no “guard of honor” or officials in uniform or robes; there was no concourse of elaborate music or feats of epideictic oratory. It was the daily service of the Abbey choir, the ordinary burial, with no feature of it uncommon, except the flag upon the coffin. Not a word was spoken outside the Prayer-Book; nothing was done which is not done every day when honored men are buried. Merely this—that the vast cathedral and the square in which it stands were filled with silent and eager masses, that around the coffin were gathered men of every type of activity and thought which England holds, that the whole English-speaking race was represented and was deeply stirred.

In the whole world there is nothing left which in continuity and poetry of association can be put beside a burial in our Abbey. It is doubtful if anything recorded in history ever matched it altogether in the volume and beauty of its impressiveness, or ever before so mysteriously blended the sense of antiquity with the sense of life. For there is nothing artificial, nothing of mere antiquarianism, in the Englishman’s love for the Abbey and its sacred dust. The common seaman in Nelson’s fleets felt it; the American citizen feels it more intensely often than the Londoner; they feel it in their hearts at home in Africa and in Australasia; to the whole English-speaking people the associations of the Abbey are both profoundly historic and vividly modern. The Abbey suggests to us all three things in equal force:

the Past, Poetry, Living Work. That is the true strength of England, which to the German is a metaphysical enigma and to the Frenchman seems an amazing paradox—that below our eternal money-grabbing and vulgar routine there is a sense among us that the Past and the Future are really one, and that we must be the link between the two. That makes the most material and most conventional of European nations at bottom the most capable of great poetry.

So let us not despair of one day finding a poet worthy to carry on the torch. It is plain that no one is yet acknowledged as the real equal of Tennyson. But we may have such a one among us even now. Although for three centuries the succession of English poets has never failed, there have been some brief periods when the most discerning eye must have failed to recognize the man. When Dryden died there must have been searchings of heart until the star of Pope rose above the horizon. And when Byron died young, like Keats and Shelley before him, and Coleridge, the poet, had long subsided into interminable monologues, neither Campbell, nor Scott, nor Southey, nor even Wordsworth, could be said to hold the poetic field. Wordsworth's, indeed, is a very striking case. His general reputation as a poet was hardly established till more than forty years after his first poems were published, and he was more than seventy before he received any public honor. And it may well be that we are all blind now, and that a new Tennyson, another Shelley or Milton, is in our midst, did we only know it. There is an element of hope perhaps in numbers. The English-speaking race is to-day quite three times as numerous as it was at the death of Byron, twelve times as numerous as it was at the death of Dryden, and those who can and who do write verses may be forty or fifty times as many. So the field is vastly larger.

But, alas! in poetry numbers count for much less than in presidential elections and other practical affairs. Indeed, in poetry, numbers and genius seem almost to stand in inverse ratios. When Shakespeare produced his plays, there were certainly not half a million persons living who could write English; and when the "Iliad" was first chanted at a festival, there was no man living who could write his name. There are now at least sixty millions who can write our language, and of these some millions, we may be sure, in public or in secret, compose lines that they fondly believe to be verse. What! not one prime poet in some million of versifiers? We do not see him

yet. Neither Tennyson, Hugo, Heine, nor Longfellow has left any recognized equal and successor.

The strange part of it is that there never was an age when so great a quantity of very excellent verse was produced as in our own. There can be no doubt about it. We have to-day scores of elegant poets and hundreds of volumes of really graceful verse. Of educated men and women, at least one in three could turn out a passable lyric or so, far better than the stuff published as poetry in the age of Pope, or Jonson, or Southey. There are not so many true poets, perhaps, as there were in the lifetime of Spenser and of Shakespeare. But it may be truly said that at no period in the long history of English poetry has it been so free from affectation, mannerism, false taste, and conventional commonplace. Since verse began there has never been so high, so pure a level of third-rate verse. There are a dozen writers whose exquisite technique makes that of Dryden or Byron look quite careless and that of Pope monotonous, and there are at least a hundred writers who far surpass the imitators of Dryden, Pope, or Byron.

That perhaps is the ominous side of our high poetic standard. If out of such a mass of graceful verse we find no really great poetry, it would look as if there were something amiss. Can it be that we all think too much of this graceful form that so many can reach? Is it that we are all, writers and readers alike, under the glamour of a style which is not the less a "fashion" by being subtly harmonious and severely subdued? As the poet said, "all can raise the flower now, for all have got the seed." Poetry is raised too much now from another's seed, from a single seed, from what is indeed a highly specialized seed. And poetry mayhap has begun to suffer from the maladies which follow upon "breeding in-and-in": rickety bones, transparent and etiolated skins, exquisitely refined impotence. Neither readers nor writers intend it or even know it, but we are all looking for echoes of the "Idylls" or "In Memoriam": it becomes our test and standard; the poet is afraid to let himself go, lest he be thought Byronic and impatient of the "slow mechanic exercise" which not only sootheth pain but produces poetry. No age that ever fell under the spell of a style knew it at the time. Their contemporaries could not hear the eternal jingle in the papistic couplet when Pope's imitators produced volumes. People who listened to songs "in the manner of Tom Moore" were deaf to the doggerel of the words. Dryden in his day was the ruin of the poetasters who tried to catch his swing. So was Pope the ruin of his followers: they caught his

measured cadence; they could not catch his wit, his sparkle, and his sense. Dr. Johnson latinized the English language for a whole generation. And perhaps the perfections of Tennyson's art are among the causes that we have no perfect poetry.

Perfection of form is often, nay, is usually, a snare to its own generation. Raffaello ruined "the school of Raffaello," and so did Guido ruin the school of Guido. Intense attention to form, especially to a form which is capable of a high degree of imitation, too often leads to insipidity. How common now in the scholastic world is the art of elegant Latin verse! Our schools and colleges can show thousands of "copies" of faultless elegiacs and sonorous hexameters, with fewer flaws than you might pick in Statius and Claudian. But how dull, how lifeless, how artificial are these prize compositions if we read them as poetry! Faultless, yes; but we wish the author would now and then break loose into a solecism, and but for ten lines forget Ovid and Virgil. Much of our very graceful, very thoughtful, very virginal poetry is little but "exercises" in English verse composition to the tune, not of the "Tristia," but of "In Memoriam."

Now, the exquisite jewelry of Tennyson's method, subtle as it is, is imitable up to a certain point, just as Virgil's hexameter is imitable up to a certain point, and for the same reason. Both are the poetry of intense culture, inspired by the worship of form. I take a stanza typical of this art—a stanza not surpassed in melody by any poetry of this century—a stanza which is wonderfully prophetic of the poet himself and his enduring influence:

"His memory long will live alone
In all our hearts, as mournful light
That broods above the fallen sun
And dwells in heaven half the night."

That is simply perfect: a noble thought, an exquisite simile, a true and splendid analogy between Nature and Man, the simplicity as of marble, and a music which Shelley only has equalled. Yet it is imitable up to a measure: we can analyze the music, we can mark the gliding labials, the pathetic cadence in the "mournful light" and "dwells in heaven," the *largo* in "broods above." It is beautiful, but it is imitable, as Milton and Shakespeare are not imitable. Take Milton's—

"He must not float upon his watery bier
Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
Without the meed of some melodious tear."

Or again, "the last infirmity of noble mind," or "laughter holding both his sides," or "thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes." Again, when Shakespeare says "the multitudinous seas incarnadine," or

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."

This is not imitable. Both thought and phrase are incalculable. No other brain could imagine them; once heard they are indelible, unalterable, unapproachable. It is not the music which rivets our attention first, but the thought. The form matches the idea, but the idea transcends the form. Poetic form, we are often told, must be "inevitable." True, most true. But poetic thought also must be incalculable. For this reason the greatest poets who clothed incalculable thought in inevitable perfection of form—Milton, Shakespeare, Dante, Æschylus, Homer—never misled their generation into imitation, never founded "a school." We shall have a poet worthy to succeed Tennyson when we no longer have Tennyson on the brain.

It was passing strange that France should lose her greatest writer of prose within a few days of the blow by which England lost her greatest writer in verse. And some friends of both were present at the funeral in the *Panthéon* and in the Abbey. It was an eloquent contrast, suggestive of profound differences in our national idiosyncrasies and condition. The burial of Renan was a great ceremony of state, with military and official pomp, academic and bureaucratic dignity, pageantry, oratory, and public consecration in a civil monument now for the third time wrenched from the Church. The burial of the English poet was a simple and private act of mourning to which a multitude came in spontaneous sympathy. It had no dignity but that which was given it by the place—by the historic Past, by Poetry itself, and by at least the pathos of the old faith. France has broken with her Past, with the old religion, and she has no continuous poetic traditions. France is deliberately pushing forth on the ocean to find a New World. Nor has any of this generation done more to stimulate this movement than Ernest Renan. The founders of New Worlds cannot look to robe themselves in all the poetry and solemnities of the Old Worlds, but they may bear within them the Life and the Future.

Ernest Renan was a consummate master of the French language; and masters of language exercise a power in France which is not known to other nations and which is hardly to be understood in some.

He was a scholar, a man of learning, a subtle and ingenious critic. With his learning, his versatility, his romantic coloring, and his exquisite grace of form, it would have been singular if he had not acquired great influence. It was, of course, the influence of the critic: the solvent, dispersive, indefinite influence of the man of letters who hints his doubts and hesitates his creed. Renan assuredly had no creed, needed none, and was mentally incapable of conceiving himself as having a creed. I knew him personally, and have heard him expound his ideas in conversation and in lectures and also in private interviews. I do not believe that there was left in his mind an infinitesimal residuum of dogma, old or new. As the Cambridge scholar said, when he was asked to define his view as to the Third Person in the Trinity, he "would not deny that there might be a sort of a something" behind all that he knew and all that interested him so keenly. But for himself, his whole activity of brain was absorbed in the romantic side of history, in the lyrical aspect of religion, in the decorative types of philosophy.

Ideas of such mordant potency have seldom been clothed in a mantle of more spiritual religiosity of external hue. One can fancy the terror that he once struck into the tender Catholic spirit who for the first time heard these ghastly doubts issue forth, as it were, from a dreamy patristic hagiology. It was as when the Margaret of "Faust" kneels down in her agony before the image of the Madonna and hears her prayer answered by the strident mockery of Mephistopheles. But the tender Catholic spirit is grown stouter now and is inured to many things. We can see how Renan, so negative himself, so vague, and so allusive, is leading on to a knowledge more systematic than his own, more positive, more definite and real. He has been an influence in his generation, even though he hardly knew whither he was tending himself, and though such ignorance or mistiness appeared to him to be the true philosophic *nirvana* to which the wise only attain.

We are now in the age of mist. We are becoming very "children of the mist"; for the one dogma that seems destined to survive is the duty of being undogmatic. We have all learned to say with the poet, "our little systems have their day"; with the critic we all believe in "the power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." That is comprehensive, large, suggestive. The definite, perhaps the intelligible, is limited: limitations mean narrowness, hardness, slavery, somewhere. "O friends," cries the popular preacher of to-day, be he layman or cleric, "let our spirits be free, let us seek to know, not to

decide; to analyze, not to believe. Away with the system-mongers and the slaves of any 'doxy.' Let us sip truth from every flower and leave the drones to brood over the honey!" The cultivated mind is becoming incapable of giving final assent to anything definite. It sees something in everything and error only in attempts to give that something a form. Of this philosophy and religion of the Great May-be, Monsieur Ernest Renan is the chief of the apostles; he is Peter and Paul and Doubting Thomas all in one very charming writer of French prose.

In the lull in our political world here in England, the ominous lull which precedes a great storm or a big battle, perhaps the most conspicuous political fact is the pace at which the municipal unity of London is gathering into action. The London County Council is the most composite elective body of which English history can show an example, and it has features which are rare, if not quite unexampled, in the history of municipal bodies. It has roused intense anxieties and bitter antipathies on the one hand, high hopes and a proud consciousness of a great future on the other hand. In its varied composition, in purity, and in thirst after reform, its most angry critics would hardly deny that it is remarkable. No municipal body ever collected such a diversity of interest and experience within one chamber. Even party rage has never ventured to hint a suspicion of jobbery, and this alone is a unique phenomenon, at any rate on our side of the Atlantic. About one-eighth of the Council are members of the Legislature, about a tenth have hereditary titles or are immediately connected with historic families; three ducal houses are represented; it counts two Knights of the Garter, the Foreign Secretary, and several other members of the government, peers, baronets, land-owners, bankers, brokers, merchants, lawyers, manufacturers, dealers of all kinds, and a dozen workmen in different trades.

So great a combination of interests bears witness to one of the strongest and most typical points in English life. There is no sulking or withdrawing in English public activity. All orders of men are equally eager to serve the public and contribute their experience. Duke and bricklayer work side by side in the same honest desire to do what they can and to offer what they know. Difference of principle there is, of course, and very divergent aims. But happily, in England, no class is excluded from serving the public and none excludes itself. And whatever the heat of strife may be, no section has found itself ostracized or silenced, nor has any imputed corruption to

its opponents. This is perhaps of all others the most hopeful sign in English public life. Men of wealth, of culture, of social distinction, are well aware that any claims they have must be justified by their own personal competence and by proof of their devotion to the public. They know this to be the price of their very existence as a class and of any consideration they may seek. And they are willing to pay.

A new body with interests so various, charged with working out a municipal life for London with its historic jumble of anomalous accretions, would be a poor thing if it did not show ambition, originality, and reforming zeal. Such a body is not likely to show either the deep wisdom of experience or the soberness of age. It will do things which its best friends think hazardous and say things which make its worst enemies exult. All the same, this development of municipal life in London, with its growing attention to Labor Ideals, is the most truly typical fact in our new political life. And, what is so puzzling to strangers who talk of the British aristocracy in the style of conventional ignorance, no men show more willingness to attend to the Labor Ideal than do men of rank and proved experience in affairs.

In any case, the growth of municipal energy is among the most stirring facts of our age. The claims which are now being matured in the London Council amount to the complete reorganization of the largest city in the world. To fuse a population of five millions, dwelling in portions of four counties and scattered over two hundred square miles, with hundreds of chance-medley local authorities and thousands of local acts—to make them an organic unit, while adjusting to the new body the mediæval corporation of historic London—is no light task. To recast the municipal taxation over this vast area, to throw a substantial part of that taxation on the owners of the soil and not on the occupants of tenements, to do something to make the Labor Ideal a reality, is now the ambition of the New Council. England, we are often assured, is the inveterate home of Feudalism, Privilege, and Routine. It may be so; but she is at last creating for herself municipal governments that genuinely represent the will of the people; wherein all orders of citizens, rich and poor, noble and simple, can meet on equal terms and work together with a will; wherein no suspicion of corruption has cast its shadow, and where, on every single vote and scheme, the interests of the laboring masses are most patiently considered and are advocated with eloquence and effect by genuine and honest leaders of the people.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

FRENCH POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC UNREST.

THE French Republic, the third of the name in less than a century, has just completed its twentieth year. It has escaped the dangers of its early childhood; it has passed successfully the trying years of growth and youth; it is now in its majority. Into political life enters a generation that has known no other form of government, that has had no share in the faults and in the lamentable end of the Second Empire. What ideas, what principles predominate among the people at the present hour? What currents of opinion are being formed? What new problems are forcing themselves upon the attention of the statesmen of France, which is so old as a nation and so young as a republic?

I will first call attention to a remarkable revival of public opinion with regard to colonial questions. Some years ago expeditions to remote places (such as Tonquin, Madagascar, etc.) were the cause of impassioned discussion. They occasioned the government the most serious embarrassment. The opposition party violently reproached it for the sacrifices of men and treasure demanded by the countries lately placed under the protection of France. According to this party, these new acquisitions cost much more than they ever brought, and as the sooner a piece of folly is mended the better, there should be no hesitation in evacuating countries that ought never to have been occupied. On this subject the radical and the monarchical press were unanimous.

To-day these arguments are almost never heard. Public opinion is reconciled to colonial enterprises; it would not permit them to be abandoned. It does justice to the clear-sightedness of the statesmen that seized the favorable moment for assuring to France new possessions outside Europe. The change seems due chiefly to the fortunate results obtained by the French protectorate in Tunis. This success, which has been rapid and is constantly growing, has made a great impression. It has given confidence. The people are asking if with equally able administrators the other countries that have recently come under the French protectorate may not also become a source of wealth and of increased power to the mother country.

Another very important and very marked change of opinion is shown in the rapid decomposition of the Royalist party, the opposition that attacked on principle even the constitution, that tried to overturn the public in order to substitute another form of government. This opposition is losing courage, breaking up and tending to disappear. A certain number of electoral districts still nominate Imperialist or Royalist deputies, but the number is decreasing constantly. The monarchical party resembles an army that is melting away day by day and will soon count fewer soldiers than officers. More than one among its officers refuse to continue a struggle that has become useless, and they will bend before the will which the country has repeatedly expressed and either renounce political life or rally openly to the republic. The past year has seen several notable examples of these, one of whom is Baron Mackau, formerly president of the *Union des Droits*, who has recognized that the suffrage of the people definitely founded the republic. In short, at the present time the constitution established in 1875 is accepted by nearly all Frenchmen—expressly by the great majority, tacitly by the greater part of the others. Before none of the governments that have succeeded in France during the past century has the opposition been thus disarmed. Each of them after a few years had to struggle against a coalition of opponents who redoubled their efforts and their audacity until they had thrown it down.

The opposite has happened in the third republic. Founded by the monarchists at a crucial period, its first years have been the most critical. It has at last attained a triumphant prosperity, and at the end of twenty years its adversaries seem to despair of destroying its vital force. This discouragement of the monarchical opposition, which since the elections of 1889 has been further accentuated, is due to the combination of a great number of circumstances, of which I shall repeat here only the principal. First, the disgrace that the Royalist party, under bad influences and poor leadership, has brought upon itself in mixing with the disreputable crowd that conducted the enterprise of General Boulanger. It has reaped from this disgraceful and unfortunate campaign only the shame of having taken part in it. The proof of its own unscrupulousness that it gave on this occasion has detached from it many of its best followers. Such an alliance could be justified only by a brilliant success. As they failed to attain this success, the alliance seems like a veritable moral suicide. What a sad end for the House of France! An underhand complicity with

dishonorable adventurers capable of any duplicity! Secondly, the French conservative party could not fail to profit in the long run by the lesson given it every day by neighboring countries. Does it not see that in Germany, for example, the Catholic minority, by force of patient energy and parliamentary cleverness, has made itself respected, even feared; that it has obtained successively the repeal of all the laws inimical to it; that it plays in the *Reichstag* an important and at times a decisive part? It is quite evident that neither of these results would have been obtained if the Catholic minority had not taken a relentless attitude and fought even the constitution of the new German empire. Does the conservative party in France display the same wisdom in depriving itself of every means of action for the pleasure of making a hopeless opposition to the constitution, whereas by accepting the constitution it could exercise a useful influence over public affairs and aspire even to direct them? Is it not better to be dubbed a Republican and have one's opinions respected than to be a Royalist-conservative and count for nothing?

In the eyes of ardent Royalists this reasoning would carry no weight; but the mere fact that it finds a large number of approvers is the best proof of the progressive and final disappearance of the monarchical idea. This idea, once very powerful in France, which consists in uniting in equal affection the reigning family and the country, in incarnating, so to speak, the nation in the sovereign, and still exists in varying degrees in England, Italy, and Germany, is so completely effaced from the mind of the French people that almost a miracle would have to take place for its regeneration. From one point of view, obligatory military service for all has exercised a profound moral influence. The youth of the country, passing under the flag, learn that political parties are of only secondary importance, that every man, whether Royalist, Imperialist, or Republican, owes equally his devotion and his blood to his country. The feelings are no longer understood of those noble *émigrés* who believed themselves Frenchmen to the finger-tips, and, nevertheless, fought in the ranks of the allies when they invaded France in 1814. To-day this seems criminal to the most devoted Royalists. This is because they, too, separate their duty to their country from their attachment to the royal family; because among them, too, the dynastic sentiment is no longer more than a shadow. This is the decisive reason among those that make monarchical restoration improbable and almost impossible: the vital spring of the monarchy, faith in a dynasty, exists no longer in

France. The democratic spirit has replaced it. What, then, is left for the conservatives if not to rally to the republic?

Thus, in place of the ancient monarchical law, a constitutional law is being formed, always conservative, but none the less republican as well, and professing to respect the existing constitution. This constitutional law gives grave anxiety to the vigilant Republicans in power. How will they receive these recruits? It is quite out of their power to repulse them openly after proclaiming for years that the republic is open to all. It would be difficult, as well as imprudent, to shut out those that have at last decided to enter. On the other hand, to receive them without mistrust is perhaps equivalent to throwing open the door to an enemy that tries to worm himself in by guile after being convinced that he cannot enter by force. Shall they dispossess old servants of the Republican party to make place for these neophytes, who must be regarded with suspicion, even if they are sincere? Evidently not. These new converts, in the first place, shall have to give pledges and arm themselves with patience. It is only in heaven that the word of the evangelist is verified: "The last shall be first and the first shall be last." If the opposition, in rallying to the republic, wishes to convince public opinion of its sincerity, it ought to be extremely modest in its pretensions and prudent in its movements. New conditions need new men.

In a word, there is a delicate transition here, the more delicate because in it is involved a question of religious politics. So long as a restoration of the monarchy has seemed possible, the Catholic clergy have not concealed the direction of their sympathies. The Republican government has had to declare more than once with Gambetta that "clericalism is our enemy." The Catholic Church, on its side, complains of being persecuted. It regards the scholastic and military laws as machines specially directed against itself. But we must remember that in a late and very bitter conflict, perhaps more bitter than the preceding conflicts, the government found an altogether unexpected ally, the Pope. On those bishops that opposed the civil authority with extraordinary haughtiness and obstinacy, Leo counselled, then commanded, then imposed silence. The more the bishops have tried to interpret otherwise his counsels, the more his counsels have taken the form of precise and pressing injunctions; so that at last the bishops, obliged to submit or openly to disobey, have had, much to their disgust, to give up resistance. And the pope has not only put an end to this irritating conflict, but he has also missed no

occasion of recommending to the faithful the sincere acceptance of the form of government which the popular will has established in France. He has thus made a conspicuous separation of the cause of the Catholic religion from the cause of the monarchy. Henceforth a good Catholic, in France, can be without scruple a Republican in fact and in name.

An ally of this magnitude is always a little embarrassing, especially when he presents himself uninvited. The Republicans regard Leo as a very politic pope, a man of superior intelligence, and one who by the breadth of his mind and by his understanding of the social conditions of modern times makes a strong contrast with his predecessor, Pius IX. But the majority observe with some disquietude his friendly attitude toward the republic. So much graciousness puts them on the defensive. They feel that the rabid enemies of the existing government, by suddenly transforming themselves into its supporters, can be more dangerous in the ranks of the majority than in the ranks of the opposition, and that, above all, if they should become the strongest faction in this majority a formidable eruption would forthwith break out, sweeping away the work of the past twenty years. The Republicans, therefore, are disposed to see in this sudden conversion, not so much a sincere adhesion to the republic, as a clever move against which they must guard. Then, too, the intervention of the pope in the home policy of France gives them serious worry. Is there no danger in an authority that can be exercised over a large number of electors? It can let loose a tempest just as it can calm one. Leo is very old. Who will guarantee that his successor will not follow an entirely different line of conduct? Now, a pope hostile to the Republican government would perhaps find his counsel followed with as much ardor, at least by the higher clergy, as the ill-will encountered by Leo XIII. At the present time this quarter is tranquil, but it may well hold in store for the future more than a painful surprise.

In the region of economics there is a manifestation of the beginnings of a still, but an already perceptible, reaction against protection, which has been dominant in the commercial policy of France for three years. Its victory has been complete. It was planned with great forethought. The agricultural and industrial interests that needed protection, instructed by long and hard experience, had learned to consider themselves united in interest. They joined forces and formed a kind of indissoluble combination. Together they attained what each demanded. But they have perhaps abused their advantage. Many

violent complaints have been heard. The interests that need free trade are in turn suffering and are disturbed. Although the two Chambers are actually protected (the Senate, at least, as much as the Chamber of Deputies), they will nevertheless be obliged to yield a point if public opinion becomes more pressing. It is possible that public opinion has been influenced by the defeat just sustained by the partisans of high protection and of the McKinley bill in the United States. A return to the policy of free trade is not to be thought of; that is, it is at least unlikely so long as a complete trial of the new tariff has not been made. But we have reason to believe that protection will be obliged, as the saying is, to water its wine.

The reaction against protection would at once become more rapid if, as many think, it led to an increase in the price of the necessities of life. In this event public opinion would not long endure an economic system unfavorable to the welfare of the poorer classes. There is at the present time a popular impression that the misery of the poor is a social injustice: to lessen it if one can is a duty, to aggravate it would in any case be a crime. Can this be called socialism? No, if this word is taken in its rigid acceptation. However, there is no denying that socialism attracts more and more the interest of the public. People are saying that the relations of capital and labor are not what they ought to be, that there must be some change in the method of distribution of wealth in order to make it more just. The demand that misery be diminished by better social organization, that the most shocking inequalities be corrected, at least to a certain degree, by the intervention of the state—this is certainly a socialistic idea, and it has of late made great progress in France. We have socialists of all kinds—"possibilists," "collectionists," "Christian socialists," without counting all those that have no clear views and feel simply a general sympathy with the masses and their claims against capital.

But as soon as they have to go beyond vague generalities and propose something positive and precise, the difficulties begin. On the one hand, many people lean toward a sentimental socialism so long as this does not menace their revenue; but they make a complete change of attitude as soon as their purse has to suffer. On the other hand, the socialists are far from being in accord among themselves: not only their discussion of principles, but, above all, their personal quarrels paralyze their action and rob them of nearly all their power, principally at the time of elections. The masses have not had political training, and it is often their ill-fortune to give their confidence to un-

worthy leaders. However, in spite of its drawbacks, the working-men's party is making progress and appears destined still to do something if it avoid all compromise, however slight, with the anarchists.

Lack of space prevents me from characterizing here the new tendencies that are now manifesting themselves in art and literature, particularly in the novel, which seems to be turning from the excess of brutal naturalism without losing the advantages of realistic exactitude. But I cannot close this article without recalling the memory of Ernest Renan, whose death has been a great blight upon the literature of the year just closing. Renan was undoubtedly the foremost of the French prose-writers of this century and one of the foremost in the rich literary history of France. We may dispute the value of his learning, the solidity of his historical work, the profundity of his philosophical thought; nevertheless we cannot forget that he was one of the first in France to assimilate the results of German biblical criticism and to render accessible to the great public the doctrines of Hegel and Schopenhauer. But whatever judgment posterity may pass upon him in this regard, two facts are undeniable: first, the extraordinary influence that Renan has exercised upon the minds of his generation, which, like him, divided between diverse tendencies and preoccupied with being sincere with themselves, have tried to preserve religious sentiment without faith.

Then his incomparable charm as a writer! With him, art attains to that supreme degree of perfection where it is no longer perceived. His natural and exquisite style seems to flow from a spring: its harmony is as unobtrusive as scholarly. His prose, with its gentle and smiling irony, is winged, like Plato's. Renan has had this privilege of the greatest writers: his word has been able to reach every one. He filled the vast expanse between the heights of philosophical and historical science and the jaded curiosity of the ordinary reader. This professor of Hebrew at the College of France, this decipherer of Semitic inscriptions, this assiduous contributor to the "*Journal Asiatique*," could also give the most exquisite treat to lovers of literary style when it pleased him to refresh himself with a philosophical fantasy, or when he consented to write his recollections of his childhood and youth. France still possesses thinkers and writers, but no writer with both his largeness and his subtlety of thought; no thinker whose words have the seductive magic of Renan and who knows like him how to touch the heart.

L. LÉVY-BRUHL.

GERMAN SOCIALISM AND LITERARY STERILITY.

IN 1791 appeared a little book called "Ideas for Defining the Limits of the Activity of the State," by a youthful philosopher who afterward became one of the prominent statesmen of his age, Wilhelm von Humboldt. In opposition to the antique doctrine, which absolutely sacrifices the individual to the state, the author regards the state as a necessary evil, which, in the interests of personal liberty, must be confined to the narrowest limits. According to him, its only justifiable task is to provide for external and internal safety, and he denies its right of meddling with other questions of general or individual welfare, because such interference tends to suppress personal initiative and to constrain the citizens into a uniformity degrading to character. This theory, an anticipation of the views of the most radical wing of the later Manchester school, was a revolt against the prevailing German system of paternal government, which meddled with the smallest details of private life. The Prussian Code (*Landrecht*) of that time, for instance, prescribed that every healthy mother was in duty bound to suckle her child herself.

But Humboldt's theory, in itself influenced by Rousseau's doctrines, was untenable and afterward gave way to the exactly opposite one of Hegel. Hegel regarded the state as the realization of the moral idea, which thinks and knows itself and executes what it knows and wills; consequently the state is a reasonable being in itself and the principal duty of the individual is to be a member of it. In practice the system prevailing in Germany till 1848 was that of a well-meaning, honest, and intelligent bureaucracy, which, particularly in Prussia, realized great progress, but left little room to individual activity in public life. The battle then was about the constitution, the respective rights of the Crown and the Chambers, the individual rights of citizens, while at the same time the power of the ubiquitous bureaucracy remained unshaken. It was only during the time of reaction which followed this period that some eminent lawyers, particularly Gneist and Bucher, showed by their studies that the gist of Anglo-Saxon liberty lay not in the parliamentary

system but in the local self-government, in the administration of affairs by the citizens themselves, and in the independence of the magistrates.

The truth of this leading idea was soon universally acknowledged and realized by the Prussian organization of circles (corresponding somewhat to English-American counties) of 1872 (amended in 1881), and by the organization of provinces in 1875, both of which, first enacted for the old provinces, were gradually and with modifications extended to the whole monarchy. Formerly the provinces and circles were only administrative divisions of the state, while the centre of gravity was lying in the government districts (*Regierungsbezirke*); with the new organization an organic division was effected into provinces, circles, and local communities (parishes). The centre of gravity has now become the circle, which has a preëminently rural character, cities of more than twenty-five thousand inhabitants forming independent townships.

This was a real organization of self-government, but there were two drawbacks to it: first, the work was not begun at the foundation by the organization of the rural communities, a thorny task indeed, only completed for the seven eastern provinces of Prussia by the law of July 3, 1891; secondly, the government districts (*Regierungsbezirke*) were maintained, its president being now assisted by an executive committee, which at the same time exercises the functions of an administrative court of justice for the district. This has greatly complicated the administration, doubts often arising about the competence of the different organs, which must be decided by the superior court of administrative justice at Berlin. Similar institutions exist in the middle and minor German states, into the details of which it would lead too far to enter; but, taken in all, their organization undoubtedly constitutes a real progress, which has given the necessary sound foundation to representative government in Germany.

Important as this politico-administrative change was, the social movement during the last twenty years was of a still wider range. Social questions in themselves are indeed as old as society itself. The first man to direct attention to the paramount importance of social problems and the condition of the working classes was Professor Huber, but his indefatigable exertions were crowned with little success. Perhaps, too, because politically he was an absolutist, more attention was given to the eloquent expositions of Professor Riehl, who first in his book, "The Civil Society," and in further numerous writings, in-

sisted that the social structure of a nation was decisive of its political organization.

But the man who practically brought forward the social question as the topic of the day in Germany was Ferdinand Lassalle. Morally, Lassalle was a man of the lowest order, a modern Alcibiades. Accustomed to good fare, he never spent a farthing for the benefit of the working classes, and he used them only as a footing for his personal ends, which culminated in his becoming president of a German republic. Moreover, his scientific doctrines were not those of an independent thinker: the whole of his polemics against the existing order of society was borrowed from the writings of Karl Marx, without credit to the author; and the only positive proposition he advanced, that of establishing manufactures with state help, was not an original one and had proved unpractical by the wreck of the French *Ateliers Nationaux* of 1848. But he was a powerful demagogue, and by his eloquence he stirred the masses; he persuaded them of the truth of the pretended iron law of wages, which never allowed the working classes to rise above the level absolutely necessary for existence.

After his death the movement was taken in hand by more consequent followers, such as Liebknecht and Bebel, and soon became a power, gradually increasing by the introduction of universal suffrage, which first gave the lower classes the possibility of exercising a practical influence in public affairs. These men, in different shades, represent socialism, a word first used long ago by a disciple of Saint-Simon, Pierre Leroux, who, as he said, coined the expression in opposition to individualism, and held it to signify an organization in which the individual was sacrificed to society. In its extreme, such a system never has existed and never will exist. It is also wrong to maintain that the socialists of to-day would abolish all property, in the sense that no one could have anything of his own, and the wild hostility against all human and Divine order which many of them undoubtedly show is not founded in the essence of socialism. But men who widely differ from the social democrats have also adopted the name, sometimes given to parties as a nickname, and thus much confusion has arisen by the indiscriminate use of this term. We must therefore establish what is the real gist of socialism in order to see clearly, before we can discuss the different social parties. It is simply the doctrine which aims at replacing individual production by collective production.

The socialists do not impugn the necessity of the division of

labor, but maintain that by its present organization the higher classes, if not by law yet by practice, turn to an undue advantage the work of the lower classes. The law does not prevent the laborer from doing a certain kind of work, but the freedom of choice to work where he likes practically does not exist; the liberty of trade is in fact that of choosing the work he cannot but do, or starve. The workmen as the slaves of capital are in fact the disinherited. They are commanded, as Marx says, by the employer, not because the employer has special capacity for directing, but because he has the necessary capital for combining the forces of production. Thus the workmen do not get the full produce of their work, but only as much as is absolutely necessary for their existence. The present capital is the result of conquest, serfdom, privileges, plundering the colonies, sequestered church property, and of that process of forming new capital at the expense of the working classes, which are by themselves unable to contend against it. The capital shall not be suppressed, but it must, together with the production, become collective.

How this is to be realized German socialists have never clearly explained; the more rational demand a centralized organization, and the hour for this, according to Marx, will have come when the present process of accumulating capital has reached its climax; then "the usurpers will be expropriated." This expression can hardly be understood otherwise than that their property will be confiscated for the general benefit. The so-called May Programme of 1875 demands that the state shall organize, under the democratic control of the working classes, societies for every branch of production which, in their totality, shall represent the socialist commonwealth. Thus there would be an end of all competition, money would become useless, and all work would be paid by assignments giving right to a certain amount of commodities accumulated in public stores. How this best of worlds is to be set at work, our socialists have never said. The liberal member for the *Reichstag*, Eugene Richter, has written a very amusing pamphlet exposing the general confusion which would arise in this state of the future. One of the more moderate socialists, Rodbertus, says: "The state must make provision in order to guarantee to the workman for the average work of eight to ten hours wages corresponding to the present social condition of the working classes and the state of national production." But he adds himself, "But will it ever be possible to establish such provision?" and he does not answer his question.

These economical problems are far too intricate for the understanding of men who have only gone through the elementary schools. The great bulk of German social democrats are simply people discontented with their present situation. If they read at all, it is the party papers and cheap popular books or novels, cleverly compiled to excite the passions of the masses by incendiary diatribes against the existing order of society, and painting in glowing colors the material well-being which would await them with the victory of socialism. In fact, social democracy in Germany is not so much a party doctrine as a creed. These ignorant masses do not discern that the very name of the party is in itself a contradiction, that in the socialistic state there would be no democracy, but a despotism compared to which Russian autocracy would be liberty, because the state becoming the sole employer, distributing the work and paying for it, everything would be in the hands of the leaders. Even now there is no party in which these are so absolutely the masters; they give the cry for everything and are implicitly obeyed; any opposition is firmly put down. Their policy is above all to excite hatred, to revile religion and to preach materialism; to discourage thrift by attracting the workmen to frequent socialist meetings, where they spend their wages in drink and are intoxicated by the speeches of the agitators. Their success is in great part the consequence of Bismarck's ill-advised social policy. After coquetting with the socialists, using them against the progressists, he enacted in October, 1878, an exceptional law against social democracy, placing its members outside the pale of the law.

But whoever imagines to put a stop to a social movement by coercive measures shows his complete ignorance of human nature. This measure had the contrary effect of making social democrats martyrs of a persecuted cause, and acted as an iron circle, welding them into a solid phalanx, as was proved by their constantly increasing numbers in the elections. At the same time Bismarck introduced a series of measures in the sense of state socialism, declaring that it was utterly indifferent to him whether they might be called socialistic (sitting of the *Reichstag*, April 2, 1881), and he even openly recognized the right of labor (sitting of May 9, 1884). He thus acknowledged socialism in principle, which is organizing labor by the state and yet is an impossibility, because the state can neither find work for every one, nor is it competent to fix the wages for every laborer according to merit.

Such authoritative utterances, disguised as practical Christianity,

but defended by a terminology borrowed from the leaders of socialism and coinciding with the outlawing of social democrats, went far to accord to the movement that impulse which, according to all historical experience, is the strongest and most dangerous—the sting of suffering injustice and at the same time the recognition that the socialist demands are just in themselves. They could only increase the excitement of the masses, the more as the Chancellor strenuously resisted all attempts of the *Reichstag* to pass laws for the protection of women's and children's labor, for Sunday rest, for the amelioration of factory inspection, etc., and as his protective fiscal policy, taxing heavily the necessities of life, was mainly in the interests of the great land-owners and manufacturers. As to the social laws which he carried, the compulsory insurance against sickness and accidents is at least practicable, for the danger of the workman's being visited by such evils is definite and concerns only a limited number of cases; but the insurance against old age and invalidity is a totally different question, as it will comprise more than ninety per cent of the insured.

First, the handling of the law requires an enormous bureaucratic administration, the task of which will be to decide the innumerable litigious cases. Then the burden of those who have to raise the necessary funds is very considerable. It is divided between the workingmen, who have to pay twenty-one *pfennige* per week, the law not saying whence they shall raise their contribution when they are without work; the proprietors of factories are to contribute, according to a preliminary calculation, fifty-five million marks, a sum which, in addition to those funds they have to pay for accidents and sickness, is very heavy, and can only cause the employers to try to discharge part of this expense on the workingmen by a reduction of wages. The last third, also about fifty-five millions, is to be paid by the imperial exchequer, a provision which is open to strong objections, for to fix such a contribution as a legal claim is very different from the subsidiary local relief of the indigent. The state cannot make presents except from what its citizens pay as taxes, and the larger part of imperial taxation is derived from duties on articles of primary necessity, such as corn, flour, wood, salt, etc. The stipend which the workingmen can claim at seventy years of age will be for the most part so insufficient that the receivers will remain indigent. The law, carried only by a diffident and narrow majority, which acknowledged that it was a leap in the dark, will prove a costly failure.

For the rest, the measures carried after the Chancellor's fall have much improved the situation. The tacit abandonment of the law against social democracy has had the beneficent consequence that the socialists have begun to quarrel among themselves. The measures already mentioned for the protection of labor have been carried, factory inspection has been ameliorated, useful reforms, such as that of the income tax, by which the wealthier classes have to pay according to their real revenue, and the lowering of customs, however insufficient, on the necessities of life, by commercial treaties, have shown the genuine care of the present government for the welfare of the working classes; and if it sometimes lacks decision in its reforms, as was lately shown in the Prussian mining act where it submitted to the demands of the great owners, it is at least well-meaning and open to reason, so that the outlook is not unpromising.

The greatest drawback still is the protective system introduced in 1879 by Bismarck, formerly an ardent free-trader. First, it has made life dearer by plundering the masses for the benefit of the few, because even if the wages have risen, as is maintained but not proved by the defenders of the tariff, they have not the same purchasing power; then by excluding foreign, it has increased the internal competition and led to over-production; while other states raising their tariffs equally have rendered more difficult the access of their markets to German products. Therefore industry and trade are in a state of stagnation. The manufacturers endeavor to mitigate this evil by forming trusts limiting the production and distributing the provision of customers by a sort of rotation. But the usefulness of this measure is doubtful. First, such trusts come forward only when over-production has made a limitation of work necessary; consequently they have led to the discharging of workmen, who are without employment; further, very large manufactories of articles the sale of which is subject to great vacillations are not likely to enter upon such restriction. Even the existing unions are liable to dissolution by new inventions or by a rising condition of the market, as those members who may profit by such circumstances will not renounce the benefits arising from them. But the worst is that if the trusts really succeed in a certain branch they monopolize the prices, maintaining them at the level procured by the protective duties and realizing the totality of the premium accorded by such duties. The root of the evil is the artificial fostering of industry and agriculture by protection, and the only cure lies in attacking this root.

The extension of the large industry has brought the smaller craftsmen into a difficult situation. Small and large establishments are swallowed up in limited liability societies; new inventions make constantly labor in itself more productive, but reduce the number of workmen; and this economy of labor is not outweighed by the extension of production—on the contrary, the supply of hands exceeds the demand, and thus the lower classes can absorb only a small quantity of the goods thrown upon the market, for their scanty means have not sufficient purchasing power. This tendency is increased by the German poor-law, which provides that every person who has resided two years in a place has a right to public charity; this promotes the improvident conclusion of marriages and over-population, as, according to experience, the indigent families are those which multiply most, and self-restraint is least to be expected from uneducated proletarians.

But Germany suffers also from an intellectual over-production. All professions are over-crowded. It was fondly believed up to our days that the state had no more important task than to render the acquiring of knowledge as easy as possible, and for that purpose to establish many higher schools. But it was not asked whether there was room enough for employing men when their education was finished. Taking, for instance, the career of law in Prussia, we find that there were (October 1, 1891) 1,851 "assessors," *i.e.*, men who have not only passed through the gymnasium and the university, but have already served the state gratis for about five years, while the annual average demand is one hundred. There are more than seven thousand examined architects without a fixed employment; it is the same with engineers, teachers in classics, mathematics, etc. These unemployed forces are particularly attracted to the great capitals, because every one hopes that with the many chances they offer he will find a gap into which he may jump. If he has means to enable him to wait he may sometimes succeed, but if he has not he will probably go to the dogs. Men of university training are, almost without exception, capable only of intellectual work. If they do not succeed in their branch they cannot become tailors or carpenters; they must take to pettifogging, giving lessons, copying, writing for inferior papers, etc. There are lawyers, physicians, doctors of philosophy, among those who are regularly relieved by the Berlin Poor Board. All these men are, of course, discontented with the present state of things, and ready to join with those forces which hold out hope of overthrowing it. Nor

are female candidates wanting in this proletariat; all those who give cheap lessons, write mediocre novels for low-class journals, or work for shops at starvation wages, are swelling the army of social revolution.

Socialist writers do not deny the material and intellectual over-production, but they find in the vicious circle of excessive demand, crises, and stagnation the proof that the production must be systematically regulated by the community. This, however, would imply the cessation of individual composition, for as long as it exists the producers will make mistakes in the calculation of supply and demand, and even the officials of the socialistic state will be exposed to such mistakes unless the individual consumption is fixed per head once for all, as it is in a jail—a remedy worse than the evil, as it would suppress all personal liberty. On the other hand, it is clear that over-population cannot be refuted by the fact that only a third part of the earth is properly cultivated. Over-population is the disproportion of the means of subsistence to the number of men in a given district; it is therefore always local, and the over-crowded industrial cities of Saxony can find no relief in the knowledge that the valley of the Mississippi has still room for millions if these have not the means of getting there.

These economic facts have of course given rise to other social parties and doctrines. Curiously enough, the political liberals belonged mostly to the economical conservatives, *i.e.*, to the Manchester school. This party undoubtedly deserves the credit of having done away with the remnants of mediæval restraint of labor; by its exertions the feudal restrictions upon landed property and the old guilds, which confined the exercising of a craft to a limited number of privileged persons, were suppressed, and progress was made toward free trade. But in building up a system for which they claimed universal validity, they overlooked the fact that the economic development much depended upon other social factors. The historical school showed that the law prevailing in a community was of the greatest importance for political economy. "Every economic act," says Roscher, "presupposes forms of law; the simplest things, such as the sale of a commodity, its delivery to the purchaser, and the payment of the price, repose on certain prescriptions regulating the fulfilment of contracts." And no domain of the law is in this respect more important than the laws of succession regarding a man's property after his death.

Yet all these laws vary much in different countries; therefore it is

impossible to build up an abstract deductive economic system without regard to them, and the tendency of the Manchester school to reduce the state to an establishment of insurance against external attacks and for maintaining internal order is practically out of the question. Another school founded in 1872, that of the Pulpit-Socialists (so called because its chief representatives were professors), went further; without subscribing to the socialist doctrines, they admitted that there was some foundation for the grievances of the social democracy. The workmen indeed could never obtain the full produce of the total labor process; the idea of estimating the value of a commodity exclusively by the work bestowed upon it was wrong; that value was, on the contrary, regulated by the law of supply and demand, and an organized collective production was, with the universal competition of the world's markets, a chimera. Yet it was to be acknowledged that the workman, free by law to do what he chose, was virtually dependent upon the employer, and the state as the natural protector of the weak was bound to assist him in securing fair terms. They have had some influence upon the above-mentioned social policy of the government. Separate party branches are formed by the conservative agrarian reformers and by the Christian social party. The former insist that modern legislation has been preëminently in favor of the mobile capital, and that the landed property has thus been prejudiced. Backed by the influence of Prince Bismarck, they have obtained undue privileges in taxation, but the real cause of their distress lies in the indebtedness of the large estates, arising from the fact that the eldest son inherits the property but has to mortgage it in favor of his younger brethren.

The Christian social party is much given to these same tendencies. But it particularly insists upon the necessity of maintaining Christian institutions, and at the same time is hostile to the Jews. Now, I am far from contending that this influence exists and is not a beneficent one. The German Jews, forming little more than one per cent of the population, exercise by their wealth and in the press a power which is often used against Christianity. But this is greatly an inheritance of the past, during which Jews were prohibited from cultivating the land or entering upon any other career than trade; so they naturally became almost exclusively trades-people and money-lenders; and I confess that in this whole anti-Semitic movement I have not perceived one practical idea for limiting the Jewish influence, for it is clearly impossible to deny the Jews the suf-

frage and the free choice of profession when the constitution of the Empire establishes that civil rights are to be absolutely independent of the religious creed.

German science maintains its high standard, and fortunately it is, as likewise art and literature, not centralized as in France, where Paris absorbs the provinces. If Berlin honorably maintains its place, Munich, Leipzig, Bonn, and other universities are important centres of scientific activity, maintaining a life of their own, where talents find more room for free and original development and are less subject to the caprices of fashion. As regards art, Munich perhaps is superior to the Prussian capital, which certainly has painters and sculptors of genius, but where most of them are too much spoiled by society, being dependent not upon the real connoisseurs, but upon the "*nouveaux riches*," who want something out of the ordinary to decorate their gilded drawing-rooms. The Munich opera, too, is probably superior to that of Berlin, and so is the Royal drama; on the other hand, Berlin has, besides the Royal stage, several high-class theatres, such as the German and the Berlin theatres for higher dramatic art and the Lessing Theatre for the modern social drama, in all of which the acting is excellent. But it is not only the princely residences that have good plays; nearly every larger city has its theatre, for which the citizens make considerable sacrifices, and some, as for instance those of Hamburg, Mannheim, Cologne, maintain a high standard. Music in general is a preëminently German art, and so you find everywhere excellent concerts. As to musical composition, Wagner is still the great man of the day, and the representations of his operas at Bayreuth attract large cosmopolitan audiences. Brahms is the only other living composer of note, the last leader of the romantic school, Robert Franz, having just died.

But if musical and dramatic art in Germany deserves all praise, the same cannot be said of literature. It is notable that the German victories and the enthusiasm with which the unification of the Fatherland was hailed have not produced a single first-rate poet. Of the numberless plays which have seen the footlights during two decades, scarcely any has achieved lasting fame. An exception may perhaps be made for Sudermann's "Honor" and some of Gerhard Hauptmann's dramas, which show a considerable talent; but the rest of the new school of the "young ones" who fill the "*Freie Bühne*" revel in coarse naturalism, and on the other side Wildenbruch, whose talent in higher dramatic art at first looked promising, has sunk to a court

poet. As a novelist he has given some first-rate pictures of small size, but he is certainly surpassed by Sudermann's powerful novels, "*Frau Sorge*," "*Der Katzensteg*," "*Die Geschwister*." For the rest there is little worth mentioning. Paul Heyse in his latest novel, "*Merlin*," has launched into an elaborate attack against the naturalistic school, which, directed against the coarse and feeble imitators of Zola, is certainly well founded; but the book in itself is a decided failure. Ebers continues to write a volume per year of his dull historic novels, and so does Felix Dahn in his falsification of history. As a proof of the deplorably bad taste prevailing in northern Germany, we may quote the fifty editions of Stinde's "*Buchholz Family*" and its sequels, which embody the very essence of Berlinese platitude. The reason why so few German novels and dramas give a really faithful picture of the higher society is that, as a rule, the authors are not admitted into its circles. This is still more true of the journalists; there are of course among them clever and well-educated men who would be an ornament to any drawing-room.

It is not easy to give a sketch of German society in general, as it differs so widely in its various centres. As to the nobility, there are of course magnates made rich by the extension of their estates, but their number is comparatively limited, as the younger sons inherit the title without the property, and not having sufficient means to support the noble name, are obliged to serve in the army or the civil service. Nevertheless, with the exception of those who make rich marriages in the wealthy *bourgeoisie*, they mostly keep apart, and if they are brought into contact with other classes by politics, literature, or art (the women by common activity in charities), this does not lead to social intimacy. The higher officials, but particularly the wealthy *bourgeoisie*, form the backbone of the middle classes; the former, if they have not some fortune of their own, are frequently in straitened circumstances, as the salaries are low, and yet their social position forces them to keep up certain appearances. However, they contrive to pull through honorably and maintain their state by a strong sense of duty and honor traditional in German service, and the same must be said of the lower officials, although it is scarcely credible how they can live upon their miserable salaries. Among the good old stock of the *bourgeoisie* there are very rich merchants and mill-owners, who as a rule have a simple style of living: their houses are handsomely furnished, they give to their children the best education,

they encourage the fine arts, they do much in the way of charities, but all this without show.

A decided contrast to this class, as well as to the nobility, is formed by the "*nouveaux riches*." Their fortunes have no history even if they buy estates; they owe their wealth to clever speculations or to happy inventions; a certain number of them have acquired their fortunes at the exchange or in trade, most of them in industrial enterprises, and the riches realized in some of them are often fabulous. This class is to-day found in every large capital or mercantile place, but it is comparatively more numerous and influential in Germany, as it has not to contend against a firmly-established wealthy aristocracy as in England or a *Faubourg St. Germain* as in Paris. The way in which these mushroom grandees spend their money corresponds generally to that in which they have got it; they rarely have ideal interests, and if they buy pictures or subscribe to charities it is to show that they can afford it; they invite noblemen and artists to adorn their drawing-rooms decorated in gorgeously bad style, and, on the whole, the coarse display of their upstart riches does more than anything to foster the hatred of the lower classes against the higher ones, while such an antagonism is rarely shown toward the nobleman who lives upon his estate, caring for his peasants, or toward merchants who by long and hard labor have acquired wealth. May we hope that this honorable class will have the force to absorb those nabobs?

But if we augur well of Germany's future, it is particularly because we have a stout peasantry, cultivating their own hereditary estates, and a strong class of intelligent craftsmen. Both of these form the most solid bulwark against social democracy, and it is the strengthening of these elements which should be the principal task of the government.

GEFFCKEN.

CAN MORAL CONDUCT BE TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS?

WITHIN a few years a strong demand has arisen for ethical teaching in the schools. Teachers themselves have become interested, and wherever they are gathered the question, "What shall this teaching be?" is eagerly discussed. It was the chief topic of discussion last summer at the National Council of Teachers at Saratoga. The educational journals are full of it. Within a year there have been published seven books on the subject. Several of them—it would be hardly an exaggeration to say all—are books of marked excellence. Seldom does so large a percentage of books in a single year, in a single country, and on a single subject reach so high a level of merit. I shall not criticise them, however, nor even engage in the popular discussion of which they form a part. That discussion concerns itself chiefly with the methods by which ethics may be taught. I wish to go behind this controversy and to raise the previous question whether ethics should be taught to boys and girls at all.

Evidently there are strong reasons why it should be. Always and everywhere it is important that men should be good. To be a good man! It is more than half the fulfilment of life. Better to miss fame, wealth, learning, than to miss righteousness. And in America, too, we must demand not the mere trifle that men shall be good for their own sakes, but in order that the life of the state may be preserved. A wide-spread righteousness is in a republic a matter of necessity. Where all rule all, each man who falls into evil courses infects his neighbor, corrupting the law and corrupting still more its enforcement. The question of manufacturing moral men becomes, accordingly, in a democracy urgent to a degree unknown in a country where but a few selected persons guide the state.

There is also special urgency at the present time. The ancient and accredited means of training youth in goodness are becoming—I will not say broken—but enfeebled and distrusted. Hitherto a large part of the moral instruction of mankind has been superintended by the clergy. In every civilized state the expensive machinery of the Church has been set up and placed in the hands of men of dignity,

because it has been believed that by no other engine can we so effectively render people upright. I still believe this, and I am pretty confident that a good many years will pass before we shall dispense with the ennobling services of our ministers. And yet it is plain that much of the work which formerly was exclusively theirs is so no longer. Much of it is performed by books, newspapers, and facilitated human intercourse. Ministers do not now speak with their old authority; they speak merely as other men speak; and we are all asking whether in the immense readjustment of faith now going on something of their peculiar power of moral as well as of intellectual guidance may not slip away.

The home, too, which has hitherto been the fundamental agency for fostering morality in the young, is just now in sore need of repair. We can no longer depend upon it alone for moral guardianship. It must be supplemented, possibly reconstructed. New dangers to it have arisen. In the complex civilization of city life, in the huge influx of untutored foreigners, in the substitution of the apartment for the house, in the greater ease of divorce, in the larger freedom now given to children, to women, in the breaking down of class distinctions and the readier accessibility of man to man, there are perils for boy and girl which did not exist before. And while these changes in the outward form of domestic life are advancing, certain protections against moral peril which the home formerly afforded have decayed. It would be curious to ascertain in how many families of our immediate time daily prayers are used, and to compare the number with that of those in which the holy practice was common fifty years ago. It would be interesting to know how frequently parents to-day converse with their children on subjects serious, pious, or personal. The hurry of modern life has swept away many uplifting intimacies. Even in families which prize them most, a few minutes only can be had each day for such fortifying things. Domestic training has shrunk, while the training of hap-hazard companions, the training of the streets, the training of the newspapers, have acquired a potency hitherto unknown.

It is no wonder, then, that in such a moral crisis the community turns to that agency whose power is already felt beneficently in a multitude of other directions, the school. The cry comes to us teachers, "We established you at first to make our children wiser; we want you now for a profounder service. Can you not unite moral culture with intellectual?" It may be; though discipline of the passions is

enormously more difficult than discipline of the mind. But at any rate we must acknowledge that our success in the mental field is largely staked on our success in the moral. Our pupils will not learn their lessons in arithmetic if they have not already made some progress in concentration, in self-forgetfulness, in acceptance of duty. Nor can we touch them in a single section of their nature and hope for results. Instruction must go all through. We are obliged to treat each little human being as a whole if we would have our treatment wholesome. And then, too, we have had such successes elsewhere that we may well feel encouraged for the new task. Nearly the whole of life is now advantageously surveyed in one form or another in our schools and colleges; and we have usually found that advance in instruction develops swiftly into betterment of practice. We teach, for example, social science and analyze the customs of the past; but soon we find bands of young men and women in all the important cities criticising the government of those cities, suggesting better modes of voting, wiser forms of charity; and before we know it the community is transformed. We cannot teach the science of electricity without improving our street-cars, or at least without raising hopes that they may some day be improved. Each science claims its brother art. Theory creeps over into action. It will not stay by itself; it is pervasive, diffusive. And as this pervasive character of knowledge in the lower ranges is perceived, we teachers are urged to press forward its operation in the higher also. Why have we no school-books on human character, the highest of all themes? Once direct the attention of our pupils to this great topic, and may we not ultimately bring about that moral enlargement for which the time waits?

I have stated somewhat at length the considerations in behalf of ethical instruction in the schools because those considerations on the whole appear to me illusory. I cannot believe such instruction possible. Were it so, of course it would have my eager support. But I see in it grave difficulties, difficulties imperfectly understood; and a difficulty disregarded becomes a danger, possibly a catastrophe. Let me explain in a few words where the danger lies.

Between morals and ethics there is a sharp distinction, frequently as the two words are confused. Usage, however, shows the meaning. If I call a man a man of bad morals, I evidently mean to assert that his conduct is corrupt; he does things which the majority of mankind believe he ought not to do. It is his practice I denounce, not his

intellectual formulation. In the same way we speak of the petty morals of society, referring in the phrase to the small practices of mankind, the unnumbered actions which disclose good or bad principles unconsciously hidden within. It is entirely different when I call a man's ethics bad. I then declare that I do not agree with his comprehension of moral principles. His practice may be entirely correct. I do not speak of that; it is his understanding that is at fault. For ethics, as was long ago remarked, is related to morals as geometry to carpentry: the one is a science, the other its practical embodiment. In the former, consciousness is a prime factor; from the latter it often is absent altogether.

Now, what is asked of us teachers is that we invite our pupils to direct study of the principles of right conduct, that we awaken their consciousness about their modes of life, and so by degrees impart to them a science of righteousness. This is theory, ethics; not morals, practice; and in my judgment it is dangerous business, with the slenderest chance of success. Useless is it to say that the aim of such instruction need not be ethical, but moral. Whatever the ultimate aim, the procedure of instruction is of necessity scientific. It operates through intelligence and only gets into life so far as the instructed intelligence afterward becomes a director. This is the work of books and teachers everywhere: they discipline the knowing act, and so bring within their influence that multitude of matters which depend for excellent adjustment on clear and ordered knowledge. Such a work, however, is evidently but partial. Many matters do not take their rise in knowledge at all. Morality does not. The boy as soon as born is adopted unconsciously into some sort of moral world. While he is growing up and is thinking of other things habits of character are seizing him. By the time he comes to school he is incrustated with customs. The idea that his moral education can be fashioned by his teacher in the same way as his education in geography is fantastic. It is only his ethical training which may now begin. The attention of such a boy may be called to habits already formed; he may be led to dissect those habits, to pass judgment on them as right or wrong, and to inquire why and how they may be bettered. This is the only power teaching professes: it critically inquires, it awakens interest, it inspects facts, it discovers laws. And this process applied in the field of character yields ethics, the systematized knowledge of human conduct. It does not primarily yield morals, improved performance.

Nor indeed is performance likely to be improved by ethical en-

lightenment if, as I maintain, the whole business of self-criticism in the child is unwholesome. By a course of ethical training a young person will, in my view, much more probably become demoralized than invigorated. What we ought to desire, if we would have a boy grow morally sturdy, is that introspection should not set in early and that he should not become accustomed to watch his conduct. And the reason is obvious. Much as we incline to laud our prerogative of consciousness and to assert that it is precisely what distinguishes us from our poor relations, the brutes, we still must acknowledge that consciousness has certain grave defects when exalted into the position of a guide. Large tracts of life lie altogether beyond its control, and the conduct which can be affected by it is apt—especially in the initial stages—to be rendered vague, slow, vacillating, and distorted. Only instinctive action is swift, sure, and firm. For this reason we distrust the man who calculates his goodness. We find him vulgar and repellant. We are far from sure that he will keep that goodness long. If I offer to shake hands with a man with precisely that degree of warmth which I have decided it is well to express, will he willingly take my hand? A few years ago there were some nonsense verses on this subject going the rounds of the English newspapers. They seemed to me capitally to express the morbid influence of consciousness in a complex organism. They ran somewhat as follows:

“The centipede was happy, quite,
Until the toad for fun
Said, ‘Pray which leg comes after which?’
This worked her mind to such a pitch
She lay distracted in a ditch,
Considering how to run.”

And well she might! Imagine the hundred legs steered consciously—now it is time to move this one, now to move that! The creature would never move at all, but would be as incapable of action as Hamlet himself. And are the young less complex than centipedes? Shall their little lives be suddenly turned over to a fumbling guide? Shall they not rather be stimulated to unconscious rectitude, gently led into those blind but holy habits which make goodness easy, and so be saved from the perilous perplexities of marking out their own way? So thought the sagacious Aristotle. To the crude early opinion of Socrates that virtue is knowledge, he opposed the ripened doctrine that it is practice and habit.

This, then, is the inexpugnable objection to the ethical instruction

of children: the end sought is performance, not knowledge, and we cannot by supplying the latter induce the former. But do not these considerations cut the ground from under practical teaching of every kind? Instruction is given in other subjects in the hope that it may finally issue in strengthened action, and I have acknowledged that as a fact this hope is repeatedly justified. Why may not a similar result appear in ethics? What puts a difference between that study and electricity, social science, or manual training? This: according as the work studied includes a creative element and is intended to give expression to a personal life, consciousness becomes an increasingly dangerous dependence. Why are there no classes and text-books for the study of deportment? Is it because manners are unimportant? No, but because they make the man, and to be of any worth must be an expression of his very nature. Conscious study would tend to distort rather than to fashion them. Their practice cannot be learned in the same way as carpentry.

But an analogy more enlightening for showing the inaptitude of the child for direct study of the laws of conduct is found in the case of speech. Between speech and morals the analogies are subtle and wide. So minute are they that speech might almost be called a kind of vocal morality. Like morality, it is something possessed long before we are aware of it, and it becomes perfect or debased with our growth. We employ it to express ourselves and to come into ordered contact with our neighbor. By it we confer benefits and by it receive benefits in turn. Rigid as it is in its laws, we still feel ourselves free in its use, though obliged to give to our spontaneous feelings forms constructed by people of the past. Ease, accuracy, and scope are here confessedly of vast consequence. Yet it has been found a matter of extreme difficulty to bring a young person's attention helpfully to bear upon his speech. Indirect methods seem to be the only profitable ones. Philology, grammar, rhetoric, systematic study of the laws of language, are dangerous tools for a boy below his teens. The child who is to acquire excellent speech must be encouraged to keep attention away from the words he uses and to fix it upon that which he is to express. Abstract grammar will either confound the tongue which it should ease, or else it will seem to have no connection with living reality, but to be an ingenious contrivance invented by some Dry-as-dust for the torture of school-boys.

And a similar pair of dangers await the young student of the laws of conduct. On the one hand, it is highly probable that he will not

understand what his teacher is talking about. He may learn his lesson; he may answer questions correctly; but he will assume that these things have nothing to do with him. He becomes dulled to moral distinctions, and it is the teaching of ethics that dulls him. We see the disastrous process in full operation in a neighboring field. There are countries which have regular public instruction in religion. The argument runs that schools are established to teach what is of consequence to citizens, and religion is of more consequence than anything else. Therefore introduce it, is the conclusion. Therefore keep it out, is the sound conclusion. It lies too near the life to be announced in official propositions and still to retain a recognizable meaning. I have known a large number of German young men. I have yet to meet one whose religious nature has been deepened by his instruction in school. And the lack of influence is noticeable not merely in those who have failed in the study, but quite as much in those who have had the best success. In neither case has the august discipline meant anything. The danger would be wider, the disaster from the benumbing influence more serious, if ethical instruction should be organized; wider, because morality underlies religion, and insensitiveness to the moral claim is more immediately and concretely destructive. Yet here, as in the case of religion, of manners, or of speech, the child will probably take to heart very little of what is said. At most he will assume that the text-book statement of the rules of righteousness represents the way in which the game of life is played by some people; but he will prefer to play it in his own way still. Young people are constructed with happy protective arrangements; they are enviably impervious. We pour out our choicest thoughts upon them, and if they are not suitable for the little life it draws its cover over and not a drop penetrates. So in expounding moral principles in the school-room, I believe we shall touch the child in very few moral spots. Nevertheless, it becomes dulled and hardened if it listens long to sacred words untouched.

But the benumbing influence is not the gravest danger; analogies of speech suggest a graver still. If we try to teach speech too early and really succeed in fixing the child's attention upon its tongue, we enfeeble its power of utterance. Consciousness once awakened, the child is perpetually inquiring whether the word is the right word and suspecting that it is not quite sufficiently right to be allowed free passage. Just so a momentous trouble appears when the moral consciousness has been too early stirred. That self-questioning spirit

springs up which impels its tortured possessor to be continually fingering his motives in unwholesome preoccupation with himself. Instead of entering heartily into outward interests, the watchful little moralist is "questioning about himself whether he has been as good as he should have been, and whether a better man would not have acted otherwise." No part of us is more susceptible of morbidness than the moral sense; none demoralizes more thoroughly when morbid. The trouble, too, affects chiefly those of the finer fibre. The majority of healthy children, as has been said, harden themselves against theoretic talk and it passes over them like the wind. Here and there a sensitive soul absorbs the poison and sets itself seriously to work installing duty as the mainspring of its life. We all know the unwholesome result: the person from whom spontaneity is gone, who criticises everything he does, who has lost his sense of proportion, who teases himself endlessly and teases his friends—so far as they remain his friends—about the right and wrong of each petty act. It is a disease, a moral disease, and takes the place in the spiritual life of that which the doctors are so fond of calling "nervous prostration" in the physical. Few countries have been so desolated by it as New England. It is our especial scourge. Many here carry a conscience about with them which makes us say, "How much better off they would be with none!" I declare at times when I see the ravages which conscientiousness works in our New England stock, I wish these New Englanders had never heard moral distinctions mentioned. Better their vices than their virtues. The wise teacher will extirpate the first sproutings of this weed; for a weed more difficult to extirpate when grown there is not. We run a serious risk of implanting it in our children when we undertake their class instruction in ethics.

Such, then, are some of the considerations which should give us pause when the public is clamoring at our school-house doors and saying to us teachers, "We cannot bring up our children so as to make them righteous citizens. Undertake the work for us. You have done so much already that we turn to you again and entreat your help." I think we must sadly reply, "There are limits to what we can do. If you respect us, you will not urge us to do the thing that is not ours. By pressing into certain regions we shall bring upon you more disaster than benefit."

And yet I hope every reader is dissatisfied with this result and is indisposed to give up the pressing problem at this stage. Fully as the dangers here pointed out may be acknowledged, much of a differ-

ent sort remains also true. Have we not all received a large measure of moral culture at school? And are we quite content to say that the greatest of subjects is unteachable? I would not say this; on the contrary, I hold that no college is properly organized where the teaching of ethics does not occupy a position of honor. The college, not the school, is the place for the study. It would be absurd to maintain that all other subjects of study are nutritious to man except that of his own nature; but it is far from absurd to ask that a young man first possess a nature before he undertakes to analyze it. A study useless for developing initial power may still be highly profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. Youth should be spontaneous, instinctive, ebullient; reflection whispers to the growing man. It is a sound principle of modern education that questions should not be answered before they are asked; and many of the evils that I have thus far traced are brought about by projecting upon a young mind problems which it had not yet encountered in itself. Such problems abound in the later teens and twenties, and then is the time to set about their discussion.

Yet even in college I would have ethical study more guarded than the rest. Had I the power, I would never allow it to be required of all. It should be offered only as an elective and in the later years of the course. When I entered college I was put in my Freshman year into a prescribed study of this sort. Happily I received no influence from it whatever. It passed over me without touching me; and I think it had no more effect on the majority of my classmates. Possibly some of the more reflecting took it to heart and were harmed; but in general it was a mere wasting of precious ointment which might have soothed our wounds if elected in the Senior year. Of course great teachers defy all rules; and under a Hopkins, a Seelye, or a Hyde, the distinctions of elective and prescribed become unimportant. Yet the principle is clear: wait till the young man is confronted with the problems before you invite him to their solution. Has he grown up unquestioning? Has he accepted the moral code inherited from honored parents? Can he rest in wise habits? Then let him be thankful and go his way untaught. But has he, on the other hand, felt that the moral mechanism by which he was early guided does not fit all cases? Has he found one class of duties in conflict with another? Has he discovered that the moral standards obtaining in different sections of society, in different parts of the world, are irreconcilable? In short, is he puzzled and desirous of working his way

through his puzzles, of facing them and tracking them to their beginnings? Then is he ripe for the study of ethics.

Yet when it is so undertaken, when those only are invited to partake of it who in their own hearts have heard its painful call, even then I would hedge it about with two conditions. First, it should be pursued as a science, critically, and the student should be informed at the outset that the aim of the course is knowledge, not the endeavor to make better men. And, secondly, I would insist that the students themselves do the work; that they do not passively listen to opinions set forth by their instructor, but that they address themselves to research and learn to construct moral judgments which will bear critical inspection. Some teachers, no doubt, will think it wisest to accomplish these things by tracing the course of ethics in the past, treating it as a historical science. Others will prefer, by announcing their own beliefs, to stimulate their students to criticise those beliefs and to venture on their own little constructions. The method is unimportant; it is only of consequence that the students themselves do the ethicizing, that they trace the logic of their own beliefs and do not rest in dogmatic statement. Yet such an undertaking may well sober a teacher. I never see my class in ethics come to their first lecture that I do not tremble and say to myself that I am set for the downfall of some of them. In every such studious company there must be unprepared persons whom the teacher will damage. He cannot help it. He must move calmly forward, confident in his subject, but knowing that because it is living it is dangerous.

But is this all? An elective course in college is a slender provision for supplying the needy multitude of youth with moral help. The fact is that the line which I have attempted to draw between consciousness and unconsciousness, between the age which is best directed by instinct and the age when the questioning faculties put forward their inexorable demands, is a wavering one and cannot be sharply marked. By one it is crossed at one period, by another at another. Seldom is the crossing noticed. Before we are aware, we find ourselves in sorrow on the farther side. Happy the youth who during the transition time has a wise friend at hand to answer a question, to speak a steadying word, to open up the vista which at the moment needs to be cleared! Only one in close personal touch is serviceable here; but in defect of home guidance, to us teachers falls much of the charge of developing the youthful consciousness of moral matters naturally, smoothly, and without jar. This has always been a

part of the teacher's office. So far as I can ascertain, schools of the olden time had in them a large amount of wholesome ethical training. Schools were unsystematic then; there lay no examination paper ahead of them; there was time for pause and talk. If a subject arose which the teacher regarded as of importance for his pupils' personal lives, he could lead them on to question about it, so far as he believed discussion useful. This sort of ethical training we have largely exterminated in the hurry of our time; and now that the wholesome incidental instruction is gone, we demand in the modern way that a clear-cut department of ethics shall be introduced into the curriculum. These things do not let themselves be treated in departmental fashion. The teacher must still work as a friend. He cannot be discharged from knowing when and how to stimulate a question, from discerning which boy or girl would be helped by consciousness and which would be harmed. In these higher regions our pupils cannot be approached in classes; they require individual attention; and not because we are teachers merely, but because we and they are human beings, we must be ready with spiritual aid.

But neither college instruction nor the incidental aid of priestly teachers—things which after all can affect only exceptional lives—is an adequate provision for steadyng the average boy during his formative years. Moral agencies are requisite for this, moral not ethical, agencies more covert, more encompassing, which shall surround the youth and bear him up at all times, regardless of whether he is strong in mind or will. For we mistake if we fancy that morality enters a man merely by his permission and under his own superintendence. It is not true that each of us is called on to create a scheme of conduct, nor should moral discipline be addressed to invigorating the faculties for such constructive work. It should be directed rather to accustoming the uneasy individual to adjust himself naturally to a moral order already existing, one which forms indeed the very basis of the world which he inhabits. Only so much teaching, accordingly, is needful as will habituate the child to a responsive respect for institutions. Institutions themselves will take care of him afterward. For institutions are nothing but organizations of conduct, expressing the judgment of our race as to the ways in which the usual human desires may attain their fullest orderly expression. These normal desires of ours have been known for centuries. By what ways they may meet their appropriate issue has been a matter of world experiment. Proved ways have been incorporated into racial habits, and

these being passed from father to son form the most precious inheritance which any of us receive. To such organized habits the young life at birth is handed over, and henceforth his moral education consists in bringing him to perceive that the institutions which surround him are not things foreign to him, but things which sweetly and friendly answer to his desires. To say that he matures is to say that he discovers this moral guidance all around him, perceives the world to be a moral world, and knows that his business in it is not to build it anew from the foundation, but gratefully to accept its system, while ever ready to offer such subordinate criticism or readjustment as will tend to make the whole more harmonious. To bring him into vital connection with the world he lives in is the business of his moral guardians. How far can school and college help in the work?

Just so far as they can surround those committed to their charge with the unnoticed pressure of a moral world. In the early part of this paper the dangers of premature consciousness of moral matters were pointed out, and it was insisted that ethical training should wait for the later years. Moral training, on the other hand, is always in season and can never be safely intermitted. To describe its method we might borrow from the hypnotizers their word "suggestion," for suggestion differs from ordinary teaching chiefly in a single respect: in suggestion we approach the subject while he is unconscious and while the will is dormant. Then we find that we can make the deepest impression. What we see occurring under the obscure conditions of hypnotism goes on in a less marked degree in every school-room. What we teach at unawares we may be said to teach by suggestion, and in that way it penetrates and becomes the pupil's own. If it has been moral suggestion, he finds himself when he awakes to consciousness richly endowed with moral habits. For this reason I hold that it is not so much to the instruction of the school or college as to its management and temper that we must look for moral aid. That school where neatness, courtesy, and simplicity obtain; where enthusiasm goes with mental exactitude, thoroughness of work with interest, and absence of artificiality in surroundings with refinement; where sneaks, liars, loafers, pretenders, rough persons, are despised—that school is engaged in moral training all day long. It is not necessary to call a class for recitation in the subject; for every class, whether it recites or not, shows if it has learned its lesson. We masters do nothing more important than establishing among our students sentiments about what constitutes good form. There will be little need of class

instruction after we have succeeded in charging with full meaning the usage of a few perpetual words—"gentleman," "good fellow," "square dealing." These are the clumsy means that carry high influences far and fast among boys. To affect favorably a few such vague conceptions is worth years of effort.

And then, last of all, if suggestion instead of conscious instruction is to be effective, teachers must submit to be admired. They must allow their pupils to idealize them, and even furnish grounds for the admiration. It is not pleasant. Usually nobody knows better his own weaknesses than the one who is mistaken for an example. But what a helpful mistake! What ennobling influences come to school-boys when once they can think their teacher is the sort of person they would like to be. Perhaps at the very moment he is thinking they are the sort of person he would like to be. But no matter. What they admire is worthy, even if not embodied precisely where they imagine. In humility we must accept their admiration, knowing that nothing else can so enlarge their lives. As I recall my college days, there rise before me two teachers. As I entered the rooms of those two men, I said to myself, "O! if some day I could be like that." And always after, as I went to those respective rooms, the impression of dignity deepened. I have forgotten the lessons I learned from those instructors. I never can discharge my debt to the instructors themselves.

GEORGE HERBERT PALMER.

JAY GOULD AND SOCIALISM.

THERE are two radically distinct views of business. Some people regard it as a fight between buyer and seller; others regard it as a means of mutual service. In the one case, the business man is a licensed robber; in the other, he is a public benefactor. The former view prevailed in mediæval times; we still see survivals of it in the attitude of trades-unions toward employers, of the Farmers' Alliance toward Wall Street, of the extreme protectionists toward England, and of the Socialists toward modern business as a whole. The other and more liberal view is generally accepted by business men to-day and lies at the foundation of modern industrial society.

The world of trade is organized on the assumption that a man makes money best by giving the public what it wants. If his goods command a high price, it is because they meet an actual need; if that price furnishes him a large margin of profit, it is because he has known how to produce them to the best advantage. So confident are we of this substantial identity of interest between the business man and the community as a whole, that we give our capitalists the freest chance to direct the productive forces of society to their own individual profit. If, in so doing, they render society the service which is expected of them, they furnish the strongest argument for the continuance of the existing system; if they fail to render such service, whether it be through malice or through ignorance, they furnish an equally strong argument to those who advocate its overthrow.

The contrast between the two types of business corresponding to these views was never so sharp as in the years immediately following the war. Many of the things which had previously limited the power of business men for good or for evil were done away with. New methods removed the restraints of tradition; large combinations rendered the action of competition uncertain. The intricacies of railroad accounting, puzzling enough at best, afforded in those years an almost unlimited opportunity for concealment of facts from a public which knew much less of these things than it does to-day. The man who controlled the capital of a hundred others besides himself had the

power to do either good business or bad business on a scale previously unknown.

Of those who took the opportunity to do good business, Commodore Vanderbilt may serve as an example—not that he was actuated primarily by unselfish motives in his work. His immediate object was to make money. But he made it on the lines in which financiers as a class had won their position of power in the community. He applied to larger business the methods which had made ordinary business honorable. He sought his gain in others' gain, not in their loss. He used his power of combination to make railroad freight cheaper, thereby increasing the volume of traffic to such an extent that he himself was more than repaid, and not he himself alone, but also those who had intrusted him with the administration of their money.

The profits of Vanderbilt were the profits of the New York Central Railroad and its connecting lines; the profits of those lines were not made by cheating the shipper, but by offering him lower rates than the world had ever before dreamed of, lower than the state railroad systems of Europe, managed by the representatives of the socialistic principle, have even yet been able to attain. In the years from 1870 to 1879 the rates charged by the New York Central Railroad fell from \$1.88 per ton per mile to \$0.78; but the stockholders found a rich profit in the increase of the traffic from seven hundred and sixty-nine million tons miles to two billion two hundred and ninety-five million. Nor do these facts measure the whole good done by the railroad men of that day. The activity of Vanderbilt and others like him compelled a general reduction in railroad charges unexampled in any other country, which, in spite of the abuses connected with it, meant quick development for the United States and plentiful food for the world. Business methods and business management raised the transportation system of the country to a higher degree of efficiency and higher capacity for public service than government management has anywhere been able to secure.

Commodore Vanderbilt's work is thrown into sharper relief by the career of business men of another class who treated finance as a fight and sought their gain in others' loss—not that the fighting element was by any means absent from Vanderbilt's financial career; but Vanderbilt fought his rivals and not his associates. "He was one of those who ate when he was hungry and drank when he was thirsty, loved his friends and hated his enemies." There were others, however, to whom friendship and enmity were matters of little consequence as

compared with the absorbing aim of money-getting: men who did not hesitate to use their positions of trust and authority to plunder those whom they were supposed to represent; who took advantage of the intricacies of railroad accounting to deceive investors as to the real condition of affairs, and used their own superior knowledge to buy stocks cheap or sell them dear. Such men's gain was represented by no public service. It was not based on the creation of wealth, but on its diversion from the purse of some one else. Destruction might serve such men's purposes as well as upbuilding. When the Erie directors were speculating for a fall in the price of their own stocks, a horrible accident on their road proved a welcome auxiliary to their schemes. They did not cause this accident themselves; but the fact that they had put themselves in a position to profit by it made matters almost as bad. The public cannot afford to have its largest enterprises in the hands of those whose personal gain is to be found in managing them badly. Such a state of affairs may not always wreck trains, but it is sure to wreck reputations.

A great many men of this sort made money; but comparatively few, even in the worst days of American corporate finance, won the consideration which is supposed to attach to the possession of money. Some of them, like Fisk, simply defied public opinion; they pleaded guilty to the charge of financial immorality by engaging in flagrant private immorality also. A man like Fisk in the long run probably did as much good as harm to financial morals. His personal character cast a stigma on his financial operations, his social outlawry helped men to see his business methods in their true light.

Jay Gould was a man of a wholly different sort. His was not the stuff of which outlaws are made. His private character was in strong contrast with his financial schemes and methods. The very differences which made him a better man than Fisk perhaps enabled him to do more harm to the business community by continuing his career for a much longer period and meeting less outspoken disapproval. Such disapproval as there was he neither attempted to propitiate nor to defy. The contrast between Gould's public and private morality is not easy to explain. It may be that his great financial power was attended with lack of normal moral development—that he suffered, in short, from the obliquity of genius. Or it may be that he believed the common charge that the American public valued success in money-getting too highly to be over-critical about the means by which it was reached, and that he had only to maintain for a few years a position

at the head of the financial world to secure from society a bill of indemnity for his past offences.

If so, he was mistaken. The American public proved better than its reputation. It never acquiesced in Gould's methods. It passed laws to prevent the repetition of his worst offences. It drew the lines of financial legality closer as the years went on. What he did in Erie could not have been repeated in Union Pacific half a dozen years later. What he did in Union Pacific was worse than he was allowed to do in Manhattan. What he did in Manhattan could hardly be repeated in the same form to-day. Loose as are our financial methods even now, they show a tremendous advance over the worst days of Erie and Kansas Pacific. Nor was society ready to forgive and forget the flagrant violations of business morals which had marked the early days of Gould's career. The newspaper comments on his life furnish a sufficient refutation of the charge that America cares for nothing else in comparison with success in the pursuit of wealth.

Yet there is something not wholly consistent in the attitude of many who judge Gould most severely. The excesses which society condemns were in one sense but the accidents of his career—superficial evils as compared with the essentials which it countenances. It is like the rejection of Zola by the French Academy for going a little farther than others in a direction for which French public sentiment is responsible. The radical evil in Gould's career lay in his conception of business as a game instead of a means of public service. The public condemns him because he played the game unfairly. It may be better to condemn him and ourselves both for playing the game at all. The wrong which he did to investors in Erie or the Union Pacific is easy to recognize. The wrong he did to society as a whole is not so easy to recognize, but it is equally dangerous, in one sense far more dangerous; for it is one which society as a whole countenances rather than condemns.

Society gives its great financiers a trust, compared with which all other trusts sink into insignificance. It gives them the power of directing the labor and capital of the country. We have seen how a man like Vanderbilt deserved that trust, by using it for the benefit of society. What does a man of the opposite type do to deserve it? Less than nothing. When the Gould securities rose on the news of the great speculator's death, it was not alone the investors who were interested. The increase in the value of the property meant a possibility of better management for the public as a whole. The interests

of the investor are important; but the chief element of their importance lies in the fact that under good management they are identified with the far wider interests of the public. No one would measure Vanderbilt's services to the business of the country by the profits of his bonds, but by the good management and wide-spread benefit which such profits represent. Nor can Gould's wrongs be measured by the losses to the investor, great as those may be, but by the failure to attain high standards of management and public efficiency, which those losses represent. The public benefit in the one case or the public wrong in the other is wider than the private benefit or the private wrong to the investors. Whoever treats money as anything less than a public trust not only does a public wrong, but endangers existing social institutions. Whoever even fails to recognize the existence of such a trust countenances the wrong and courts the danger.

The most effective check upon the evils of universal suffrage lies in the fact that the industries of the country are managed, not by votes, but by property. Of all the "checks and balances" in our social system, the most important is this balance between the political organization of the voters and the industrial organization of the property-holders. Each acts as a check upon the other. It is a division of powers far more fundamental than that of executive, legislature, and judiciary; one which reaches down to the roots of things as deeply as did the separation of church and state in the Middle Ages. It is the aim of the socialists wholly to do away with this separation of industrial and political powers; it is the constant effort of bodies like the Farmers' Alliance to restrict the former and extend the latter. Universal suffrage gives such efforts a great apparent advantage; but as long as business men do their duty there is little to fear from such movements. If a man's personal advantage is identified with the success of his business; if his position in the financial world is dependent on his competence in the industrial world; if, in short, he arranges to stand or fall with the success or failure of his management, then we have a process of natural selection under which leaders like Vanderbilt inevitably come to the front, while their less competent rivals are pushed into the background. If the industrial and financial struggle actually brings the best men forward, they show their ability in such a manner that we have little to fear from the encroachments of the political power. If, on the other hand, the question of control is settled in the "Street," instead of in the workshop; if the possession of financial authority is made to depend on success in stock operations,

rather than on success in organizing producers and meeting the wants of consumers, then we have a process of selection by which leaders like Mr. Gould come to the front, driving out competitors who might serve the public better, though they have not known how to serve themselves quite so well. When the wrong men are brought forward, the industrial system is in real danger, because it does not do what the public has a right to demand of it. Whoever countenances this view of business, though he may not approve all the things that Gould did, nevertheless must share the responsibility for the essential features of his career and the socialistic dangers connected with them.

Our system of business ethics is behind the times. It is based on the financial conditions of the past, when money was chiefly valuable as a means of enjoyment. It does not take into account the new conditions which arise from the use of money as a source of industrial power. There is a whole set of new duties which the financial world must recognize if it would retain that industrial power in the future. It is not enough to abstain from robbing some one else of the enjoyment which money commands; we must also use the power which money gives us as a means of positive service. There are a great many men who do this; but there are few who recognize the extent of our obligation to do it. The obligation is ignored in the thoughtless gambling of every-day life, violated in much of the habitual practice of reputable financiers, and antagonized and undermined by the work of some of the most eminent members of the legal profession.

The man who gambles away his money is not simply parting with his own enjoyment, but with his control of the industrial forces of the community. It is not like selling his labor: it is like selling his vote. If a man sells his labor, our chief fear is that he may do an injustice to himself. If he sells his vote, we know that he is doing an injustice to society. Society intrusts its voters with political power and its property-owners with industrial power, in the belief that their intelligent judgment will direct its affairs to the best advantage; if they refuse to exercise that judgment the penalty in either case is and must be disfranchisement. The results of gambling are not to be measured by its effect on the pockets of the parties immediately concerned, any more than the results of bribery are to be measured by its effect in a single election. It teaches men a wrong view of the ethics of money. It educates them to ignore a public trust and look only at the means of private enjoyment.

Our financiers condemn such robbery or fraud as constitutes a plain violation of the old-fashioned ethics of money; but they often fail to recognize the necessity of taking a broader view of their duties under modern conditions. Take the "Gentlemen's Agreement" as an example. In the year 1887 an unusually large amount of new railroad mileage was built, much of it in advance of actual necessities. There was also a great deal of adverse legislation. As a result, railroad dividends in 1888 fell, and investors naturally became unwilling to put their money into railroad securities. This was an absolutely normal and healthy condition of things: it stopped railroad-building until the demand for transportation facilities should again exceed the supply and profits be restored. But many of our largest financiers saw in this backwardness of investors only an obstacle that prevented them from marketing the securities in which they dealt, and they set to work to restore public confidence by the formation of a much-heralded traffic agreement among the lines of the West. The more frank and outspoken among the railroad officials who were called to help in forming that agreement pointed out that, in its original form at any rate, there were no means of carrying it into effect. They were politely but plainly told to keep their difficulties to themselves, that the object of the meeting was to restore public confidence, and that the public would be frightened if the elements of weakness were made known. Fortunately for the community, public confidence was not restored until something more had been done to deserve it; but the kind of effort that was then made, by most honorable financiers, shows how completely their self-interest as dealers in securities had made them forget their larger responsibilities as managers of industrial enterprises. They would have shrunk from the means used by Gould; they would not have recognized that their sort of work was the same as that for which they condemned him. But the difference was one of degree rather than of kind.

The attitude of the legal profession in this matter invites even sharper criticism. Lawyers of high reputation not merely treat money-getting as a game, but carry the conception of a game to extremes. They take large fees for teaching people how to come as close as possible to the limits which the rules of the game allow, and do not thereby forfeit their standing in the profession. They would probably say that it was the business of the law-makers to prohibit unfair means of money-getting, and that any man had a right to take advantage of what the law allowed. But the dangers to the financial world which

arise from the prevalence and toleration of such a view are overwhelming. It not only ignores the purpose for which such great powers were granted to the representatives of wealth, but it actually invites the political authorities to limit those powers. It looks to the politicians and not to the business men as the source of care for the widest interests of the country. If business men are not to be controlled by commercial ethics—ethics fitting the economic conditions of to-day, not those of five hundred years ago—they must expect to be controlled by something else. If they will not accept the full measure of responsibility which goes with their industrial power, they must expect to be deprived of responsibility and power together by a popular movement in the direction of socialism.

Jay Gould did more than any one else to tempt such a movement; but he was aided and countenanced by every financier whose interests in the stock-market led him to forget the interests of his properties, by every lawyer who taught his clients to evade the responsibilities attaching to wealth, by every man who in the excitement of the gaming-table lost sight of those responsibilities—by every one, in short, who forgot that under the existing system the possession of money involved a public trust, with whose fulfilment or non-fulfilment that system must stand or fall.

ARTHUR T. HADLEY.

WRITERS FOR THE JANUARY FORUM.

MR. HENRY HUCKS GIBBS (*The Crisis in Silver*), born in London in 1819, was educated at Rugby and Oxford, and is now at the head of the firm of Antony Gibbs & Sons. He was Governor of the Bank of England in 1875, a delegate for England (with Mr. Goschen) to the Paris Monetary Conference in 1878, and Member of Parliament for the city of London in 1891. He is now President of the Bimetallic League and a member of several scientific and literary societies.

HON. HENRY BACON (*Shall the State-Bank Tax be Repealed?*), born in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1846, was graduated at Union College, New York, in 1865, and in 1866 was admitted to the Bar in Brooklyn. He was elected to Congress in 1886, was sent to the 49th Congress to fill a vacancy during a short session and during the full term of the 50th Congress. He was made a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency in both these sessions, and was chairman of the Committee on Manufactures of the 50th Congress. He was re-elected to Congress in 1890. He is chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the 52d Congress and a member of the Judiciary Committee. In July, 1892, he was elected President of the Goshen National Bank.

DR. EDWARD ORAM SHAKESPEARE (*Necessity for a National Quarantine*), born in Dover, Del., in 1846, was graduated at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., in 1867, and at the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1869. He settled first in Dover, Del., and in 1874 removed to Philadelphia. In 1885 he was sent by the United States Government to those European countries where cholera prevailed to study the causes and the methods of preventing and curing this disease. He is a member of several leading medical societies, and he has made several notable inventions in surgical instruments.

MR. FRANCIS MARION CRAWFORD (*What is a Novel?*), born in Lucca, Italy, in 1854, was educated under private tutors at Rome, at St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., at the University of Cambridge, England, and at the German universities. After travelling extensively in Europe and in the East, he came to New York, and in 1882 he wrote his first novel, "Mr. Isaacs," which at once leaped into popularity. He has since resided chiefly in Italy and published many novels, among them "Doctor Claudius," "A Roman Singer," "Zoroaster," "A Tale of a Lonely Parish," "Saracinesca," "The Witch of Prague," and "Don Orsino."

MR. GEORGE FREDERICK PARKER (*What Immigrants Contribute to Industry*), born in Lafayette, Ind., in 1847, removed with his father to Iowa

in 1854, where he was educated in the public schools, and at the State University at Iowa City. In 1873 he became editor of a county newspaper and later editor of the leading Democratic paper at Des Moines. He became Assistant Postmaster of Philadelphia in 1885, resigned and resumed newspaper work in New York in 1887. He is Auditor of the National Democratic Committee and took an active part in the campaign just closed. He compiled the Democratic Campaign Text-Book of 1888, and has edited the "Writings and Speeches of Grover Cleveland" and written a "Life of Grover Cleveland."

MR. SYDNEY G. FISHER (*Alien Degradation of American Character*), born in Philadelphia in 1856, was graduated at Trinity College, Hartford, in 1879. He studied law at the Harvard Law School, was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in 1883, and has practised there ever since. He has been active in Civil Service Reform, and he is the author of a number of essays on legal and historical subjects, among them "The Independence of the Departments of Government," "The Suspension of *Habeas Corpus* During the War of the Rebellion," "The Causes of the Increase of Divorce," and "The Railroad Leases to Control the Anthracite Coal Trade."

DR. J. M. RICE (*The Public-School System of New York City*), born in Philadelphia in 1857, was graduated from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1881. He took a course in psychology and pedagogy at the universities of Jena and Leipzig, after which he visited the schools of various European countries. Dr. Rice, in the service of the FORUM, has visited the public schools in thirty-six cities, spending every school-hour in school-rooms, making the investigations upon which he has based these articles.

MR. CHARLES S. GLEED (*The Wealth and Business Relations of the West*), born in Lamoille County, Vt., in 1856, was educated at the University of Kansas. He entered journalism, and became editor-in-chief of the Denver "Daily Tribune." He was for a few years engaged in the traffic department of the Union Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R., and was for several years assistant to General-Solicitor Peck in the law department of the latter company. He has written much on current political, economic, and educational topics.

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON (*Literary and Municipal Problems in England*), was born in London in 1831, and was educated at Kings College, London, and at Wadham College, Oxford. In 1853 he was elected fellow and tutor at Oxford. He was admitted to the Bar in 1858 and practised law from 1860 until 1874. In 1867-69 he was member of the Royal Commission of Trade Unions; in 1878-89, professor of jurisprudence for the Council of Legal Education, and in 1889 he was elected an Alderman in the London County Council. He has devoted a large portion of his life to the study of philosophy, and he is the chief exponent of the Positivist school. Among his works are "The Meaning of History," "Social Statics," "Order and Progress," and "Oliver Cromwell." He is also an occasional contributor to the leading reviews, chiefly of England.

MR. L. LÉVY-BRUHL (*French Political Stability and Economic Unrest*), born in Paris in 1857, was graduated at the "École Normale" in 1884. Since 1886 he has been a professor in the "École des Sciences Politiques." Among his

publications are the "Formation of the Unity of Germany" and the "Notion of Responsibility."

DR. F. HEINRICH GEFFCKEN (*German Socialism and Literary Sterility*), born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1830, is professor *emeritus* of international law in the University of Strasburg. He became widely known several years ago through his imprisonment and trial upon a charge of high treason by Prince Bismarck for publishing the diary of the late Emperor Frederick. He is one of the foremost European political writers.

PROF. GEORGE HERBERT PALMER (*Can Moral Conduct be Taught in Schools?*), born in Boston in 1842, was graduated in 1864 at Harvard College, where he is now professor of philosophy. Among his publications are "Positive Limitations of the Elective System," "The New Education," and one of the best English versions of the "Odyssey." He has also contributed occasionally to the magazines.

PROF. ARTHUR TWINING HADLEY (*Jay Gould and Socialism*), born in New Hampshire in 1856, was graduated at Yale in 1876. He studied at the University of Berlin, and in 1879 became tutor at Yale, in 1883 lecturer on political science, and in 1886 professor of political science. He has published "Railroad Transportation: its History and its Laws," and contributed to current publications.

ADDENDUM: Since Mr. Bacon's article was written the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for the year ending October 31, 1892, has appeared, announcing that one hundred and sixty-three new banks have been organized during the year preceding that date, of which eighty-two are located west of the Mississippi River and thirty-six in the Southern States.

The Forum.

FEBRUARY, 1893.

TARIFF REFORM: RETROSPECTIVE AND PROSPECTIVE.

By their votes at the recent Presidential election the people of the United States have unmistakably expressed their opinion that the economic policy which for more than a quarter of a century has dominated and restricted its foreign commerce shall be in a greater or less degree abandoned and a more liberal system substituted. Standing thus as the country does at a parting of the ways, a brief retrospect of the progress of tariff-reform ideas in comparatively recent years and a forecast of what may be anticipated from their practical application in compliance with the wish of the people may not now be unprofitable.

It can hardly be doubted that had not the war intervened the United States would have become the leading free-trade nation of the world. Neither can it be doubted, all unfounded and partisan assertions to the contrary, that economically and industrially the period of low tariffs from 1847 to 1860 was, as Professor Sumner has characterized it, "the golden age" of our national history, marked by "simplicity even to dullness in national affairs": when the balance of trade between the United States and all foreign countries was "never more regular and equal"; when foreign commerce and American shipping increased as never before or since; and when domestic manufactures, which it was prophesied would perish, not only did not perish, but made steady and genuine progress. The subjects of the tariff and the antagonistic theories of protection and free trade so far ceased to be topics of general interest that they were not specially referred to in the platforms of either of the two great political parties in the Presidential election of 1856. And in 1857 the average rate of duty of

twenty-five and one-half per cent on dutiable imports established by the tariff of 1846 was reduced to twenty and one-fourth per cent, a majority of the Senators and Representatives from New England voting in favor of the reduction, including Senators Sumner and Wilson, of Massachusetts, the latter of whom declared in the Senate in 1861 that the tariff as then (1857) established, "precisely and exactly as it stands to-day, so far as the productive industry of the commonwealth of Massachusetts is concerned, is the best tariff ever put upon the statute-books of this country." In 1861, the impending political troubles having caused an increase in the expenditures of the Government and a decrease in its revenues, the tariff rates of 1857 were increased about one-third; but it is noticeable that the debates in Congress contingent upon such action hinged almost entirely upon the necessity for more revenue and not for more protection to American industries; and Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, who was then a member of the House, is on record as saying ("Congressional Globe," 1869-70, p. 3295) that the tariff of 1861 "was not asked for and but coldly welcomed by manufacturers." Whatever increase, furthermore, was made in the rates of the tariff of 1861, avowedly for protection, was done mainly to make sure that Pennsylvania, in the pending or prospective troubles, would be on the side of the Union. But the war intervened; and in the face of a necessity for providing extraordinary revenues to defray the expenditures of the Government in its struggle for existence—expenditures that for a lengthened period averaged nearly three millions of dollars per day—the consideration of any or all other fiscal or economic problems became a matter of comparatively little importance. In providing for this necessity no recognition of anything like principle in taxation was attempted. Everything that could yield revenue was taxed, and if more revenue was needed the taxes—internal and customs—were increased; and so eminently successful was this system in respect to its sole purpose that the amount of revenue accruing under it during the last year of the war (\$519,949,000) was greater than has ever before or since been collected by any other nation in any one year by methods having any claim to be called taxation.

With the close of the war it became evident that the nation would not and in fact could not tolerate a system of revenue which necessity had created and patriotism had alone made effective, a moment longer than was necessary; a system that taxed processes and products, capital and income, trades and professions, sales and receipts, legacies and

successions, luxuries and necessities, and nearly all imports. And as the so-called internal revenue taxes were the most obvious and apparently the most grievous, the work of tax-reform began by general consent in this department, and under the constant pressure of public opinion, was prosecuted so vigorously by Congress that in little more than three years after the war, its marvellously complex and irrational structure was brought down to a comparatively simple and rational basis. And as one illustration of the nature and rapidity of this work, a fact now generally overlooked or entirely forgotten may be recalled to memory, namely, that the taxes on manufactures and products, which for the year 1866 were productive of \$127,230,000 of revenue, yielded in 1869, through remissions, but \$3,345,000, and on and after 1874 returned only what were termed "back" (or deferred) collections—a case of abatement of taxes and revenue in a given time that also finds no parallel in the experience of any other nation. A general revision in the direction of reduction of the tariff, the rates of which had been greatly advanced during the war for the sake of revenue and also to a degree far more sufficient than to compensate in most cases for any internal revenue taxes imposed on domestic products subject to foreign competition, was regarded as inexpedient until the latter system of taxation could be reconstructed and abated; a conclusion eminently satisfactory to the whole manufacturing interest of the country, although not fully appreciated by the public, inasmuch as the removal of every internal revenue tax on manufactured products without a corresponding reduction in the tariff on competitive imports was equivalent to an increase in protection. The friends of high protection were not, however, satisfied with this condition of things. They wanted more restriction of trade and commerce through more taxes, and pleading protection and the necessity of protecting American industry, they succeeded in creating or perpetuating some of the most wanton abuses that have ever characterized the fiscal legislation of any country. Duties on importation of foreign salt, increased from one and one-half cents per bushel in 1857 to thirty-seven cents (gold) in 1868–69, had so increased the average price of salt in the United States as to entail a tax upon its people in this latter year of \$7,250,000; of which (according to Mr. William M. Grosvenor, of the New York "Tribune") "precisely \$1,130,225.75 was paid to the Government and over six millions in gold in the shape of bounty,"¹ and mainly to one combine of domestic-salt-manufacturers. It was during

¹ See "Does Protection Protect?"

these years also that an assemblage of wool-growers and wool-manufacturers, having regard exclusively to their own private interests, concocted and caused to be enacted the famous and complicated wool-tariff of 1867, which had for its object the denial to the American people of a privilege enjoyed by almost every other nation, namely, a free supply of wool adequate to their necessities for good and cheap clothing; and which has resulted in fraud to the consumers, torment to the manufacturers, and disaster to the wool-growers, and which has done more than any other one agency to educate the masses of the country to a determination that the system of protection which it exemplifies shall no longer be tolerated. Shortly afterward (in 1869) another combination of interests, under a plea that the miners of Northern Michigan, whose residence was mainly in Wall Street, were suffering for lack of employment, procured the enactment of a prohibitive duty on the import of copper; the result of which has been to enable the owners of a few mines of unprecedented richness, bought from the United States for a mere pittance, to divide profits, through an ability to tax the domestic consumption of copper, to an estimated amount of some thirty millions of dollars on an original investment of a few hundred thousand of capital.

That the war tariff would be speedily revised and reduced after the revision of the internal revenue system had been accomplished and its taxes on domestic manufactures practically abolished no one doubted; or if any doubts were entertained, they were not publicly expressed. The general idea was that when the work of revision was once formally undertaken, the rates, so far as the necessities of the Government for revenue would permit, should be made to approximate those that were in force before the war. Such were the sentiments of the leading Republican members of Congress: Messrs. Fessenden, Grimes,¹ Trumbull, Wilson, Sumner, and Foster, of the Senate; of Garfield, Allison, Wilson (of Iowa), and Kasson, H. J. Raymond, and

¹ In September, 1867, Senator Grimes, of Iowa (who at that time was an earnest advocate of radical tariff reform), in a letter to the Burlington "Hawkeye," stated: "I believe that four-fifths of the members of the Republican party in Iowa are in full accord with Mr. Wilson, Mr. Allison, Mr. Kasson, Governor Kirkwood, and myself, and with a majority of the members of Congress from the Northwestern States, on the subject of the tariff." And the New York "Tribune," in commenting on the letter of Senator Grimes, said: "We will unite with him in maintaining the right of every Republican to be a Protectionist or Free-trader, as he shall see fit; no man is the less a Republican for any opinion he may cherish on questions of political economy."

Logan, of the House; of the Democratic members of both branches and of the then Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McCulloch. General Garfield on principle was a radical free-trader, but on the ground of expediency he held that free trade in the United States could be best and most speedily attained through natural and tentative reforms; his exact language being: "I believe in free trade reached through protection; I believe in protection leading to free trade"; and he probably fully accepted the definition of Canning that "true statesmanship consisted in finding the line of safe change." In private and familiar conversation his logic and his wit were always antagonistic to the theory of protective duties, and one illustration of the latter is to be found in his remark that the assumption that the prosperity and wonderful development of the United States were due mainly to the influence of high and restrictive taxation, found a parallel in the experience of the shipwrecked sailors who, after landing on what they supposed to be a desolate island and seeing a gallows in the distance, thanked God that they had come to a civilized land. General Garfield was among the very first of citizens of the United States who accepted (in 1869) membership in the Cobden Club, and he was associated in so doing with Charles Sumner, R. W. Emerson, W. C. Bryant, H. W. Longfellow, William Lloyd Garrison, H. W. Beecher, Charles Francis Adams, and Amasa Walker; all of whom would probably have agreed with the late Dr. Leonard Bacon that the best warrant for accepting the principle of free trade was to be found in the eighth commandment—"Thou shalt not steal."

After, however, the work of revision had been entered upon, and a complete tariff bill with very moderate reductions, prepared under the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury, had passed the Senate, and would have passed the House except for an inability to take it out of the Committee of the Whole at the close of a short session by a two-thirds vote, the extreme protection sentiment organized with a view of preventing any reduction in the war tariff, and under the inspiration largely of Henry C. Carey, of Philadelphia, and led mainly by representatives of the iron and steel interests of Pennsylvania and of the wool-growers of Ohio, became fiercely aggressive. Its first action was practically to serve notice upon every Republican member of Congress or aspirant for Congressional service that his political prospects would be imperilled by any opposition in the way of action, or expression of opinion, to a continuance of a high protective policy, or in favor of what they were pleased to term "free trade"; although

the most extreme results known to be within the possibility of attainment in that direction at that time and for a long future were a return to the tariff rates of the immediate ante-war period. And under such an influence a majority of the prominent members of the Republican party in Congress and out of Congress, who had before advocated tariff reform, became protectionists and often violent advocates of a policy that they had once earnestly repudiated. It will doubtless be said in defence of such changes that they were the result of larger information and consequent better judgment, and ought not to be subject to harsher criticism than the every-day changes in theological opinions, as from Puritanism to Episcopacy or from Unitarianism to Catholicism. But such a comparison is not warranted. In the case of the theological changes referred to, the fundamental principles of religious belief are not abandoned. But for a man of conceded intelligence, who has once recognized that the denial to any individual, for the benefit of some private interest, of the right freely to exchange the product of his labor, involves the principle of slavery, for such a one to at once wholly repudiate this great moral and economic axiom and hold that the artificial restriction of exchanges is conducive in the highest degree to the development of the state and the prosperity of its citizens, is a good deal like the abandonment of the Christian faith and gospel for the faith and gospel of Joe Smith. Certainly it would be difficult to see how any plea could be offered in justification of such changes that would not be a reflection either upon one's intelligence or integrity. And in this connection a reference to some specific and notable experiences may be pertinent.

Thus General Hawley (a present Senator of the United States from Connecticut) is on record as an attendant at meetings of the American Free Trade League in 1867-68 and also as a participant in a convention of tariff-reformers and free-traders in Washington in April, 1870, which ultimately resulted in the calling of the celebrated convention at Cincinnati in 1872. And yet this same gentleman is reported as having in 1890, in a speech in the Senate, expressed the opinion that commerce was a "rotten" trade, and that if the United States could be surrounded by a Chinese wall for a lengthened period its people would be greatly benefited; and as having asserted in the recent Presidential campaign that "free trade is the surviving partner of slavery"; to which the Boston "Journal" added that "truer and more timely words could not have been uttered by an American statesman."

Another more extraordinary example of changes in economic opin-

ions of an earlier date, and which hitherto has almost escaped attention, is afforded in the case of the late Henry C. Carey, who, as is well known, is regarded as almost the originator of the theory of protection as taught by Pennsylvania and advocated by Mr. McKinley, and stands in relation to it very much as the prophet Mohammed does to the religion of Islam. In early life, however, and before he had a pocket interest in Pennsylvania coal lands, he was a good deal of a liberal; and in at least two publications, which intentionally or otherwise have long disappeared from circulation, he advanced some of the most clear and unanswerable arguments in favor of free trade that have been advanced by any writer of repute on this subject. In his "Past, Present, and Future," published in 1848, he thus characterized the whole system of indirect taxation which constitutes not only the corner-stone, but the entire foundation of every protective tariff:

"The whole system is mere petty larceny. It is an attempt to filch that which cannot be openly demanded. It is one of those inventions of man by which the few are enabled to grow rich at the expense of the many, and is therefore greatly favored by that class of men who prefer living by the labor of others to living by their own. The man who plunders a city is of the same species with the highway robber. The man who imposes indirect taxes is of the same species with the *chevalier d'industrie*. All belong to the genus of great men, all are equally destitute of manly or generous feeling. The plunderer of cities selects those who are weak and defenceless, and the collector of indirect taxes selects those commodities used by poor men who cannot defend themselves. Where the system most prevails men are most weak and cheap, and food most dear."

And continuing his discussion, he makes a forecast that wonderfully corresponds to the present economic condition of the United States:

"So long as it [indirect taxation] shall be permitted to exist, the system of large revenues to be squandered by those who live by managing the affairs of others must continue. So long as it exists, the planters and farmers must continue to give a large portion of their small product in exchange for a small quantity of clothing. So long as it exists, every attempt at the establishment of freedom of trade must be a failure. With its correction every obstacle to the establishment of perfect freedom will disappear and the tariff will pass out of existence. So long as the present system shall continue, trade of every kind must be subject to violent fluctuations which enable the few to enrich themselves at the expense of the many and enable gambling speculators to live in palaces and ride in coaches by aid of indirect taxation levied upon the hard-working mechanic and honest farmer ruined by changes in the value of their property."

Again, in a treatise "On Wealth," published in 1838, Mr. Carey adverts to an opinion (then) recently expressed by Mr. J. R. MacCul-

loch, an English economist, to the effect that moderate taxation was advantageous as a spur to exertion, and comments on it as follows:

“This view of the subject is calculated to produce great error. The moment we admit that taxation in *any case* tends to promote industry it is impossible to say where we shall stop. If taxation be a stimulus, the advantage must increase with its extent, and taking two shillings per week must do more good than taking one shilling. Mr. MacCulloch, however, insists that it shall be moderate; but moderation depends on habit. We think he has fallen into the same error with the man who attributes increased vigor to two glasses of brandy, while he deprecates the drinking of a quart as likely to produce intoxication. The man in sound health who drinks two glasses will not work as well as he who drinks none, but he will do so much better than his neighbors who drink the one quart that it may be supposed that his superiority results from the glasses taken, when it really arises out of the six he has forborne to take. If taxation be good so is the lash; both will make people work, but neither of them will make people work well.”

In the same connection Mr. Carey enjoins upon legislators “to recollect the following sound remarks by Sir Henry Parnell, an English economist: ‘Taxation is the price we pay for government, and every particle of expense that is incurred beyond what necessity absolutely requires for the preservation of social order and for protection against foreign attack is waste and an unjust and oppressive imposition upon the public.’” And yet this same Mr. Carey in later years went back on all his former teachings and did more than any other one man in this country to build up a school of economists whose vitality and existence have always depended on the utter renunciation of everything in the way of economic principle that its founder had originally annunciated.

A similar parallel is to be found in the case of the author of the book, “Does Protection Protect?” (published in 1871), who, starting as a protectionist, and after completing one of the most scientific and thorough statistical investigations ever instituted, was led to the conclusion that “the best protection for industry was to let it alone,” and that “human wisdom cannot better, by artificial laws, the conditions under which the Creator has placed human labor by the natural laws of exchange,” and who has since done his best to prove to the public that the views as above expressed by him were entirely erroneous.

The sentiments of the protectionists of the United States during the last twenty-five years in their controversy with the friends of commercial freedom may be fitly characterized as “ferocious.” From the outset it has been assumed that every advocate of free trade or tariff reform was necessarily dishonest and an enemy to the country and its

industries. In an interview between the writer and Mr. Horace Greeley, after the nomination in 1872 of the latter for the Presidency—an interview arranged by the friends of the candidate with a purpose of conciliating the so-called “free-trade element” of the Cincinnati Convention—the conversation was opened by a remark by Mr. Greeley that he “did not believe there was but one honest free-trader in the country, and that was Mr. Horace White,” then editor of the Chicago “Tribune.” Of course, after an introductory remark so flattering to the person with whom he had sought to confer, the conversation did not continue, and Mr. Greeley, falling back in his chair, soon peacefully went to sleep. The origin of this sentiment, *i.e.*, of dishonesty on the part of tariff-reformers, may undoubtedly be traced back to the circumstance that the possessors of privilege of every kind, and more especially of privilege conferred by a tariff, come after a time to regard any advantage thereby accruing to them as in the nature of personal property and any attack upon it as unwarranted spoliation or robbery; whereas, the facts and inference are entirely the reverse, inasmuch as it is inconsistent with the principles of a free government to grant special privileges to anybody or for any purpose except to promote the efficiency or dignity of its administration.

The allegation that the friends of commercial freedom in the United States were corrupted and influenced by the recipience of British gold—probably first started by Mr. Carey and at once taken up and reiterated by Horace Greeley and the protectionist press and orators generally—has undoubtedly obtained extensive popular credit and been a potent political factor, first, because the masses were unwilling to believe that men and journals of position and reputation would persistently identify themselves with an untruth; and, secondly, because when observation showed that the advocacy of high protection was a prime condition for the obtaining of office and often of large wealth also, the masses found it difficult to believe that any one would willingly forego such advantages, and accept in return for much of personal sacrifice, much of personal abuse and ridicule, and all for an idea that no man should be deprived of any attribute of personal liberty merely because it was for the personal or pocket interest of some other man that he should be. The medium through which this “British gold” has been distributed has been generally believed to be the Cobden Club, of England; although it is a fact that this club has never in the course of its existence contributed as much as one cent in money to any person or organization in the United States for

the purpose of promoting tariff reform or free trade, or has endeavored to influence public opinion in favor of its creed of "Free Trade, Peace and Good Will to Men" in any other way than by public utterance or publications, of which last it has never distributed in the aggregate as many as the American Iron and Steel Association has printed and sent forth in a single year in favor of restricted trade, national antagonisms, and private interests. Had the protection-and-free-trade controversy which has been carried on in the United States for the last twenty-five years occurred in the sixteenth century, with the protectionists in control of the powers of the state, there can be little doubt, as human nature has been pretty much the same in all ages, that the axe, the stake, the gibbet, and the prison would have been as freely employed in antagonizing liberty to trade as they were formerly in antagonizing liberty of religious belief; and that they really followed the precedents of the sixteenth century as far as the changed conditions of civilization in the nineteenth would admit, finds the following illustrations: If all the facts could be told it would be found that many men—especially young men—in recent years have had presented to them the alternatives of absolute abstention from all expression or action in favor of commercial freedom, or failure in business, or opportunity for employment, and in most instances under fear of prospective want have accepted the former; and this undoubtedly explains in a great degree the falling off of the Republican vote in nearly every commercial and manufacturing district of the country where the Australian or secret ballot has been established. Organizations for public lectures have adopted in many instances a rule to invite no man prominently identified with the cause of free trade to address them on any other subject, no matter how well qualified he may be to do so; and the doors of halls freely open to public entertainments of doubtful morality have been closed (as was the case in the last national election in New England) to applicants desirous of explaining to the people the principles of tariff reform. These efforts to prevent free speech have been contemporaneous with efforts to darken reason with prejudice in furtherance of the protective policy, as is illustrated by the preparation and use of forged or fictitious extracts from the London "Times," or from the columns of non-existent foreign journals with high-sounding names, and the persistent circulation of such extracts after their entire falsity had been exposed. This was the case with one of the most noted of these instrumentalities, of which some two million card copies were circulated in the Presi-

dential campaign of 1888 without protest from any protectionist paper, after its originator, the Secretary of the New England Home-Market Club, had confessed that it was a forgery.

Other influences which have greatly aided to maintain the protective policy in the United States are too well recognized to require any extended comment. And under all these circumstances, it is no wonder that commercial freedom in recent years has appeared to find little favor with the American people. But it is clear nevertheless that the plain people have of late done a good deal of plain thinking, and in the recent national election have expressed in the most surprising, but unmistakable manner, a determination that at least the extreme protective policy shall no longer be tolerated. And the question of paramount interest at present with these same people is, What is to come of their action?

As might have been expected, any anticipated reconstruction of the tariff having in view any reduction of the taxes on imports has been productive of prophecies of consequent national disaster. These have ever been the accompaniment of every extension of rational liberty, and in no instance have such prophecies been fulfilled. It was so when Sir Robert Peel instituted the first measures of tariff reform and abolished the "corn laws," and British commerce thenceforth increased by leaps and bounds, imports rising from \$906,000,000 in 1841 to \$3,700,000,000 in 1890. It was so when Great Britain in 1849 repealed her antiquated navigation laws and Mr. Disraeli arose in his place in the House of Commons and declared that such action "endangered the [British] empire of the seas"; and to-day Great Britain owns more than seven-twelfths of the world's ocean shipping and seventy per cent of the world's steam-tonnage. It was so in 1884 when the New York "Tribune" predicted that "Democratic victory would mean the failure of thousands of establishments, loss of work, and great suffering to millions of families," and when such victory was achieved nothing of the kind happened. That the country may experience something of disturbance consequent on the practical work of tariff reform is not improbable. It should not, however, escape attention that such disturbances, if they occur, are rightfully chargeable to the ingrained vices of past economic and financial profligacy and not to the struggle for economic and financial reform. All reformation is a painful process, but let the pain be credited to the old vices and not to the new virtues. There is much,

furthermore, to indicate that if the work of tariff reform is intelligently conducted any possible resulting disturbances will be reduced to a very small minimum. If every custom-house in the land was closed and perfect free trade established, not more than five dollars' worth in every hundred of our agricultural products, or ten dollars' worth in every hundred of our manufactured products, could be imported; and it is also probable that under a "tariff for revenue only" any consequent displacement of labor from old occupations would be more than compensated for by the opening of new industries contingent on free crude materials and freedom of exchange. The experience of the country under the low-tariff policy that prevailed from 1847 to 1860 is exceedingly instructive on this point and, very curiously, has hitherto attracted comparatively little attention. The so-called "Walker tariff" reduced the average rate of duties on dutiable imports to twenty-five and one-half per cent, and this average was further reduced in 1857 to twenty per cent. The result was that the aggregate of our foreign commerce—exports and imports—increased thirty-seven per cent the very first year, and notwithstanding the disturbing influence of two wars—the Mexican and the Crimean—continued to increase, until in 1860 the increase over 1846 was in excess of two hundred per cent, an increase far greater than any corresponding increase in national wealth or population. During this great increase of our exports and imports, moreover, our exports of *manufactured* in contradistinction to *agricultural* products increased at a rate never before or since equalled. Is there any reason why under like conditions like results will not be realized?

A return to the conditions of a much lower tariff than is now in force would, furthermore, seem to be the only avenue open to the country for escape from a large measure of calamity. The most surprising theory about the recent national election was not the large majority for the Democratic candidate, but that the Populist or "Farmers' Alliance" party, seeking the suffrage of the American people on a platform of principles for the most part utterly antagonistic to the world's economic and financial ideas and experiences, and which if adopted would radically change the character of the Government, should have carried four States and obtained twenty-two electoral votes. The explanation of such a result is to be found in the dissatisfaction and poverty of the agricultural population of the country, who in the aggregate nearly equal all those engaged in all other occupations, because of an inability to sell the products of their labor at remunerative prices.

And as recurring years bring them no prospect of obtaining the same, they are becoming disheartened even to the point of desperation and are ready to listen to every demagogue and crank who promise them relief through unlimited issues of cheap money, irredeemable paper, or depreciated silver, with which they can pay their debts, or loans from the Government at nominal rates of interest secured by the deposit of their crops in government warehouses. Hence the origin of the "Farmers' Alliance" party, which but for the "Force" bill and the fear of Negro domination would have changed the political situation in the recent election in more than one Southern State, and which, if some relief is not soon given to the farming population of the country, bids fair ultimately to destroy both the old parties in many States.

But whence is relief to come? Is the inability of the American agriculturists to sell their products at remunerative prices due to their production of things which the world does not want? On the contrary, their products are what the world most wants. The Secretary of Agriculture has recently stated that there are 150,000,000 people in Europe who never eat wheaten bread, and other protectionist orators tell us, and probably with truth, that there are more than 150,000,000 Europeans who never eat meat more than twice a week. Is this because these poor people do not want bread or meat? Not at all. All of them would be glad of all that they can get. They are hindered in their desires by their poverty, and their poverty in turn is caused mainly by their inability to find customers for the things which they produce. Open markets for their products by removing the shackles which our present tariff policy imposes on international trade-exchanges, and they in turn will furnish boundless markets for American products. Deny relief by continuing the present restrictive commercial policy, and the maximum of evil which the protected manufacturing interests of the country can anticipate from radical free trade, will be as nothing in comparison with what they are likely to experience in consequence of bad money, disordered national finances, discriminating income taxes, and governmental interference with the whole machinery of domestic exchanges.

How the natural instincts, moreover, of the American people continually prompt to an enlargement of our international trade, is proved by the fact that we cannot build a tariff wall so high and so thick as to prevent the constant increase of our imports; their aggregate for 1889 having been greater than in 1888, and since then, and notwithstanding the influence of the McKinley act, their increase has been

greater every year, and for the present fiscal year bids fair to be the greatest in our history. Another and perhaps more striking illustration is to be found in the fact that although the United States and Canada have united in building up a double tariff wall, one on one side of the border and the other on the other side, which all trade between the two countries has got to climb over, yet nearly one-half the entire trade of Canada is carried on with the United States.

A reference to a constant feature of the tariff controversy in the United States in recent years may also help to the formation of an opinion as to results of impending tariff reductions. It has always been asserted by the advocates of protection that England was most desirous that the United States should adopt a free-trade policy, and therefore, on the principle that it is not wise to conform to the wishes of one's competitors, it is argued that it would be most impolitic for the United States to do so. But the fact is that not a few of the best economists and business men of England, including some of the most prominent members of the Cobden Club, have long held to the opinion that nothing could be so likely to impair the present manufacturing and commercial supremacy of Great Britain, as the adoption of a free-trade policy by the United States; and in a recent letter, one of the most sagacious members of the House of Commons and an earnest advocate of free trade writes as follows:

"Our people have received the news of Cleveland's election very sulkily. The protectionists here imagine that this change of politics in the States will have a much greater effect on opinions generally in Europe than ours on questions of the same kind, and there are very many of our manufacturers who believe that the advantage which free trade will bring to the States will make them much more formidable competitors for us in all neutral markets than they are now."

It is obvious that no intelligent reconstruction of the existing tariff can be attempted without a clear understanding of the fiscal condition of the Government or the present and prospective relation of national receipts and expenditures. This has already been worked out by a private citizen in a way that practically leaves nothing for the National Treasury to do except to endorse it. At first thought it would seem as if the present enormous and increasing expenditures on account of pensions would constitute an insuperable obstacle in the way of any reduction of tariff taxes. But this obstacle can be readily overcome by regarding this pension obligation as a debt, the payment of which, as in the case of any other debt, need not be made contin-

gent on current revenues, and which may be easily met in case of temporary deficiencies of revenue, by an authorization of Treasury notes bearing a low rate of interest, issued and redeemable at the pleasure of the Government. That there may be no necessity for the issue of any such notes, or at least for their employment to any large amount, will appear if a fact is recognized which the public as yet do not seem to have fully appreciated, namely, that the receipts from internal revenue (mainly from spirits and tobacco) and miscellaneous sources—estimated for the fiscal year 1893 at \$185,000,000 and for 1894 at \$195,000,000—are nearly sufficient to provide for all the *ordinary* expenses of the Government (estimated for 1893 at \$197,000,000) except the interest on the public debt; and that it would be difficult to frame a tariff which would be acceptable to the Fifty-third Congress that would yield less than \$130,000,000 the first year, with a certainty of a large and continuing increase in the immediately succeeding years. And if, as reported, the annual expenditure for pensions proper is at present only about \$120,000,000, and the difference between the amount and current disbursement is represented by arrears which will probably be entirely liquidated in the next two years, the necessity for the use of the proposed Treasury notes would be comparatively inconsiderable.

The proposition that the work of reconstructing the tariff should be intrusted to a revenue commission is not entitled to serious consideration. It implies delay and is not necessary; all the information requisite is ready to hand or can be readily obtained. The work of drafting the bill for submission to, or ratification by, Congress ought to be performed in the first instance by the Treasury Department of the administration (as it would be in all other countries), which can call to its assistance experts in Congress and out of Congress. The somewhat popular idea that in constructing a tariff the rates should in all cases be made compensatory of the advantages accruing to other countries by reason of differences in their rates of wages, is one easy to talk about, but difficult of intelligent appreciation, for the reason that there is no common unit of such differences. Hitherto the problem has apparently been met by adopting as a unit the minimum of wages in any country having commercial relations with the United States. It may be instructive, furthermore, to note in connection with this subject, that in nearly all civilized countries, with the exception of the United States, the intensity of demand for protection against foreign industrial competition, is proportionate to a low

standard of wages and long hours of labor. Another somewhat popular idea that finds little warrant in experience is, that revenues can be increased to meet deficiency by increasing the taxes; and with this view a proposition is understood to have received the endorsement of the United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue that, in connection with a revision of the tariff, the present tax of ninety cents per gallon on distilled spirits should be increased to one dollar and twenty-five cents or more per gallon. All experience, however, absolutely proves that when taxes are imposed on any product equal to or largely in excess of its first cost of production, a temptation to fraud is created which human nature as ordinarily constituted is not able to resist. The best comment on the influence of the present tax in the United States of ninety cents (or more than five hundred per cent) per gallon on distilled spirits, is found in the circumstance that, during the year 1891, seven hundred and ninety-five stills were seized or destroyed by the United States Internal Revenue officials, and that more distillers and distillery warehouses were under the supervision of the Federal Government in 1891 in the five thinly settled States of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and Ohio than are probably controlled by the governments of Great Britain and the leading states of Continental Europe.

One prime object in any prospective reconstruction of the existing tariff should be a simplification of its provisions as a revenue instrumentality. One who has not studied the subject can hardly realize the difficulties in the way of transacting business in the United States contingent on the complications and obscurities which have characterized our tariff policy for the last quarter of a century, and many of which have been intentionally created with a view of indirectly restricting foreign commerce, or, what is the same thing, obtaining higher protection through higher taxes, to a greater degree than public opinion would have sanctioned if attempted directly. Consider the situation of the British and American business man under the fiscal policy of their respective countries. The former goes to his business of any description every morning without a thought that anything of disturbance is likely to come to his industrial or commercial interests from Parliamentary legislation, for the tax system of Great Britain—the best in the world—is so simple and so well adapted to every fiscal exigency that any radical modification of it is hardly within the bounds of possibility. To the American business man, on the other hand, the session of the Federal Congress has become a period of apprehension

of the enactment of laws affecting his interests, and only those familiar with the situation can have any correct idea of the number of persons who annually gather at Washington, and the amount of money expended to effect or defeat changes in national fiscal legislation. A question which may here suggest itself is: Why not, then, accept the present tariff, and why advocate a policy that will involve further continued and radical disturbances? A sufficient answer to it is, that the existing tariff is in a condition of unstable equilibrium, as every tariff necessarily must be that is founded, as is now the case, on the claims of private interest rather than on considerations of public welfare, and that the element of stability cannot possibly inhere in it if the Government is to remain free and democratic. What an illustration of the truth of this assertion is to be found in the fact that since the enactment of the McKinley tariff, or within the last two years, there have been 100,235 cases of dispute between merchants and Treasury officials, accompanied by formal protest or appeals respecting the construction or meaning of the law or the evidence of fraud! It is true that very many of these are settled by a single court decision; but every one of them nevertheless represents worry, the employment of legal counsel, and a large expenditure of time and money on the part of the merchant. Under the tariff in force in 1890, a committee of the United States Senate reported that "the calendar of customs suits in the district (courts) of New York had grown so large that there is no reasonable prospect of disposing of them in this generation." Such a state of things, which is equivalent to a denial of justice to the merchant, does not exist in any other commercial country, and its continuance in the United States is an outrage and a reflection on its civilization.

An exceedingly high tariff on dutiable imports, averaging forty-six per cent in the aggregate and exceeding one hundred per cent in the case of not a few specific articles, has constituted such an inducement to fraudulent importation that the creation of an Administration Board endowed with extraordinary privileges, as the power to decide cases without notice to the party in controversy with the Government, has been thought necessary, and this, too, under a law so crudely drawn that the repeal of one entire section of it has been asked by the Secretary of the Treasury on the ground that it is impossible of execution. Under a tariff clearly constructed and for revenue only, the inducements for smuggling would be so far diminished that there would be no necessity for the continuance of any such law, and with

its repeal its administrators, who appear to have been actuated with the idea that foreign commerce is a crime and that importers have no rights which the Government is bound to respect, should be relegated to private life as expeditiously as possible. Concerning the average rate of duty that should be the object in a reconstruction of the tariff, there will be doubtless some differences in opinion; but excepting the duties on wines, liquors, tobacco, and a few other articles, such an average ought not to exceed twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*; and with raw and crude materials exempt from taxation, it will be found that such an average rate in many cases will afford a more ample net protection to domestic manufacturers than they now have under the existing tariff. If it be objected that such an average would not be sufficiently productive of revenue, reference may be made to the lesson of experience afforded by the results of the Walker tariff of 1846, the average rate of which was about twenty-five per cent. In the first two years after its enactment the customs revenue increased nineteen per cent, and in the first eight years it more than doubled. Is there any reason why a like experience may not be expected and realized?

If it be further objected that such an increase in the customs revenue would imply an increase in imports prejudicial to domestic industry, it may be replied that for every dollar's worth of the product of foreign industry imported, another dollar's worth of the products of American industry would be exported, and, furthermore, every dollar of the latter would embody a profit—large in the case of the products of agriculture—or the business of international exchanging would not be extensively prosecuted.

A reconstruction of the tariff on substantially the lines indicated would be an era in civilization. It would do much to promote peace and good-will between the United States and the rest of the world, in place of the fear, hatred, and distrust which all other nations, with the possible exception of autocratic and semi-barbarous Russia, now entertain toward this country. It would do much toward breaking down the protective-tariff system of Europe, which now makes contiguous states hostile, and is essential to the continuance of a military system that impoverishes their people. Whether the representatives of the Democratic party in Congress assembled will courageously and intelligently fulfil the mission intrusted to them by the American people remains to be seen. But it is certain their pathway to success is not along the line of timid conservatism.

DAVID A. WELLS.

THE ART OF WRITING HISTORY.

I DO not propose in this paper to enter into any general inquiry about the best method of writing history. Such inquiries appear to me to be of no real value, for there are many different kinds of history which should be written in many different ways. A diplomatic, a military, or a parliamentary history, dealing with a short period or a particular episode, must evidently be treated in a very different spirit from an extended history where the object of the historian should be to describe in their due proportion and relief the various aspects of the national life, and to trace through long periods of time the ultimate causes of national progress and decay. The history of religion, of art, of literature, of social and industrial development, of scientific progress, have all their different methods. A writer who treats of some great revolution that has transformed human affairs should deal largely in retrospect, for the most important part of his task is to explain the long course of events that prepared and produced the catastrophe; while a writer who treats of more normal times will do well to plunge rapidly into his theme.

There are some fields of history where the primary facts are so little known, so much contested, or so largely derived from recondite manuscript sources that a faithful historian will be obliged, in justice to his readers, to sacrifice both proportion and artistic charm to the supreme necessity of sifting evidence and accumulating proofs, while in other departments the gift of portraiture and the gift of generalization play the largest parts. Historians, too, differ widely in their special talents, and these talents are never altogether combined. The power of vividly realizing and portraying men, or societies, or modes of thought that have long since passed away; the power of arranging and combining great multitudes of various facts; the power of judging with discrimination, accuracy, and impartiality conflicting arguments or evidence; the power of tracing through the long course of events the true chain of cause and effect, selecting the facts that are most valuable and significant and explaining the relation between general causes and particular effects, are all very different and belong to different types of mind. It is idle to expect a writer with the gifts of a

Clarendon, a Kinglake, or a Froude to write history in the spirit of a Hallam or a Grote. Writers who are eminently distinguished for wide, patient, and accurate research have sometimes little power either of describing or interpreting the facts which they collect. All that can be said with any profit is that each writer will do best if he follows the natural bent of his genius, and that he should select those kinds or periods of history in which his special gifts have most scope and the qualities in which he is deficient are least needed.

The supreme virtue of the historian is truthfulness, and it may be violated in many different degrees. The worst form is when a writer deliberately falsifies facts or deliberately excludes from his picture qualifying circumstances. But there are other and much more subtle ways in which party spirit continually and often quite unconsciously distorts history. All history is necessarily a selection of facts, and a writer who is animated by a strong sympathy with one side of a question or a strong desire to prove some special point will be much tempted in his selection to give an undue prominence to those that support his view, or, even where neither facts nor arguments are suppressed, to give a party character to his work by an unfair distribution of lights and shades. The strong and vivid epithets are chiefly reserved for the good or bad deeds on one side, the vague, general, and comparatively colorless epithets for the corresponding deeds on the other side; and in this way very similar facts are brought before the reader with such different degrees of illumination and relief that they make a wholly different impression on his mind. In the history of Macaulay this defect may, I think, be especially traced. The characteristic defect of that great and in most respects admirable writer, both as historian and artist, was the singular absence of graduation in his mind. The neutral tints which are essential to the accurate shading of character seemed almost wanting, and a love of strong contrasted lights and shades, coupled with his supreme command of powerful epithets, continually misled him. But no attentive reader can fail to observe how unequally these epithets are distributed and how clearly this inequality discloses the strong bias under which he wrote.

The truth of an historical picture lies mainly in its judicious and accurate shading, and it is this art which the historian should especially cultivate. He will scarcely do so with success unless it becomes to him not merely a matter of duty, but also a pleasure and a pride. The kind of interest which he takes in his narrative should be much less that of a politician and an advocate than of a painter, who, now dark-

ening and now lightening the picture, seeks by many delicate touches to catch with exact fidelity the tone and hue of the object he represents. One of the most valuable of all forms of historical imagination is that which enables a writer to place himself in the point of view of the best men on different sides and to bring out the full force of opposing arguments.

The degree of certainty that it is possible to attain in history varies greatly in different departments. The growth of institutions and laws, military events, changes in manners and in creeds, can be described with much confidence, and although it is more difficult to depict the inner moral life of nations, the influences that form their characters and prepare them for greatness or decay, yet when the materials for our induction are sufficiently large this field of history may be studied with great profit. Diplomatic history and the more secret springs of political history can only be fully disclosed when the archives relating to them have been explored and when the confidential correspondence of the chief actors in them has been published. The biographical element in history is always the most uncertain. Even among contemporaries the judgment of character and motives depends largely on indications so slight and subtle that they rarely pass into books and are only fully felt by direct personal contact, and the smallest knowledge of life shows how quickly anecdotes and sayings are distorted, colored, and misplaced when they pass from lip to lip. Most of the "good sayings" of history are invention, and most of them have been attributed to different persons. A history which is plainly written under the influence of party bias has the value of an advocate's speech giving one side of the question. When our only materials for the knowledge of a period are derived from such histories, the saying of Voltaire should be remembered—that we can confidently believe only the evil which a party writer tells of his own side and the good which he recognizes in his opponents. In judging the historian we must consider his nearness to the events he relates, his probable means of information, and the internal evidence in his narrative of accuracy, honesty, and judgment, and we must also consider the standard of proof and the methods of historical writing prevailing in his time. A modern writer who placed in the mouths of his personages speeches which he himself invented would be justly discredited, but in antiquity it was a recognized custom for a historian to embody in fictitious speeches the reflections suggested by his narrative and the motives which he believed to have actuated his heroes.

Different ages differ enormously in the severity of proof which they exact, in the degree of accuracy which they attain. The credibility of a statement also depends not only on the amount of its evidence, but also on its own inherent probability. Every one will feel that an amount of testimony that would be quite sufficient to persuade him that a butcher's boy had been seen driving along a highway is wholly different from that which would be required to persuade him that a ghost had been met there. The same rule applies to the history of the past, and it is complicated by the great difference in different ages of the measure of probability, or, in other words, by the strong predisposition in certain stages of knowledge to accept statements or explanations of facts which in later stages we know to be incredible or in a high degree improbable. Few subjects in history are more difficult than the laws of evidence in dealing with the supernatural and the extent to which the authority of historians in relating credible and probable facts is invalidated by the presence of a mythical element in their narratives.

Connected with this subject is also the question how far it is possible by merely internal evidence to decompose an ancient document, resolving it into its separate elements, distinguishing its different dates and its different degrees of credibility. The reader is no doubt aware with what a rare skill this method of inquiry has been pursued in the present century, chiefly by great German and Dutch scholars, in dealing with the early Jewish writings. At the same time, without disputing the value of their work or the importance of many of the results at which they have arrived, I may be pardoned for expressing my belief that this kind of investigation is often pursued with an exaggerated confidence. Plausible conjecture is too frequently mistaken for positive proof. Undue significance is attached to what may be mere casual coincidences, and a minuteness of accuracy is professed in discriminating between the different elements in a narrative which cannot be attained by mere internal evidence. In all writings, but especially in the writings of an age when criticism was unknown, there will be repetitions, contradictions, inconsistencies and diversities of style which do not necessarily indicate different authorship or dates.

I have spoken of the uncertainty of the biographical element in history. It must, however, be said that when a historian is dealing with men who have played a very prominent part on the stage of life, the general acceptance of his judgment is a strong corroboration of its truth. It may be added that the later judgment of men is not infre-

quently more true than the contemporary judgment. The wisdom of a teaching or of a policy is shown by its results, and these results are in most cases very gradually disclosed. Great men are like great mountains which are surrounded by lower peaks that often obscure their grandeur and seem to a near observer to equal or even to overtop them. It is only when seen from far off that their true dimensions are fully realized and they soar to heaven above all rivals. In the page of history men are judged mainly by the net result of their lives, by the broad lines of their characters and achievements. Many injudicious words, many minor weaknesses of conduct, are forgotten. Faults of manner, deficiencies of tact, awkwardnesses of appearance, which tell so largely upon the judgments of contemporaries, are no longer seen. The conversational nimbleness and versatility of intellect, the charm or assurance or magnetism of manner, the weight of social position, all of which tend to secure to an inferior man a preëminence in the circle in which he moves, are equally evanescent, and the shy, rugged, and tactless recluse often emerges on the strength of his genuine and abiding performances to a position in the eyes of the world which he never attained during his lifetime.

That fine saying of Cardan, "*Tempus mea possessio, tempus ager meus*," might be the motto of the historian. Time is the field which he cultivates, and a true sense of space and distance should be one of the chief characteristics of his work. Few things are more difficult to attain than a just perspective in history. The most dramatic incidents are not the most important, and in weighing the joys and sorrows of the past our measures of judgment are almost hopelessly false. The most humane man cannot emancipate himself from the law of his nature, according to which he is more affected by some tragic circumstance which has taken place in his own house or in his own street than by a catastrophe which has carried anguish and desolation over enormous areas in a distant continent. In history, too, there are vast tracts which are almost necessarily unrealized. We judge a period mainly by its great men, by its brilliant or salient incidents, by the fortunes of a small class, and the great mass of obscure, suffering, inarticulate humanity, whose happiness is often so profoundly affected by political and military events, almost escapes our notice. It should be the object of history to bring before us past events in their true proportion and significance, and one of the greatest improvements in modern history is the increased attention which is paid to the social, industrial, and moral history of the poor. The paucity of our infor-

mation and the difficulty of realizing the conditions of obscure multitudes will always make this branch of history very imperfect, but it is one of the most essential to the just judgment of the past.

Another task which lies before the historian is that of distinguishing proximate from ultimate causes. Our first natural impulse is to attribute a great change to the men who effected it and to the period in which it took place, and to neglect or underrate the long train of causes which had been, often through many generations, preparing its advent. A faithful historian must especially guard against this error. He must study the slow process of growth as well as the moment of efflorescence, the long progress of decay as well as the final catastrophe. He will probably find that the part played by statesmen and legislatures is less than he had imagined, and that the causes of the movements he relates must be sought over a wider area and through a longer period. It is at present the fashion with some writers to treat history as if it ought to consist mainly of an investigation of state-paper offices. It is quite right that the treasure-houses of diplomatic correspondence which have of late years been thrown open should be explored and sifted, but history written chiefly from these materials is not likely to be distinguished either by artistic charm or philosophic value. Those who are immersed in these studies are very apt to overrate their importance and the part which diplomacy and statesmanship have borne in the great movement of human affairs.

A more fatal and very common error is that of judging the actions of the past by the moral standard of our own age. This is especially the error of novices in history and of those who without any wide and general culture devote themselves exclusively to a single period. While the primary and essential elements of right and wrong remain unchanged, nothing is more certain than that the standard or ideal of duty is continually altering. A very humane man in another age may have done things which would now be regarded as atrociously barbarous. A very virtuous man may have done things which would now indicate extreme profligacy. We seldom indeed make sufficient allowance for the degree in which the judgments and dispositions of even the best men are colored by the moral tone of the time or society in which they live. And what is true of individuals is equally true of nations. In order to judge equitably the legislation of any people, we must always consider corresponding contemporary legislations and ideas. When this is neglected our judgments of the past become wholly false. How often, for example, has such a subject as the his-

tory of the penal laws against Irish Catholics been treated without the smallest reference to the contemporary laws against Protestants that existed in every Catholic nation and the contemporary laws against Catholics that existed in almost every Protestant country in Europe. How often have the English commercial restrictions on the American colonies been treated as if they were instances of extreme and exceptional tyranny, while a more extended knowledge would show that they were simply the expression of ideas of commercial policy and about the relation of dependencies to the mother country which then almost universally prevailed.

It is not merely the moral standard that changes. A corresponding change takes place in the moral type, or, in other words, in the class of virtues which is especially cultivated and especially valued. To know an age aright we should above all things seek to understand its ideal, the direction in which the stream of its self-sacrifice and moral energy naturally flowed. Few things in history are more interesting and more valuable than a study of the causes that produced and modified these successive ideals. Thus in the moral type of pagan antiquity the civic virtues occupied incomparably the foremost place. The idea of a supremely good man was essentially that of a man of action, of a man whose whole life was devoted to the service of his country. The life and death of Cato was for generations the favorite model. He was deemed, in the words of an old Latin historian, to be of all men the one "most like to virtue." This pattern retained its force till the softening influence of the Greek spirit, permeating Roman life, made the stoical ideal seem too hard and unsympathizing; till the corruption and despotism of the Empire had withdrawn the best men from political life and attached a certain taint or stigma to public employment; till new religions arose in the East, bringing with them new ideals to govern the world. Gradually we may trace the contemplative virtues rising to the foremost place until, about the fifth century, the ideal had totally changed. The heroic type was replaced by the saintly type. The supremely good man was now the ascetic. The first condition of sanctity was a complete abandonment of secular duties and cares and a complete subjugation of the body. A vast literature of legends arose reflecting and glorifying the prevailing ideal and holding up the hermit life as the supreme pattern of perfection, and this literature occupies a place in mediævalism very similar to that held by the "Lives" of Plutarch in antiquity.

Ancient art was essentially the glorification of the body, a repre-

sentation of the full strength and beauty of developed manhood. The saint of the mediæval mosaic represents the body in its extreme maceration and humiliation. The rhetorician, Dio Chrysostom, in a somewhat whimsical passage, which was suggested by a remark of Plato, found a special moral significance in the fact that Homer, though he places his heroes on the banks of what he calls "the fishy Hellespont," never makes them eat fish, but always flesh and the flesh of oxen, for this, as he says, is "strength-producing food" and is therefore suited for the formation of heroes and the proper diet for men of virtue. Compare this judgment with the protracted, and indeed incredible, facts which the monkish writers delighted in attributing to the saints of the desert, and we have a vivid picture of the change that has passed over the ideal.

But as time moved on the ascetic ideal gradually declined and was replaced by the very different ideal of chivalry. It consisted chiefly of three new elements. The first element was a spirit of gallantry which gave women a wholly new place in the imaginations of men. It was in part a reaction against the extreme austerity of the saints, and this reaction was much intensified after the cessation of the panic which had risen at the close of the tenth century about the approaching end of the world. It was in part produced by the softer and more epicurean civilization which grew up in the country bordering on the Pyrenees. It was especially represented in the romances and poems of the Troubadours, and the new tendency even received some assistance from the Church when the Council of Clermont, which originated the Crusades, imposed on the knight the religious obligation of defending all widows and orphans.

The second element was an increased reverence for secular rank, which grew out of the feudal system, when a great hereditary aristocracy arose and all European society was moulded into a compact hierarchy, of which the serf was the basis and the emperor the apex. The principle of subordination and obedience ran through the whole edifice, and a respect for rank was universally diffused. Men came to associate their ideal of greatness with regal or noble authority, and they were therefore prepared to idealize any great sovereign who might arise. Such a sovereign appeared in Charlemagne, who exercised upon Christendom a fascination not less powerful than that which Alexander had once exercised upon Greece, and he accordingly soon became the centre of a whole literature of romance.

The third element was the fusion of religious enthusiasm with the

military spirit. Christianity in its first phases was utterly opposed to the military spirit; but this opposition was naturally mitigated when the Church triumphed under Constantine and became associated with governments and armies. The hostility was still further qualified when many tribes of warlike barbarians embraced the faith, and the military obligation which was an essential element of feudalism acted in the same direction. But, above all, the rise and conquests of Mohammedanism awoke the military energies of Christendom and determined the direction it should take. In the Crusades the two great streams of military enthusiasm and of religious enthusiasm met, and the result was the formation of a new ideal which for a long period mainly governed the imagination of Christendom.

It for a time absorbed, eclipsed, and transformed all purely national ideals. No poet was ever more intensely English in his character and sympathies than Chaucer, and he wrote when the dazzling glories of Crécy and Poitiers were still very recent. Yet it is not on these fields, but in the long wars with the Moslems, that his pattern knight had won his renown. The military expeditions of Charlemagne were directed almost exclusively against the Saxons and against Slavonic tribes. With the Spanish Mohammedans he came but very slightly in contact. He made in person but one expedition against them, and that expedition was both insignificant and unsuccessful. But in the Karlovingian romances, which were written when the crusading enthusiasm was at its height, the figure of the great emperor underwent a strange and most significant transformation. The German wars were scarcely noticed. Charlemagne is surrounded with the special glory that ought to have belonged to Charles Martel. He is represented as having passed his entire life in a victorious struggle with the Mohammedans of Europe, and is even gravely credited with a triumphant expedition to Jerusalem. The three romances of the Crusades which are believed to be the oldest were all written by monks, and they all make Charlemagne their hero. Even geography was transformed by the new enthusiasm, and old maps sometimes represent Jerusalem as the centre of the world.

In few periods has there been so great a difference between the ideals created by the popular imagination and the realities that are recognized by history. Few wars have been accompanied by more cruelty, more outrage, and more licentiousness than the Crusades or have brought a blacker cloud of disasters in their train. Yet the idea that inspired them was a lofty one, and they were so speedily trans-

figured by the imaginations of men that in combination with the other influences I have mentioned they created an ideal which is one of the most beautiful in the history of the world. We may trace it clearly in the romances of Arthur and Charlemagne and of the "Cid," in the "Red-Cross Knight" of Tasso and Spenser, in the old ballads which paint so vividly the hero of chivalry, ever ready to draw his sword for his faith and his lady-love and in the cause of the feeble and the oppressed. The glorification of military courage and self-sacrifice which had been so prominent in antiquity was again in the ascendant, but it was combined with a new kind of honor and with a new vein of courtesy, modesty, and gentleness. When we apply the epithet "chivalrous" to a modern gentleman, this is no unmeaning term. There is even now an element in that character which may be distinctly traced to the ideal of chivalry which the Crusades made dominant in Europe.

I do not propose to follow the history of other ideals that have in turn prevailed. What I have written will, I trust, be sufficient to illustrate a kind of history which appears to me to possess much interest and value. It will show, too, that a faithful historian is very largely concerned with the fictions as well as with the facts of the past. Legends which have no firm historical basis are often of the highest historical value as reflecting the moral sentiments of their time. Nor do they merely reflect them. In some periods they contribute perhaps more than any other influence to mould and color them and to give them an enduring strength. The facts of history have been largely governed by its fictions. Great events often acquire their full power over the human mind only when they have passed through the transfiguring medium of the imagination, and men as they were supposed to be have sometimes exercised a wider influence than men as they actually were. Ideals ultimately rule the world, and each before it loses its ascendancy bequeathes some moral truth as an abiding legacy to the human race.

W. E. H. LECKY.

MEDICINE AS A CAREER.

To the young man about to choose a professional career, medicine at this time offers opportunities for the employment of the highest mental faculties, for the increase of knowledge, for usefulness to the world, and for the attainment of true happiness, such as no other profession presents. It is not meant by this to assert that it will certainly secure to its followers all or indeed any of these things, but that, given the same degree of intellect with a good preliminary education, the probabilities are that out of a thousand men taking up the study of medicine more will attain success than will do so among a similar number of young men of like character and attainments who devote themselves to theology, law, politics, or education.

What is the meaning of "success" in this connection? I call a successful career one in which the man has done good work, the best of which he was capable, work in which he was strongly interested and which in itself gave him pleasure, work done unselfishly because he believed it to be good work which ought to be done and not merely performed as a means grudgingly made use of to obtain wealth or fame or power as the real objects sought. It is a career which has secured a happy home and sufficient means to support it, although it may not have led to wealth; it has brought to its pursuer the approval and friendship of those best acquainted with his life and work, although it may not have made him famous or given him decorations or formal honors; it has made his advice valued and sought for by those who know him, although it may not have given him an executive office or made him a ruler over his fellow-men. Such a career does not protect from the afflictions and sorrows common to humanity, but it does away in a great measure with boredom and *ennui*, with weary waiting for something to turn up, and the work itself is the best resource against inevitable grief. The man who achieves such a career has not been dependent on his acquaintances for his happiness, he has not fretted and worried because his family or his friends or his associates or the state have not recognized his merit according to his conception of it, for he has acted on the principle that he exists for their benefit and that they are not merely his appendages.

In speaking of a medical career as a means of obtaining such success, the word medicine is used in its broadest sense to include the study of the phenomena of human life—disease and death—the circumstances by which these can be influenced, and the practical application of the results to prevention as well as to cure. No other profession affords such opportunities for investigation and experiment or a greater field of usefulness, and no other profession demands so much knowledge of natural science and of the laws of being. Of all men, the skilled physician stands nearest to the veil of Isis, which is becoming thinner, though it may never be lifted. To one who has a thirst for knowledge for its own sake or as a means for the benefit of others, the problems of the medicine of to-day offer peculiar attractions, for it is not that which is known, but that which is half known, mysterious, tantalizing, and which apparently might be known by special study, which attracts such a man.

In the preface to the "*Meddygon Myddfai*," a Welsh medical work dating from the thirteenth century, the scribe declares that the reason why the authors Rhiwallon and his sons "thus caused a record of their skill to be committed to writing was lest no one should be found after them so endowed with the requisite knowledge as they were." We may excuse the *naïve* vanity of these physicians in view of their desire to make their knowledge available for the general good; but there is small danger that any skilled practitioner of to-day will be troubled with the fear which beset the physicians of "*Myddfai*." The more he knows of the huge strides which have been made in recent years in our knowledge of the laws of life and of disease, the more he sees the extent of the dim, hazy, shifting outlines which yet remain to be explored, measured, and mapped out. He must be a student so long as he lives; as yet there is no visible end of the things which he does not know and ought to know and has reason to think that he might know by the expenditure of a little time and effort. Let us consider a few of the simplest examples.

We know that the cholera *bacillus* is the essential or immediate cause of Asiatic cholera; but we do not know why it was that when, the other day, von Pettenkoffer and Emmerich swallowed several millions of cholera *bacilli* and proved that these were living in their alimentary canals they did not have cholera. Was it due to the fact that the *bacilli* had their nature changed by culture, or was it due to the mysterious "*x*" which von Pettenkoffer supposed was present in Hamburg and not in Munich? We know that malaria is probably

due to a minute animal organism which has several stages of development, some of which occur while it is in the human body. But we have not yet been able to observe the growth and development of this organism outside the human body, where it probably has a different form. It may be, for instance, in a mosquito, and until we know, we have not mastered the chief problem in the important matter of practical prevention of malaria. We know that typhoid fever is caused by the poisonous products produced by a minute vegetable, the *bacillus* of typhoid; but we do not know whether this *bacillus* has one or many forms, or whether it may not under certain circumstances be developed from organisms which every man carries within his alimentary canal during adult life. Probably also the effects of this *bacillus* or of its products are modified to a considerable extent by the antecedent or coincident action of certain other *bacteria* and their products; but experiments on this point have only just been commenced. We know that the products formed by the growth of certain disease-producing *bacteria*, as, for instance, those of *anthrax* or tetanus, have the power of making an animal immune against those diseases, or, in other words, that the poison is hostile to the organisms which produce it; and this is probably about to become the basis of new and successful modes of treatment as well as of prevention of such diseases, but the amount of work yet to be done to place this on a firm scientific basis is enormous.

It is now known that the brain is not a single organ, but an aggregation of many nerve-centres, each having a more or less distinct function, although closely connected with others; that the action of some of these centres may be specially stimulated or checked either by certain products evolved by various organs and parts of the body or by certain drugs or by producing certain sensations through the channels of vision and of hearing. Thus, through the modern methods of investigation of the structure, connections, and functions of these nerve-centres, we are beginning to understand better the mental phenomena of man and their aberrations as the result of disease or of drugs or hypnotism. We have now some means of measuring the rapidity of mental action and find that "as quick as thought" is really not very quick, and we can locate certain lesions of the brain, from the external symptoms which they produce, with so much precision as to justify the surgeon in opening the skull at the point indicated and removing the cause of the trouble. Yet psychophysics and the physiology, pathology, and therapeutics of the

nervous system are branches of medicine which as yet are only in their infancy and in which there are many modes of investigation yet to be tried.

In like manner, I might indicate the possibilities, even the probabilities, that such diseases as diphtheria, hydrophobia, tetanus, rheumatism, yellow fever, and cancer will in the near future be deprived of much of their danger by the results of scientific study. I might take up each of the systems, organs, and fluids of the living body and show how the latest methods and discoveries in bacteriology, chemistry, electricity, etc., remain to be applied in research, in diagnosis, or in therapeutics with regard to them; but enough has probably been said to prove not only the variety and extent of the fields to be explored, but that they lie close at hand and are really explorable. And every new discovery widens the horizon and opens new paths. It would be easy to-day to set before each of a hundred skilled investigators a problem in physiology or pathology as yet unsolved, but probably solvable by a few years' patient labor; and each one of these students in the course of his work would undoubtedly come across a dozen other problems as side issues which would claim attention. The clergyman subscribes to certain doctrines which he is to expound and explain; the lawyer takes a proposition and collects evidence in favor of it; but the physician collects evidence first and then asks, not what it proves, but what it makes probable.

That which is unknown, but probably knowable, has, as I have said, great attractions for certain minds, and to such medicine as a career needs no other panegyric than the indication of the possibilities which it presents. The tastes of other men incline not so much to actual experiment as to the collation and comparison of the results of the experiments of others. In this, also, medicine presents at the present time peculiar attractions. Its current literature is of vast extent, and while much of this literature is worthless, much of it is suggestive, and perhaps one per cent of it is of permanent value. Now, it is this very fact that it requires search and discrimination to find what is useful that is attractive to certain minds. Just as, in the early days of California, pocket-hunting had a zest of its own which regular quartz-mill work could not give, so the man who commences a literary research for what has been reported with regard to some peculiar disease or method of treatment may take great pleasure in the search itself and be rather disappointed than otherwise if he

comes across an article in which he finds the work ably done for him. The great difficulty in this field of investigation is, for most men, the want of access to the books required.

Passing now from the pleasures of study for its own sake, which in the eyes of a few surpass all others, let us briefly consider the inducements which medicine offers as a career to the man who desires knowledge mainly as a means to an end, that end being practical utility to his fellow-men.

A professional man is defined as one who professes or announces that he is in possession of special knowledge such as the great majority of men do not have, and that he is willing to furnish the benefit of his knowledge to his fellow-men in the shape of advice or supervision of certain of their affairs. The three learned professions offer such advice and supervision with reference to men's souls, property, and bodies; but, as Mr. Evarts has remarked, the field of usefulness is more universal for medicine than it is for law or theology, since there are many who have no property to be cared for and there are some with regard to whose possession of souls there may be a question; but everybody has a body, which at times is liable to require skilled management to avoid suffering and death and to enable it to do its work, although some bodies, it must be confessed, are hardly worth preserving. Almost every one sooner or later desires the aid of the physician's special skill for himself or for his family; wealth, genius, fame, power do not specially diminish this need, nor do poverty and ignorance exempt from it. It is true that there are things more important than bodily health, that there are times and occasions when it is one's duty to undertake or persist in a mode of life which will almost certainly produce premature disability or death, and, as Dr. Allbutt says, "there is something not heroic in the mere health-hunter, the man who wanders from doctor to doctor and from land to land, not that he may do his duty the better, but that he may have an ache the less." This, however, does not make it the less necessary for physicians to supply the wants of all, trivial though they may seem to him, for each must be allowed to judge for himself as to where and how much the shoe pinches.

Consider the practical usefulness of medicine. It is not merely physical pain in individuals that is to be lessened or averted. Its results extend far beyond the man whose disability is removed, whose pain is diminished, whose death is delayed, and who is thus enabled to go on with his share of the world's work; they affect the welfare and

happiness of his family, of his associates, and, it may be, the interests of a nation, or of the world of science, of literature, or of art. It deals also with the health of cities and of nations, with great commercial interests, threatened on the one hand by epidemics and on the other by unwise and unnecessary restrictions imposed under the dictates of panic, the offspring of ignorance and cowardice, and its power and possibilities are inextricably involved in many social problems of the gravest importance to modern civilization.

The relative influences of heredity and of environment in the production of the defective, dependent, and dangerous classes of society, of the feeble-minded, the insane, the deaf-mutes, the vagrants, and the criminals, the means of preventing such production or of dealing with them after they have been produced, are all medical quite as much as they are sociological questions. It is to specially skilled physicians that the jurist looks for advice in dealing with persons whose responsibility for their actions is doubtful; the wise theologian will seek their counsel in cases of morbid conscientiousness and self-reproach, of epidemic emotional manifestations under religious influence, of alleged miracles. The professional educator, from the teacher in a common school to the head of a great university, has need of the information which the medical sciences are collecting with regard to the development of the organs of sensation, of memory, of comparison, and of judgment, which he is training for the coming generation, the men and women of the twentieth century; and with regard to the effects of variations in light, food, exercise, succession or order of studies, and many other things connected with school or college life upon the little masses of gray nerve substance which form the physical substratum of intellect, of emotions, and of morals. Whether one supposes that soul, intellect, and vital force are each distinct entities, having an existence independent of these nerve-centres, or that one or more of them are the result of the organization and function of such centres, all must admit the fact that injury to these centres modifies or prevents their manifestations. With a little change in certain cells of the cortical gray, a change which requires the use of the microscope to determine, the orator becomes speechless, the judge becomes a criminal, and the prudent man of business, the affectionate husband and father, the model citizen and pillar of the church becomes extravagant, unchaste, deceitful, and thus enters upon the first stage of a degeneration which, if unchecked, will make him a hopeless paralytic and a drivelling idiot.

In the first part of this paper has been briefly indicated the vast field of unknown and imperfectly-explored regions which belong to medicine, and from this point of view it may be supposed by some that our present knowledge is of little value. This is by no means the case. Modern medicine possesses great knowledge and power, much more in some cases than it is allowed to use, because popular opinion has not yet been educated to the point of appreciating its value. It is in the curious position of continually offering advice which, if accepted, would greatly lessen the need of the public for its services. When people are ready to obey the physician it is in many cases too late for them to have the benefit of his most valuable knowledge and skill: the tissues are already degenerated, the arteries are prematurely old, the epidemic is already raging among the people. The medicine of the future is preventive medicine, that which will foresee the evil while it is as yet afar off and take measures to avert it.

I have said that a successful career brings to its pursuer the approval and friendship of those who best know his work, and this is preëminently true of practical medicine. In some matters the wife trusts the medical man more than she does her husband, the youth comes to him in trouble concealed from his parents, and the man of business confides in him as he does not in his partner. The skilled physician becomes not only the trusted adviser in disease, but the personal friend, the one who is appealed to for sympathy in joy as well as in trouble, whose company is sought upon all occasions, whose mere personal presence brings with it assurance and comfort. Almost every reader of this paper knows some such man, in whose honesty of purpose, fidelity in keeping confidences, and readiness to undergo toil and trouble for the sake of his patients, all who know him have perfect confidence; he lives, as Mr. Bayard has said, "surrounded by an atmosphere of love and trust, holding as it were the heart-strings of a family in his hands." Sweet as are such trust and affection on the part of his patients, at least equally sweet are the confidence and friendship which come to him from those best qualified to judge of that part of his work which has been done rather for the benefit of the community, of science, and of the world than for individuals. These are, for the most part, the members of his own profession whom he has helped. Some of them may have been his immediate pupils; others, whom he may never see, have read his writings or have in other ways obtained help from his labors and express their appreciation of it in many ways. Through the respect and confidence thus

developed he becomes a well-known consultant, the man whose advice is sought by his brother-physicians in doubtful and difficult cases. This increases his experience and his influence and calls his attention to the many points in which medical science is still defective; for too often when he sees the case he can but recognize its incurability and offer only transient relief from suffering.

The phrase "brother-physicians" is one that applies especially in medicine, because for more than two thousand years in all civilized countries educated physicians have recognized each other as belonging to a brotherhood. It comes from the time when the study of medicine was hereditary in certain families and when the candidate swore by Apollo and all the gods "to reckon him who taught me this art equally dear to me as my parents, to share my substance with him and relieve his necessities if required, to look upon his offspring as my own brothers," etc. Thus medical men everywhere recognize the claim of a physician to advice and care in case of sickness or injury and accept no fee for it. As Weir Mitchell says, "the physicians' guild is a world-wide guild, the only one."

It is necessary, in speaking of medicine as a career, to consider its demands as well as its inducements, and these demands, for those who wish to secure such success as I have referred to, are for good mental capacity, for a long period of study, for much patience, for powers of physical endurance, for quick and keen sympathies, for honesty and for purity of thought, word, and deed. In the hands of the physician are placed at times not only the issues of life and death, but of things more valuable than these. Not more than one man in a thousand can properly comply with all these demands. The young man whom I would advise to take medicine as a career should have had a broad preliminary education, he should know his "humanities," and it is highly desirable that he should have taken his B.A. degree at a large university, not merely as a guarantee that he has had proper training, but because of the associations which he will have formed there, the ideas which are in the air, the intelligent sympathy with literature, science, and art which will there be developed and which is essential to his future usefulness and happiness. He is then to take a four years' course of instruction in a medical school having ample facilities in the way of laboratories and hospitals. Following this should come a service of a year and a half as resident in a large hospital.

By the end of this period, and not much before the end of it, he will be qualified to form a fairly wise judgment as to his own

capacity and tastes and as to the particular branch or branches of medicine which are best suited to his wishes. He must beware of beginning to specialize too soon; the foundations must be broad. Now he can decide whether his next two or three years of study shall be spent chiefly in laboratories or in clinics, or how they shall be divided between the two. As an undergraduate in medicine, his work in laboratories must be confined to the learning of a few methods of *technique* and something of the spirit which animates research. When he comes to making original research for himself, he will find that its demands for unremittent persistent attention and thought are such that for the time being he can do little else. The clinic instruction which he needs after his residence in the hospital is not to be had in one place or from one man: he needs to compare the manners, the methods, and the results of different men, each the leader in his own place, and for this purpose he must travel and visit the great clinics in different cities. This done he will be ready to go to work, he will have some idea, though probably not an adequate one, of the things he does not know, and his advice and opinions will begin to be valuable. There is little cause to fear lest he do not find employment; there is always a place for a competent and trustworthy man-for one who can be depended on to work without supervision and to do more than the letter of his engagement calls for; and in laboratories, in hospitals, in medical schools, and in the broad field of practice there are such places waiting to-day for the men who have not yet been found for them.

But it will be said by some, "You demand too much time and money for education and training; the man ought to begin to support himself long before your scheme would permit him to do so." My answer is that the man who has the means which will enable him to spend the time above indicated as required to fit him to take charge of the health and lives of his fellow-men had better so invest them, while he who has not such means should carefully consider as to whether he had better not abandon all thought of studying medicine and try some of the numerous other occupations which offer a better investment for his time and money and in which he may be a less dangerous and more useful member of society. This country is in no need of men possessing the diploma of Doctor of Medicine; it already has at least twenty thousand more of them than it requires or can properly support; but it does need several hundred, say a thousand, more of such properly-trained physicians as I have indicated, and I

am quite sure that the people will be able to recognize them when they appear and will take proper care of their material interests.

My young friend whose attention I wish to direct to medicine as a career will have spent five years at a good intermediate school as a preliminary to entering the university, which he does when he is about seventeen years old. He spends three or four years at the university, four years at the medical school, one and one-half years in the hospital, and two years in travel and special studies. When, therefore, he is ready to begin work he will be about twenty-eight years old, and his education, living, books, etc., will have cost about eight thousand dollars from the time he entered the university. It can be done for less, but this is a fair average estimate.

I am not considering medicine as a trade or looking at it from the commercial point of view. I have not presented among its attractions the probabilities of being able to have a villa at Newport or to keep a yacht or fast horses, but have only claimed that it will provide means to secure a comfortable and happy home and to aid in some degree those who are less fortunate. The physician whom I have in mind cannot afford to waste his time in making more money than is required for his own immediate needs and for those of his family; as one who has had special advantages in culture and in the acquisition of knowledge, he is subject to special claims on the part of his fellow-men who have not been granted such opportunity. The torch of science is placed in his hands, not merely to illuminate his own path, but to enable him to guide and help others in their passage over Mirza's bridge, out of the darkness into the darkness; and, moreover, it is his duty to hand it on to his successors with added fuel, that it may be more bright for them than it has been for himself. His duties as a citizen are higher than those of non-professional men, for increase of knowledge brings with it not only power, but responsibility as well. This, no doubt, brings upon him at times special cares and anxieties: he will see signs of coming trouble in what to most men may appear to add to beauty or to be evidences of robust health and prosperity; he may have to take the unpleasant part of Cassandra in giving unheeded warnings of evils to come. But these are but incidental and occasional troubles, far more than counterbalanced by the satisfaction derived from the interesting, continuous, useful employment and development of every human faculty which even now belongs to, and which in the near future will still more characterize, medicine as a career.

JOHN S. BILLINGS.

EMOTIONAL TENSION AND THE MODERN NOVEL.

IT was my privilege to ask a question in the January number of this review and to answer it in my own way to the best of my ability. What is a novel? That was the question. Now the answer was: A novel is a pocket-theatre. In the course of an attempt to demonstrate the truth of this definition the words "romance" and "realism" could hardly fail to escape the modern writer's pen; for there is much talk in our day of the realistic school of fiction, and the romantic school, though not often mentioned, is understood to be opposed to it. Of course, it is easy to enter into a long discussion about the exact meanings of the two words; but, on the whole, it seems to be true that if the people who talk about schools of fiction mean anything or wish to mean anything, which sometimes seems doubtful, they mean this: the realist proposes to show men what they are; the romantist tries to show men what they should be. It is very unlikely that mankind will ever agree as to the relative merits of these two, and the discussion which was practically begun in Plato's time is not likely to end so long as people care what they read or what they think. The most any one can do is to give a personal opinion, and that means, of course, that he who expresses it commits himself and publicly takes either the one side or the other. For my part, I believe that more good can be done by showing men what they may be, ought to be, or can be than by describing their greatest weaknesses with the highest art. We all know how bad we are; but it needs much encouragement to persuade some of us to believe that we can really be any better. To create genuine interest and afford rest and legitimate amusement without losing sight of that part, and to do so in a more or less traditional way, seems to be the profession of the novelist who belongs to the romantic persuasion.

That novel-writing is a business I am credibly informed by my publishers. And since that is the case, it must be taken for granted that it is a business which to some extent must be practised like any other and which will succeed or fail in the hands of any particular man according as he is more or less fitted to carry it on. The qualifi-

cations for any business are three: native talent, education, and industry. Where there is success of the right kind the talent and power of application must be taken for granted. The education is and always must be a question of circumstance. With regard to novel-writing, when I speak of education I am not referring to it in the ordinary sense. Some people take a great deal of interest in concrete things, while others care more for humanity. The education of a novelist is the experience of men and women which he has got at first hand in the course of his own life, for he is of that class to whom humanity offers a higher interest than inanimate nature. He can use nature and art only as a scene and background upon which and before which his personages move and have their being. It is his business to present his readers with something which I have called the pocket-theatre, something which every man may carry in his pocket, believing that he has only to open it in order to look in upon the theatre of the living world. To produce it, to prepare it, to put it into a portable and serviceable shape, the writer must know what that living world is, what the men in it do and what the women think, why women shed tears and children laugh and young men make love and old men repeat themselves. While he is writing his book his human beings must be with him, before him, moving before the eye of his mind and talking into the ear of his heart. He must have lived himself: he must have loved, fought, suffered, and struggled in the human battle. I would almost say that to describe another's death he must himself have died.

All this accounts perhaps for the fact that readers are many and writers few. The reader knows one side of life, his own, better than the writer possibly can, and he reads with the greatest interest those books which treat of lives like his own. But the writer must have seen and known many phases of existence, and this is what the education of the novelist means: to know and understand, so far as he is able, men and women who have been placed in unusual circumstances. And this need not and should not lead him into creating altogether imaginary characters, nor men and women whose circumstances are not only unusual, but altogether impossible. We see grotesque pieces given at the theatre—too grotesque and too often given—which make us laugh, but never make us think. They would not make good novels. The novel must amuse, indeed, but should amuse reasonably, from an intellectual point of view, rather than as a piece of good fun. Its object is to make one see men and women who might really live,

talk, and act as they do in the book, and some of whom one would perhaps like to imitate. Its intention is to amuse and please, and certainly not to teach or preach; but in order to amuse well it must be a finely-balanced creation, neither hysterical with tears nor convulsed with perpetual laughter. The one is as tiring as the other and, in the long run, as unnatural.

It is easy, comparatively speaking, to appeal to the emotions, but it is hard to appeal to the heart. This may sound somewhat contradictory at first, but there is truth in it nevertheless. The outward emotions are in real life much more the expressions of the temperament than of what we call the heart. We all know that there are men and women who laugh and cry more easily than others, and we are rather inclined to believe that these are not they who feel most deeply. A very difficult question here presents itself. Bacon says somewhere that we are apt to extol the powers of the human intellect without invoking its aid as often as we might. This extolling of humanity has been a fashion of late years, and it has not yet disappeared, though its popularity is waning fast. In England Sir Andrew Clarke, M.D., has recently talked learnedly of "the religion of the body" and Lord Coleridge with eloquence of "the religion of the mind." These things are good enough, no doubt, but what of the religion of the heart, which is after all the only religion there is—if the heart is the earthly representative of the soul? There are some people—fewer than is generally supposed—who really do not believe in the existence of the soul. Let me tell them that they are very near to denying the existence of the heart. Perhaps some of them do, and they may live to repent of their unbelief in this world, if not in the next. What is the heart, or, rather, what do we in common conversation and writing understand by that word? It looks a great deal like attempting to define belief, but belief has received an excellent definition, for belief is knowledge and nothing else, so far as the individual who holds it is concerned. What we call the heart in each man and woman seems to mean the whole body of innate and inherited instincts, impulses, and beliefs, taken together, and in that relation to one another in which they stand after they have been acted upon throughout the individual's life by the inward vicissitudes and the outward circumstances to which he has been exposed. When all this is quiescent I think we call it Self. When roused to emotional activity we call it the Heart. But whatever we call it, it is to this Self or Heart that everything which is ethic and therefore permanent must appeal.

The foundation of good fiction and good poetry seems to be ethic rather than æsthetic. Everything in either which appeals to the taste, that is, to the æsthetic side, may ultimately perish as a mere matter of fashion; but that which speaks to man as man, independently of his fashions, his habits, and his tastes, must live and find a hearing with humanity so long as humanity is human. The right understanding of men and women leads to the right relations of men and women, and in this way, if in any, a novel may do good; when written to attain this end it may live; when addressed to the constant element in human nature, it has as good a right and as good a chance of pleasing the men and women of the world in our day as it had to appeal to the intellect of Pericles or to thrill the delicate sensibilities of Aspasia. Their novels were plays in outward effect, as ours should be in inward substance, and we must needs confess that the form in which their intellectual artistic luxuries were presented to them was superior to that of the modern effort included in four hundred pages at one dollar and twenty-five cents. Possibly, even probably, it is unfair to us to compare ourselves with Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes; yet the comparison suggests itself if the definition be true and if our novels really aspire to be plays.

We have indeed something in our favor which the genuine playwright has not. We appeal entirely to the imagination and, unless we introduce algebraic *formulæ* or scientific discussion, we give no standard measure in our books by which to judge the whole. We can call up surroundings which never were and never can be possible in the world, and if we are able to do it well enough we can put impossible characters upon our stage and make them do impossible things, and the whole, acting upon a predisposed imagination, create for the moment something almost like belief in the mind of the reader. We can conceive a tale fantastic beyond the bounds of probability, and if there is a touch of nature in it we may for a while transport our readers into Fairyland. We can clothe all of this in poetic language if our command of the English tongue is equal to the occasion, and we can lend pathos to a monster and heroism to a burlesque man. But the writer of plays for the real theatre cannot do this; if he does he makes that which in theatrical language is called a "burlesque" or a "spectacle"; or, if he be a member of the "decadent school," he may produce what he has decided to call by a new name—a production not always conducive to a high belief in human nature.

The writer of plays, if he write them for actual performance, has living interpreters, and they and he are judged by the standard of real life. He is to a great extent dependent upon his actors for the effect he hopes to produce, and they are dependent not only upon him, upon their individual education, depth of feeling, and power of expression, but also upon the material conditions and surroundings in which they have to do their work. The most dramatic scene of real life, if it actually took place on the stage of a theatre, would seem a very dull and tame affair to any one who chanced to find himself in the body of the house. The fundamental lack of interest, until it has been artificially aroused, is a gulf not to be bridged by such simple means as being really "natural." The art of the actor lies in knowing the precise degree of exaggeration necessary to produce the impression that he is not exaggerating at all, but exaggeration there must be. Without it, neither the words nor the actions can speak or appeal to the intelligence of the spectator.

But we novelists are in an easier position in our relations to our audience. We are granted many privileges and have many advantages which the playwright has not; for we can appeal to the heart almost directly without the conscious intervention of practiced eyes and ears, used to realities and eager to judge by real standards. We speak of Edwin's great height, broad shoulders, noble features, and silken mustache, and are not obliged to look out for an actor who shall fulfil these conditions of manly beauty before we can be heard without being ridiculous. Angelina's heavy hair is a fact on paper; on the stage it is a wig and must be a good one. Her liquid blue eyes are blue because we say they are; but it would annoy a playwright to find that his leading actress had light gray ones, when Edwin must compare them to the depths of the blackest night.

All this is rather frivolous, perhaps; but a little frivolity is to the point here, since there can be no amusement without a dash of it, and we profess to provide diversion to meet the public demand. With most men who have moulded, hacked, and chiselled the world into history, to think has been to act. With us novelists, so far as the world need know us, to think is to dream and perhaps to dream only little dreams of only passing significance. Few novelists are poets; only one or two have been statesmen; none have been conquerors. I suppose we are very insignificant figures compared with the great ones of this earth; but to our comfort we may dream, and if we need consolation we may console ourselves, as Montaigne puts it, with the

art which small souls have to interest great ones, "*L'art qu'ont les petites âmes d'intéresser les grandes.*"

Frivolity is not weakness, though in excess it may be a weakness. "*Carpe diem*" is a good motto for the morning, but in the evening "*Dulce desipere in loco*" is not to be despised as a piece of advice. The frivolities of great men and famous women have filled volumes of memoirs, and are not without interest to the little, as our little interests do not always seem dull to the great. The greater men are the more heart they have, good or bad, and the easier it is to affect them through it, through the multiform feelings which their varied lives have created within them, or through the few strong sentiments by which most of them are ruled, guided, or impelled according as they are conscientious, calculating, or impulsive, and to some extent according to their nationality, a matter which has almost as much to do with the author's dream as with the reader's subjective interpretation of it, and which largely determines the balance between sentiment and sentimentality.

Sentiment heightens the value of works of fiction as sentimentality lowers it. The distinction is not a fine one and has grown common enough in our day to be universally understood. We owe it, I think, to the international balance of sentiment and sentimentality that the novelists of the present day are the French, Anglo-Saxons, and Russians. With all due respect to the great German intelligence, it does not seem capable of producing what we call a novel. The German mind, measured by our standard, is sentimental, not romantic. Perhaps there is as much romance to be found in the history and traditions of Germany up to a date which I should place at about forty years ago as there is anywhere in the civilized world. Yet, for some reason or other, a modern German, as I have said, seems to be more sentimental than romantic in his habits of thought and feeling.

It is not possible in a paper of this length to inquire into the foundations of sentimentality and romance. Practically, however, what we call a romantic life is one full of dramatic incidents which come unsought as the natural consequence and result of a man's or a woman's character. It is therefore necessarily an exceptional life, and as such should have exceptional interest for the majority. When our lives are not filled with emotions they are too often crammed with insignificant details, too insignificant to bear recording in a novel, but yet making up for each of us all the significance life has. The great emotions are not every-day phenomena, and it is the desire to experi-

ence them vicariously which creates the demand for fiction and thereby and at the same time a demand for emotion. This is felt more particularly nowadays than formerly.

The French Revolution seems to have introduced an emotional phase into social history, and to it we must attribute directly or indirectly many of our present tastes and fashions. With it began the novel in France. With it the novel in the English language made a fresh start and assumed a new form. To take a very simple view of the question, I should like to hazard, as a guess, the theory that when the world had lived at a very high pressure during the French Revolution, the wars of Napoleon, and what has been called the "awakening of the peoples," it had acquired permanently "the emotional habit," just as a man who takes opium or morphia cannot do without it. There was a general desire felt to go on experiencing without dangerous consequences those varying conditions of hope, fear, disappointment, and triumph in which the whole world's nervous system had thrilled daily during so many years and at such fearful cost. The children of the women who had gone to the scaffold with Marie Antoinette, the sons of the men who had charged with Murat, who had stood by *La Tour d'Auvergne*, or who had fired their parting shot with Ney, were not satisfied to dwell in returning peace and reviving prosperity with nothing but insipid tales of shepherds and shepherdesses to amuse them. They wanted sterner, rougher stuff. They created a demand and it was forthwith supplied, and their children and children's children have followed their progenitors' footsteps in war and have adopted their tastes in peace.

Modern civilization, too, has done what it could to stir the hearts of men. Evil communications corrupt good manners, and it is not a play upon words to say that the increased facility of actual communications has widened and deepened those channels of communication which are evil and increased at the same time the demand for all sorts of emotion, bad or good. Not that emotion of itself is bad. It is often the contrary. Even the momentary reflection of true love is a good thing in itself. It is good that men and women should realize that a great affection is, or can be, a reality to many as well as a convenient amusement or a heart-rending drama to a few.

Modern civilization has created modern vices, modern crimes, modern virtues, austerities, and generosityes. The crimes of to-day were not dreamed of a hundred years ago, any more than the sublimity of the good deeds done in our time to remedy our time's mistakes.

And between the angel and the beast of this ending century lie great multitudes of ever-shifting, ever-changing lives, neither very bad nor very good, but in all cases very different from what lives used to be in the good old days when time meant time and not money. There, too, in that vast land of mediocrities, emotions play a part of which our grandfathers never heard, and being real, of the living, and of superior interest to those who feel them, reflect themselves in the novel of to-day, changing the course of true love into very tortuous channels and varying the tale that is ever young with features that are often new. Within a short few months I myself have lived in a land where modern means of communication are not, and I have come to live here where applied science is doing her best to eliminate distance as a factor from the equation of exchanges, financial and intellectual. The difference between the manifestations of human feeling in Southern Italy and North America is greater and wider than can be explained in intelligible terms. Yet I am convinced that it is but skin-deep. Sentiment, sentimentality, taste, fashion, daily speech, acquired science, and transmitted tradition cleanse, soil, model, or deface the changing shell of mutable mortality, and nothing which appeals to that shell alone can have permanent life; but the prime impulses of the heart are, broadly speaking, the same in all ages and almost in all races. The brave man's beats as strongly in battle to-day, the coward's stands as suddenly still in the face of danger, boys and girls still play with love, men and women still suffer for love, and the old still warn youth and manhood against love's snares—all that and much more comes from depths not reached by civilizations nor changed by fashions. Those deep waters the real novel must fathom, sounding the tide-stream of passion and bringing up such treasures as lie far below and out of sight—out of reach of the individual in most cases—until the art of the story-teller makes him feel that they are or might be his. Cæsar commanded his legionaries to strike at the face. Humanity, the novelist's master, bids him strike only at the heart.

F. MARION CRAWFORD.

HOW TO PREVENT THE COMING OF CHOLERA.

THIS is the lesson which the modern physiologist has learned from his inoculations and his cultivation of micro-organisms: the seed, or the germ, may be either preserved or destroyed. If preserved, it may retain its latent life for many years. Then perhaps it may spring up, but may lack moisture and wither away, or it may fall among germicides and be choked; or, under favoring degrees of soil and temperature, it may fructify with amazing rapidity, pursuing its devastating course as it is carried onward from one favorable or unprotected circle to others, until its course is checked by natural decay or by the opposition of intelligent men who are striving to destroy all those terribly destructive enemies of the human race called zymotic diseases.

Before 1831 no such frightful disease as cholera had been known in England. It was quite new to our oldest and most experienced practitioners. But it had been expected. It had long been known in India. In 1817 it had been terribly fatal in the northeastern districts, not only among the native population, but with the English troops; and afterward it could be distinctly traced in a northwesterly course—first to Persia, then to Russia, through Poland to Germany, and then at Hamburg. Its arrival in England had been foretold, and (just as expected) it arrived on the northeastern coast of England, at Sunderland, for the first time in 1831. It extended over Great Britain and Ireland in a form quite new to the medical profession of the time. It then crossed the Atlantic, invaded the United States, turned to the southeast, attacked Spain, the north coast of Africa, France, and Italy. Such a course, overcoming all obstacles of winds and seasons and climates, mountains or the ocean, but following the track of travellers, at once pointed to the mode of spreading which has been observed in all subsequent epidemics. The cholera poison travels. In some way it is carried from person to person—sometimes by persons who have not themselves suffered from its effects. There is abundant evidence that in all the visitations of cholera it has been directly imported, has been taken to a place previously healthy by persons who have arrived from infected places, and has spread first to those who have had inter-

course with the new arrivals. How the poison is diffused is another question, and the answer must be that although other modes of spreading are not impossible, though the air-passages may sometimes first receive a dose of the poison, in the great majority of cases it is by drinking-water that the poison—the *bacillus* or *vibrio*—is multiplied and carried. It is the seed. It finds the most fruitful soil among people prepared for its cultivation by anything which is weakening or depressing: poverty, intemperance, want of fresh air, crowding, dirt, bad food, and, above all, impure drinking-water. When dirty, fecalized water is drunk the general health is lowered. When, in addition to filth, some poison, such as typhoid or cholera, is also added, then we have the seed sown in the soil most likely to yield an abundant harvest. Indeed, the more we learn of the origin, cause, or essential nature of cholera, the more we are led to the conviction that it is a poison which is distributed chiefly through the agency of drinking-water.

But filth is not more than a predisposing cause of disease. In all the visitations of cholera to England the poison has been brought in the same way, always from Hamburg, and always first attacking damp, low-level, crowded districts, where (as Sir John Simon put it) a “dense population lives in the atmosphere of its own excrements and refuse.” But mere dampness and the vapor of putrefaction, however powerfully they may aid in the destructive work of the cholera poison, will not generate it afresh. The seed is not re-created. It is preserved and carried. It passes over the strong, healthy people who live in high and dry places, breathe fresh air, and drink pure water. It decimates the feeble, sickly people who are crowded in damp, low-lying districts, who breathe foul air and drink fecalized water. In all the London cholera epidemics the districts most severely attacked were on the south side of the Thames. The people were living under very similar conditions. The only difference was in the source of the drinking-water supplied to them by two competing water-companies.

One company supplied, in the words of Simon, “as good a water as any distributed in London, while the latter was purveying perhaps the filthiest stuff ever drunk by a civilized community.” A supplied twenty-five thousand houses, B supplied forty thousand. In the A district thirty-seven persons died of cholera to ten thousand living. In the B district one hundred and thirty died to every ten thousand, a mortality more than three times as great. On comparing the two epidemics of 1848–49 and 1853–54, it was distinctly proved that improved water-supply led to a fall in the death-rate from one hun-

dred and twenty-five to thirty-seven among the people who drank water of "comparative excellence," and rose from one hundred and eighteen to one hundred and thirty among those who "drank from even a filthier source than before." And as with cholera so with ordinary diarrhoea, "the population drinking foul water suffered fifty-seven per cent more diarrhoeal mortality than the population drinking other water." As in the south of London in the two former epidemics, so in the east of London in 1866 another water-company afforded convincing evidence of the fatal effects of drinking a mixture of water and cholera poison. For the germ of cholera is a poison—not a mineral poison like arsenic or a chemical poison like strychnine, but incalculably more dangerous—a living poison which has the power of multiplying itself with amazing rapidity, a *bacillus* which, having found its way into water, either stagnant or running as a stream or river, spreads, under varying degrees of temperature, very much like the countless myriads of minute beings which make the sea phosphorescent with their gleams for many miles.

The rapid increase of animal poison is incalculable. An atom of small-pox matter inoculated as fluid or borne by the wind when dry multiplies itself many thousand fold in the person so poisoned. A minute speck of the mucous discharge from an animal affected by cattle plague, if put into the blood of a healthy ox, increases so fast that in a few hours the whole of the blood of the animal, weighing many pounds, is so poisoned that every drop of the blood contains enough poison to convey the disease to another animal within forty-eight hours.

Mr. Ernest Hart and Mr. Radcliffe proved conclusively that the spread of the cholera in the east of London in 1866 was distinctly due to the distribution of cholera poison by the East London water-works. It was ascertained beyond all doubt that their filtering apparatus had been out of order for a few days, and that during those few days the company had sent out polluted water from the river Lea either unfiltered or filtered very imperfectly. And it was discovered also that just at that time the Lea had been infected by the discharges from some cholera patients who lived in a cottage which was drained into the river. These patients had arrived at Southampton suffering from cholera in its early or latent stage, or were supposed to have recovered and allowed to pass on to the cottage. They infected the river first and the district supplied by the water-company afterward. This accident or ignorance or carelessness clearly led to sixteen thousand

attacks of cholera and the death of six thousand victims who were supplied with the poisoned water.

We have no test on which we can rely to decide if water which has been filtered contains organisms hurtful to human beings. There are chemical tests which will decide whether organic matter is present in water or not, or present in large or small proportions; but they cannot determine whether the organisms are injurious to health. Even the microscopical evidence of the existence of various species of *bacteria* can only determine if they are all varieties supposed to be innocuous or if any distinct species known to be dangerous are present. The absence or presence of microphytes or their spores in water and the properties of these organisms, how they differ from one another and how far they constitute sources of danger to mankind, should be made at once the subject of investigation. Such an inquiry could be carried out only by governments, and it is one which the United States of America might undertake with the cordial support of the scientific world. In the mean time we may all endeavor to prevent the supply of water from any polluted source. Once polluted, it is very doubtful if any process of filtration or precipitation will completely purify it. And even if sent out fairly pure from the reservoirs of water-companies, it may be contaminated by suction into broken or leaking pipes.

The house-cistern may be another source of danger to which every household is exposed so long as the supply is only daily, not constant. If the water-companies obtained their supply from sources not liable to pollution, neither filtration nor boiling would be necessary. But then there should be a constant service and no house-cistern in which the water might become impure after it had been delivered. With only a daily service into a house-cistern, stirring up any deposit every time the water comes into the cistern, every house should have its own filter. But if the filter is not pure it is worse than useless. Water that passes through a dirty filter is worse than unfiltered water. Therefore the porous part of every filter should be movable and be boiled four minutes once a week. Boiling all water after filtration for five minutes is an additional and often a necessary precaution, and in all epidemics of such spreading diseases as are carried by water, like typhoid fever or cholera, it is advisable to boil all drinking-water for fully five minutes, and all milk which may have been diluted or adulterated by the addition of water. A constant supply of pure water being the most certain means of checking the spread of such infective

diseases, the first demand should be in all towns for purer water than can be had from any river, however well the water may be filtered. Next we must have a constant supply of it and abolish all house-cisterns.

We must next ask, What do we know about the seed, or germ, or microbe, or *bacillus*, or *vibrio* which is the cholera or is the cause of the symptoms which are known as the disease named "Asiatic cholera"? Much that we know has been learned since the last epidemic of cholera in Europe. After the former visitations in 1831, 1848-49, 1853-54, all that could be said was that cholera was a "filth disease," that its essential cause must be something of the nature of a ferment which grows and is carried best in dirty water and is most dangerous among a feeble, dirty, ill-fed population. Now our pathological knowledge is much more precise. When Koch first published his discovery of the "*comma bacillus*" and made known his method of cultivating it on gelatine plates, many doubted how far the origin and propagation of cholera could be explained by the action of this organism. But more recent investigations have removed most of such skepticism, and we now know something of the natural history of the cholera microbe—that it flourishes in the presence of oxygen and may be propagated both in water and in earth. In the absence of oxygen it does not germinate and either withers away or forms active poisonous materials. Other somewhat similar *vibrios* appear to affect the respiratory more than the intestinal passages; so that, although infection by the air must be considered as possible, it is equally certain that drinking-water is by very far the most common mode of conveyance. The poison does not travel as a seed carried by the wind, but it travels along the lines of human intercourse, slowly by pilgrims and caravans, rapidly by railways and steam-vessels. When in 1883 the cholera *bacillus* was first described it was regarded as a straight slender rod. Afterward Koch showed that it was curved like a printed comma, and it is now generally recognized and designated "*vibrio cholerae Asiaticæ*."

It is very doubtful how the cholera was brought to Hamburg last summer. Many believe that as it followed the course of the railways from India through Russia in Asia to European Russia, it was taken by Russian emigrants on their way to America to Hamburg, the port of departure. There is much to be said in favor of this opinion and much on the other side.

"Abolish zymotic diseases." This is the task we should set before the nations of the world as the lesson taught by the epidemic of cholera

in 1892. Our governments, our municipalities, the clergy of all denominations, our own households, should learn that no case of cholera, yellow fever, typhoid fever, scarlatina, diphtheria, small-pox, measles, or whooping-cough can be looked upon as natural, providential, or unavoidable; but that the existence of such a group of preventable diseases is a proof of ignorance or negligence, and therefore a disgrace to the country, to the town, to the family. And when men learn how much easier it is to prevent than to cure—that none of these diseases are spontaneously generated—we shall have gone a long way toward their total abolition, and they may ultimately be banished.

So long as the drinking-water of the people in town or country is supplied or obtained from sources liable to pollution, so long will the danger to public health be present and occasional epidemics certainly arise. The modern custom of the disposal of the dead bodies of those killed by zymotic diseases by burial in the earth is a source of great danger to the living. More must be said as to the danger of poisoning the sources of water-supply by ordinary sewage and drainage and by the discharge of the cholera *vibrios* into streams and rivers. But here it is necessary to make better known the fact that the germs of infective disease may be long preserved in the earth. For this knowledge we are indebted to Pasteur, after the examination of the soil of fields where cattle had been buried whose death had been caused by that fatal disease known as "*charbon*" or splenic fever. The observations of Darwin "on the formation of mould," made when he was a young man, are curiously confirmatory of the more recent conclusions of Pasteur. In Darwin's paper, read at the Geological Society of London, in 1837, he proved that in old pasture-land every particle of the superficial layer of earth overlying different kinds of subsoil had passed through the intestines of earth-worms. The worms swallow earthy matter, and after separating the digestible or serviceable portion, they eject the remainder in little coils or heaps at the mouth of their burrows. In dry weather the worm descends to a considerable depth and brings up to the surface the particles which it ejects. This agency of earth-worms is not so trivial as it might appear. By observation in different fields, Darwin proved in one case that a depth of more than three inches of this worm-mould had been accumulated in fifteen years, and in another that the earth-worms had covered a bed of marl with their mould in eighty years to an average depth of thirteen inches.

Pasteur's later researches on the etiology of *charbon* show that

this earth-mould positively contains the specific germs which propagate the disease, and that the same specific germs are found within the intestines of the worms. The parasitic organism, or *bacteridium*, which, inoculated from a diseased to a healthy animal, propagates the specific disease, may be destroyed by putrefaction after burial. But before this process has been completed, germs or spores may have been formed which will resist the putrefactive process for many years and lie in a condition of latent life, like a grain of corn or any flower-seed, ready to germinate and communicate the specific disease. In a field in the Jura, where a diseased cow had been buried two years before, at a depth of nearly seven feet, the surface earth not having been disturbed in the interval, Pasteur found that the mould contained germs which, introduced by inoculation into a guinea-pig, produced *charbon* and death. And, further, if a worm were taken from an infected spot, the earth in the alimentary canal of the worm contained these spores or germs of *charbon* which, inoculated, propagate the disease. And the mould deposited on the surface by the worms, when dried into dust, was blown over the grass and plants on which the cattle feed, and might thus spread the disease. After various farming operations of tilling and harvest, Pasteur found the germs just over the graves of the diseased cattle, but not to any great distance. After rains or morning dews, the germs of *charbon*, with a quantity of other germs, were found about the neighboring plants, and Pasteur suggests that in cemeteries it is very possible that germs capable of propagating specific diseases of different kinds, quite harmless to the earth-worm, may be carried to the surface of the soil ready to cause disease in the proper animals. The practical inferences in favor of cremation are so strong that, in Pasteur's words, they "need not be enforced."

The relation between burial of the dead in the earth, the pollution of the supply of drinking-water, and the spread of cholera, typhoid fever, and such infective diseases, is lately being recognized, and the lesson cannot be too strongly forced upon public attention. A body full of cholera or typhoid *bacilli* is buried in the earth with or without a coffin. The coffin may retard the process of escape into the earth for a time, possibly until the *bacilli* have perished as putrefaction goes on. But sooner or later, under favorable or unfavorable conditions of temperature and moisture and soil, the *bacilli* infect the surrounding earth and the water which runs from it into adjacent rivulets. This has been amply proved in the case of the *bacilli* of typhoid fever. The terrible epidemic which devastated the town of Plymouth, in Pennsylv-

vania, seven years ago, was clearly proved to have originated in the discharges from one patient having gained access to the drinking-water supplied to the town. In Philadelphia about a thousand persons die every year from typhoid, and it has been distinctly proved that the water supplied to the city is contaminated by leaking and drainage from seven large cemeteries which poison the rivers and reservoirs. In the words of a distinguished physician, "these little drops of water, squeezed by Father Time from the dead, are loaded with sure death for the living who drink of it." Some persons doubt whether poison can be carried through the earth for any considerable distance; but the fact has been experimentally proved as to saline solutions.

It is no doubt true that the seeds or germs of epidemic diseases may be destroyed, wholly or partially, after burial by the process of putrefaction. Probably they are often totally destroyed. But occasionally they are preserved with all their destructive powers for many years. In one very remarkable case the seeds of scarlatina germinated after being buried for thirty years. In a Yorkshire village part of a closed graveyard was taken into the adjoining rectory garden. The earth was dug up, and scarlatina soon broke out in the rectory nursery and from thence spread over the village. It proved to be of the same virulent character as the scarlatina which thirty years before had destroyed the villagers buried in the precise part of the churchyard which had been taken into the garden and dug up. No other explanation of the outbreak could be offered. And what is true of *charbon* and of scarlet fever seems to be true of yellow fever. Indeed, the investigation as to yellow fever has been carried out much more fully.

It is vain to hope for the abolition of cholera if its *bacilli* are still to be preserved by burying in the earth the bodies of the victims. The dead bodies of cholera patients are not merely dead organic matter. All dead bodies, whatever may have been the cause of death, contain myriads of living organisms. As soon as life ceases, these organisms assist in the process of decomposition, form poisonous products, and may excite disease if brought by air or water into contact with living beings. But what is much more important is the fact that, in a proportion of little less than twenty per cent, the bodies buried in the usual way in the earth contain, in addition to the ordinary agents of decomposition and putrefaction, the germs of zymotic diseases: the seeds of scarlet fever, yellow fever, small-pox, typhoid, cholera—the germs of pestilence almost imperishable in the earth, ready after many

years of latency to revivify and recommence their infective activity. Any mode of burying the dead in the earth, with or without a coffin, exposes the living to unnecessary danger. Anything short of complete destruction by fire or by some powerful chemical agent must be powerless or incomplete as a safeguard. We segregate our living small-pox patients and make it a misdemeanor to expose them publicly. We treat cholera patients in a similar way and adopt quarantine restrictions to protect the healthy from infection; but when they are dead we dispose of their bodies in the very way most likely to preserve and multiply the disease germs which they contain and so assist in their future mischief-working.

The work of Pasteur, done mostly within the last thirty years, in determining the bacterial origin of many diseases, in attenuating the virus, and in proving the mitigating and protective effect of inoculating with it so attenuated, has led us a certain way in the direction of protection. But protection is not prevention, and it is prevention that must be the object of future efforts. Who shall say that it is impossible? Bacterial organisms, like all others, must have living, feeding, and breeding places. Take away their means of existence and they will die out, as have done the mammoth and the dodo. If vaccination were universal and there were no more unprotected subjects in which to settle, what would become of small-pox microbes, starved and turned out of house and home? What would become of cholera *vibrios* if they could be kept out of water?

Just now a disease as fatal as many of the most prevalent of zymotic diseases put together is either to be added to the number, or classed with them as the result of the action of a living organism, and therefore to be guarded against by attenuated inoculation or treated by germicidal remedies. We have not yet advanced far in this direction; but although Koch's work is still incomplete, there is good reason to believe that before many years have passed we shall be able to speak of pulmonary consumption as one of our vanquished enemies, and glory in another triumph of experimental physiology and of comparative pathology over a disease which is still fearfully destructive of human life and the cause of untold suffering and misery. In the Botanic Garden of Lyons flower-pots were filled with earth on the 16th of June, 1891, and some earth-worms were added in each pot, with some of the *sputa* of tuberculous patients and fragments of lung from their dead bodies. A month afterward, it was found that the earth-worms contained tubercle *bacilli* in large numbers, and that

guinea-pigs inoculated with them soon died with general tuberculosis. Whatever the *bacilli* may be, whether tubercular, typhoid, or choleraic, in bodies buried in the earth, it is incontestable that earth-worms, everywhere so numerous and active, may preserve the *bacilli* in their bodies during many months, still living and losing none of their virulent properties and power of rapid germination or reproduction. These are the grounds on which I assert that bodies after death from cholera, from consumption, and from any infective disease ought to be cremated, not buried. Perhaps the time is not very far distant when the revival of the ancient custom will not be limited to deaths from specific diseases, but will become universal.

If we are ever to abolish cholera we must do all that is possible, collectively and individually, to raise the standard of national health. Next, we have to protect the people from the seeds of infective diseases. We must intercept the transit of diseased travellers, not by unnecessary and vexatious quarantine restrictions, nor interference with commercial and social intercourse between healthy places; but we must insist on careful inspection of all arrivals from infected ports. The work of the family or the individual must be left to the family doctor. But the lessons which the cholera of 1892 should teach every one are that a supply of pure drinking-water must be obtained; that when this is impossible impure water must be boiled, and when any one dies the body must be cremated, not buried in the earth.

SPENCER WELLS.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF BOSTON.

WHILE on my tour of investigation I discovered that the schools of no other city were in better repute than those of Boston, and scarcely a day passed that I was not asked to express an opinion concerning them. In consideration of the good opinion so generally held of the Boston schools, I sincerely wish that I could close my comments upon them with the opening sentence, that is, without examining into the facts of the case in order to learn whether Boston had the game as well as the name. But for two reasons I cannot pass these schools by unnoticed: first, because the Boston child is entitled to as much consideration as the child of any other city, and, secondly, because a series of articles on American schools that contained no account of the schools of Boston would be as incomplete as a history of the United States without an account of George Washington. Being, therefore, in a measure forced by circumstances to write about the schools of Boston, I am in duty bound to speak as freely of them as of the schools of any other city.

If there be a city where we have every right to expect to find a uniformly high degree of excellence in the schools, and where poor schools are less pardonable than in other cities, that city is Boston. For the conditions under which its schools labor are, and have been for a comparatively long period, in a measure ideal. First, the school-system is not a machine, both principals and teachers being allowed enough liberty to develop their powers. Secondly, the appointment of teachers and principals is controlled, largely at least, by merit and not by "pulls." In the selection of principals special care is exercised. As to the teachers, although the graduates of the Boston Normal School appear, other things being equal, to have the preference, others are preferred if they are found better qualified than the home candidates. To a certain extent, the principals are permitted to select their own teachers, and teachers are not usually forced upon principals as in many other cities. Thirdly, no teacher receives a permanent appointment until she has taught in the public schools of Boston for

four years. Until that period has elapsed she is reappointed annually. Further, if, after receiving a permanent appointment, she proves herself positively incompetent, no amount of "pull" can keep her in her place. Fourthly, Boston, with its twelve hundred teachers, has now and has had for some fifteen years a city-superintendent and six assistant-superintendents. Lastly, the cost of instruction *per capita* is exceptionally high.

In view of their superior advantages, the Boston schools, generally speaking, fall far short of what they ought to be. Their particular weakness lies in the primary grades, the grammar schools being upon a much higher level. Indeed, taken all in all, so marked is the difference between the primary and the grammar schools that they scarcely appear to belong to the same system and to be in charge of the same superintendents and principals. But even the grammar schools are very uneven, the unevenness being marked, not only between the teaching found in different schools, but also between that found in the different class-rooms of the same school, excellent and very inferior teaching frequently going on side by side.

The Boston primary schools belong, in my opinion, to the purely mechanical drudgery-schools. The children are not obliged to sit motionless in a uniform position, it is true, but the teaching is highly unscientific, and the teachers, though not really severe in the treatment of the pupils, are nevertheless cold and unsympathetic. In the first school year there is very little objective work, what there is of it being limited to drawing, paper-cutting, and modelling. In the lower grades the sciences are not taught at all and in the higher ones but little is done in the way of science-teaching. The unification of studies is not attempted in the primary grades.

I shall first describe the work I witnessed during the course of an hour spent in the lowest grade of what I consider one of the best of the seven primary schools that I visited. I entered the room just as school was opening for the day. The morning session began with a song, and the song was followed by a short phonic drill in which all the children in the class took part. A short lesson in mechanical reading given to the whole class followed. That this reading was purely mechanical is proved by the fact that during the exercise the sentences read were of the following order: "I can eat," "I will wait," "*Can you eat?*" etc. When these two general lessons were over—they lasted only a few minutes—the teacher divided the class into two sections. To one of these sections she assigned some busy-

work,¹ and to the other she gave a lesson in number. The busy-work consisted of copying the following example, which the teacher wrote upon the blackboard: $00 + 00 = 0000$. The little ones were obliged to write this upon their slates over and over again for fifteen minutes, that is, during the whole period devoted to the number-lesson given to the other section.

The number-lesson that was given meanwhile was also perfectly mechanical, although objects were used during a part of the time. Indeed, educators agree that objective work can be made fully as mechanical as purely abstract work when the teacher is wanting in pedagogical spirit. During the first part of the lesson sticks were used, all the calculations being made with visible sticks. In the latter part of the lesson the calculations were all made with invisible cats. During that part of the lesson devoted to sticks the teacher held up one or more sticks as occasion required, and asked such questions as the following: "How many sticks are two and one stick?" "If you have two sticks and I give you two sticks more how many sticks will you have?" "If you have four sticks and I take two sticks away how many sticks will you have left?" When some ten minutes had been devoted to "stick arithmetic" the teacher said, "Now see what we are going to talk about to-day." She then wrote on the blackboard the word "Cats," drew a line under the word, and wrote under this line examples such as the following:

$1 + 1 =$, $2 + 2 =$, $3 + 2 =$, $3 - 1 =$, $4 - 2 =$, $5 - 1 =$, etc.

The answers were asked for after each example had been written and they were given in this way: "One cat and one cat are two cats," "Four cats less two cats are two cats," etc. The teacher evidently thought that the number-work was made concrete when the children said the word "cats" after the numbers. Nothing but sticks and cats were spoken of during the whole lesson. When this lesson was over, the whole class spent a few minutes in marching. After the marching, the teacher assigned busy-work to those pupils who had just finished their number-lesson, and gave a lesson in reading to the others. For busy-work the children copied on their slates the word "cats" as well

¹ By busy-work is meant the work performed by one section of the class while the teacher is imparting instruction to another. In the schools of most of our cities, the busy-work is of such a nature as to tax the child severely without being of much benefit to him beyond keeping him occupied. In exceptional instances, as at Indianapolis, whose schools were described in the December number of the FORUM, the busy-work is both interesting and profitable.

as the examples that had been written upon the board. For reading-matter the teacher wrote upon the board all sorts of silly sentences, such as "I see a fat cat," "I see a fat rat."

The above is a description of everything that was done in this class-room during the first school hour in the morning. Was there anything in this teaching that was not purely mechanical or that did not partake of the nature of pure drudgery-work? Owing to the fact that the children are thoroughly drilled in phonics, they become independent readers very early; but reading-lessons such as those just described are certainly not calculated to make thoughtful readers.

After leaving this room I heard some reading in the highest (third-year) class. I found it expressionless, thoughtless, and mechanical and, altogether, what I should call poor third-year reading. At half-past ten I entered a second-year class-room and looked over some of the slates in order to see what the children had done in the early part of the morning. I discovered that the busy-work of this class was fully as mechanical as that of the first one visited. During a portion of the first hour and a half of the morning session the pupils of one section of the class had written on one side of their slates the sentence, "See the sun rise," and on the other side had copied a number of examples from the blackboard. One of the pupils had written the sentence nineteen times and had written and calculated sixty such examples as the following: $12 + 3 =$, $13 + 2 =$, $14 - 2 =$, $13 - 1 =$, etc.

In another first-year class of this school the children had written for busy-work a slateful of the word "little." One boy had written it forty-one times and another thirty-seven times. These two, who were sitting next to each other, told me that they had been racing. The slates themselves gave evidence enough that distinctness had been sacrificed to speed, for the word "little" had lost all resemblance to itself when it had been written for the twentieth time. I was present also when the teacher of this class assigned some busy-work to one of the sections. This was similar to that given in the first room visited and consisted of the following example, which the children were obliged to copy for fifteen minutes upon their slates: $11 + 111 = 11111$.

During a previous visit to this school I was struck also by the mechanical nature of the work. At that time I heard much concert-work and a ludicrously mechanical concert-drill in phonics. One of the sounds taught was the sound of *sh*. The words "she," "ship," and others were used in teaching this sound. Each one of these words was sounded in concert twice in succession, thus: "Sh-e, she; sh-e,

she; s, h says sh; s, h says sh; sh-i-p, ship; sh-i-p, ship; s, h says sh; s, h says sh." I found that saying things twice over whenever occasion for a drill arose was a custom closely adhered to in Boston schools, whether or not occasion called for a repetition. When sh had been studied for some time, one of the pupils went to the blackboard and sounded at least twenty words that had been written upon it. The process was exceedingly tedious not only to the child at the board, but also to the others that sat idly by. Nevertheless, a second child was called upon to go over the same ground. None of the other pupils paid any attention whatever to what was going on at the blackboard. In another room the children studied in concert the long sounds of the vowels. Such words as "name," "here," "fine," "bone," and "tune" had been written upon the blackboard. The drill was carried on thus: Beginning with the word "name," the pupils (this time pronouncing the letters instead of the sounds) recited together in a perfectly rhythmical sing-song: "N-a-m-e, name; n-a-m-e, name; e at the end of the word makes the a say its own name, e at the end of the word makes the a say its own name; h-e-r-e, here; h-e-r-e, here; e at the end of the word makes the e say its own name, e at the end of the word makes the e say its own name."

I repeat that the work of this primary school was as good as that of any that I visited. It was only here and there that I found in Boston a primary-school teacher who did not teach mechanically and who was endowed with the spirit so frequently found among the teachers of the progressive primary schools.

In one of the poorer districts of Boston I found a primary school of a very inferior order both as regards methods and tone. I visited one of the highest class-rooms of this school just after the children had a written examination in arithmetic. I saw the examination papers lying on the desk and I asked the teacher's permission to glance over some of them. She answered my request by clutching the papers for dear life. Then she looked at the first one and said: "This is the poorest scholar in the class." I was not permitted to examine it. After looking over a second one she remarked, "This is also the poorest scholar in the class." She then looked at some twenty more and put them all aside with the remark that they all seemed to be the poorest scholars in the class. At last she found a passable paper and handed it to me for inspection. The teacher here broke off the embarrassing situation by saying to me, "I think we will have some physiology." Then addressing the class she said: "Begin your

physiology and go right straight through with it." The children began to recite their physiology in concert and continued to do so without a single break for at least ten minutes. As the recitation was accompanied by many peculiar gestures, it may perhaps be more appropriately designated as a "physiological performance." It ran as follows:¹

"My body is built of bones, covered with flesh and skin ; the blood flows through it all the time, from my heart. (The pupils here swept their hands up and down their bodies to imitate the circulation of the blood, and ended this part of the performance by pointing to the heart.) The parts of my body are the head, the trunk, the limbs. (The children touched with the forefingers of both hands most of the parts as they named them.) This is my head ; I am now touching the crown of my head, the back of my head, the sides of my head, my face, my forehead, my two temples, my two eyes, my nose, my two cheeks, my mouth, my chin, my two ears, my neck, my two shoulders, my two arms, my two hands, my trunk, my back, my two sides, my chest, my two legs, my two knees, my two feet (they sat back in their seats), and I am now sitting erect. I must be sure to keep my mouth closed when I am not talking or singing, especially when I am walking, running, or asleep. My two nostrils are outside doors, always open to admit air, and inside of the upper part of the nose there are two other openings through which it passes into the throat. I must not use my mouth as a box or pin-cushion; the pin or whatever I have put into it may slip into my throat and cause my death. . . . My hand is used in holding, throwing, catching, and feeling. I am now touching the palm of my hand, the back of my hand, my fingers, my thumb, my forefinger, . . . my knuckles, my nails, the ball of my thumb, and the lines where the flesh is bent. My leg has two parts: my thigh and my lower leg, and three joints: my hip-joint, my knee-joint, and my ankle-joint. My foot is used in standing, walking, running, skating, and jumping. On my foot are my instep, my toes, the sole of my foot, the ball, the hollow, the heel, the toe-joints, and my toe-nails, which protect my toes. My bones are hard, they make my body strong; there are about two hundred bones in my body. The bones of my head are my skull and my lower jaw ; my face has fourteen bones, my ear has four small bones, at the root of my tongue is one bone. . . . My upper arm has one bone, my forearm has two bones, my wrist has eight bones ; from my wrist to my knuckles are five bones, my thumb has two bones, each finger has three bones, making nineteen bones in my hand. My thigh has one bone, my lower leg has two bones, my knee-pan is the cap which covers and protects my knee ; in my foot near my heel are seven bones, in the middle of my foot are five bones, my great toe has two bones, each of my four toes has three bones, making twenty-six bones in my foot."

How long this process might have been continued I do not know ; but after it had been kept up for some ten minutes the teacher suggested a song. What wisecracks these big words must have made of

¹ The text-book in physiology used by the teacher was entitled "Object Lessons on the Human Body," by Sarah F. Buckelew and Margaret W. Lewis.

the children! But these words were comparatively simple for third-year pupils compared with those that were printed upon the tickets given to the good pupils of a Boston A, B, C class, namely:

"Reward of Merit. Presented to Master —— as an honorable testimonial of approbation for industry, punctuality, and good conduct."

In other class-rooms of this school I found things on much the same level. The busy-work throughout was limited to copying words and figures from the blackboard. In the lowest grade the children had written over and over again upon their slates, "5 hats + 2 hats = 7 hats." In another third-year room the pupils had been copying sentences from a slip of paper upon their slates, each sentence having been copied twice. The following sentences were written upon one of these slips of paper: "Put the tumbler on the table." "Fanny, tie the horse tight." "Tom has broken his skates." "It is my turn to jump." "May took the best slate." "The tree grew very tall." "How much did the sled cost?" "Put the pony in the barn."

Taken all in all, this is one of the poorest schools that I have ever visited. The fact that the school is situated in a poor district and attended by a poor class of children makes matters worse. The poorest class of children are most in need of good teaching and sympathetic surroundings. A single school of this nature in a city that has the advantages of Boston is one too many, but among the seven primaries that I visited I found three much upon the order of this school, the other two also being situated in poor districts.

An entirely different story may be told of the Boston grammar schools. Although much mechanical teaching may be found even here, the proportion of good work is comparatively large and the tone is much better than it is in the primary schools. Some of the Boston grammar schools are certainly among the best in the country. That the difference between the primary and grammar schools is so marked, in spite of the fact that they are in charge of the same principals, is, in my opinion, largely because the principals are selected rather for their general culture than for their professional qualifications. This circumstance exerts a more unfavorable influence upon the primary than upon the grammar grades, for the reason that those better acquainted with the subject-matter to be taught than with the manner in which the mind acquires ideas are likely to have less sympathy with children before than after the mechanical difficulties in reading have been overcome and the ability to cipher moderately well

has been acquired. Persons who do not understand the nature of the child-mind too frequently believe that it matters little how a knowledge of the rudiments is acquired, so that, in their hands, the primary schools are liable to become drill-schools, wherein the work is considered satisfactory when certain mechanical results are obtained in a given period of time regardless of all other considerations. Educated teachers who do not possess the proper professional qualifications consequently concentrate their thoughts principally upon the work of the grammar grades, where the subject-matter itself is much more interesting than in the primary grades. That so many Boston teachers, though scholarly, are weak in professional knowledge, accounts also for the fact that so much mechanical teaching is found in the grammar schools. Although many of the Boston teachers endeavor to improve their minds after receiving their appointments, the time spent in study is usually devoted to other subjects than pedagogics.

There is another factor, though of secondary importance, to account for the difference between the grammar and the primary schools. Separate buildings are provided for these schools, from one to three primary schools being in charge of each grammar principal. When we consider that the principals are obliged, not only to supervise the grammar schools, but also to teach in them ten hours a week, we find that the grammar schools necessarily receive the lion's share of their attention and that the primaries are more or less neglected. At a principals' meeting I heard one of the assistant-superintendents remark that the principals did not look after the primary as well as after the grammar schools. The consensus of opinion among the principals present was that they should be relieved of the duty of teaching, in order that more time might be at their disposal to supervise the primary schools.

For general excellence, tone, and spirit no school of the country impressed me more favorably than the Everett School. In language-work particularly the results were far beyond those generally found in grammar schools. Indeed, to compare the language, both written and spoken, used by the children of this school with that used in the average school throughout the country is, in my opinion, one of the best means of showing how much time and energy are wasted in the average school. In the Everett School language is not developed at the expense of other studies. In an eighth-year class a number of compositions were read in my presence, and they were, both in thought and in language, far above the average grammar-school work. In the

highest (ninth-year) class the principal, Mr. Walter S. Parker, suggested that I make a test of whatever nature I desired. I proposed a fifteen-minutes' composition on any topic in the history of the United States that the pupils might select. When I had mentioned the subject the principal informed me that the pupils had not studied history during the previous eight months. He thought, however, that the test might be valuable in showing how well the scholars remembered what they had learned of history during previous years. The pupils protested, but the principal insisted, and the results were exceptionally good. The subjects chosen were various, and not one of the pupils selected a battle or a war. The accounts of what they undertook were clear and full, and the language was beautiful. The following are a few of these compositions printed just as they were handed to me after the first writing. They represent the average class-work:

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Thomas Jefferson, our third president, was born in Virginia. His father was a planter and owned much property. He sent his son to college from where he was graduated with high honors. He became a fine linguist, excellent penman, fluent orator, gallant horseman, expert violinist, and knew besides Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian languages. To him do we owe the change of the pound, shilling, and pence, to our dimes, dollars, and cents. He was Secretary of State under Washington, Vice President under John Adams, and afterwards became President of the United States, serving two terms. He was often called the "Sage of Monticello," that being his home after presidential life. He died in the year 1826.

COLUMBUS.

In the year 1406, the city of Genoa in Italy, had the honor of giving birth to one of the noblest and most persevering men the world has ever seen. This man was Columbus. He was one of the many children of poor parents, who although poor, were industrious. Columbus' father was a wool-weaver, and it was only with the greatest of difficulty and sacrifice, that he was able to send his son to school. Columbus repaid him however, for he became a skillful student in astronomy and other sciences. Soon after leaving college he pined after a seafaring life. He accordingly became a sailor on his uncle's vessel, and here it was that his first ideas of another world began. In his many voyages around the world, he had noticed several things which led him to suppose that another world than the one then known, existed. But when he made known his thoughts, they were met with scorn and ridicule. Even learned men laughed at the very idea, and kings and queens agreed with them. It was not until the good Queen Isabella, of Spain, had determined to listen to the "foolish man," as he was called, against the wishes of the people, that the first ray of hope dawned upon Columbus' life. With a view of converting many poor savages, she succeeded in securing for him the necessary outfit of vessels and men, with which to take the new world by storm.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

A few days ago, on February 22, we celebrated the anniversary of the birth of the "Father of our Country." Although nearly a century has passed since his death, his memory is as dear to us Americans as he himself was to our forefathers. His life and his deeds are related to the rising generations who in turn narrate them to their children; and in this way, as well as by history, we have learned to love and revere the famous name of Washington. He was born in Va., the "birthplace of presidents," and, his father dying when he was a child, Washington received his early training from his mother. He had a comfortable home, but his mother saw fit to teach him while young to be self-reliant and self-denying; so, at the age of 16, after having received his education at the common schools of Va., he went into the wildest parts of his native State, among the forests, to survey land for his relative, Lord Fairfax. He lived in a hut, slept on a bed of dry leaves, sometimes his only food was acorn and nuts, and his only companions were the Indians and the wild beasts of the forests.

Mr. Parker attributes these results in language largely to the fact that the teachers in all the grades endeavor to lead the children to use choice language both in speaking and in writing. He said, furthermore, that the pupils were obliged to use their own words during the recitations instead of the words of the text-book, and that much could be done in the way of breaking pupils of the habit of using the words of the text-book by giving them very long lessons to learn in certain branches, so that they might not have enough time to learn them by heart and yet have ample time to read them over with sufficient care to get the sense. In this manner the pupils became enabled to give, in their own words, long accounts, both oral and written, of what they had read.

Another excellent school that I visited was the George Putnam School, at Roxbury, where much attention is given to natural-science-work. Mr. Henry L. Clapp, the principal, is much interested in this line of study, and he and his first assistant have made splendid collections of shells, minerals, and insects. Much is done in the way of drawing from natural objects, and these drawings are as fine as any of the kind that I have ever found in elementary schools. To those who are interested in teaching the natural sciences in the elementary schools, the George Putnam School is well worth a visit. Its admirable features are not limited to the science-work. Much is done to develop spontaneity and to make the pupils love their school. In the highest grade, a club has been formed by the members of the class, and from time to time meetings are held in the school-room during the last fifteen minutes of the afternoon session. These meetings, one of which I attended, afford a good deal of amusement to the boys. The principal

informed me that his object in organizing the club was to get the pupils accustomed to parliamentary rulings. Another interesting feature of the school, and one that acts as a stimulant to keep alive what the pupils have learned, is what Mr. Clapp calls "random recitations." The last twenty minutes of some of the recitation hours are devoted to these "random recitations," which are conducted by the scholars. Four subjects are usually taken up, five minutes being devoted to each, the pupils being allowed to ask each other any questions that they are supposed to be able to answer. After one of the pupils has asked two or three questions he appoints another to take his place. During the "random recitations" the class is full of life and enthusiasm. I found the children very quick and generally well informed. While these recitations are going on the teacher sits by and takes no part other than keeping the children from going astray.

In contrast to the grammar-school work just described I witnessed in one of Boston's celebrated grammar schools, among others, three lessons in geography so perfectly mechanical that they were altogether out of harmony with the reputation of the school. In one of the classes the teacher began the lesson with the question:

"With how many senses do we study geography?"

"With three senses: sight, hearing, and touch," answered the pupils.

The children were now told to turn to the map of North America in their geographies and to begin with the capes on the eastern coast. When the map had been found each pupil placed his forefinger upon "Cape Farewell," and when the teacher said "Start," the pupils said in concert, "Cape Farewell," and then ran their fingers down the map, calling out the name of each cape as it was touched. When the fingers were used in this manner the teacher imagined that the pupils were utilizing the sense of touch in studying geography. After the pupils had named all the capes on the eastern coast of North America, beginning at the north and ending at the south, they were told to close their books. When their books had been closed they ran their fingers down the cover and named from memory the capes in their order from north to south.

"How many senses are you using now?" the teacher asked.

"Two senses: touch and hearing," answered the children.

When the capes had thus been repeated a number of times the bays were taken up in the same way. The size of the country was also spoken of and impressed upon the memory by repetition. The

lesson throughout consisted of nothing beyond thus studying in concert a number of cut-and-dried facts; it could hardly have been more mechanical.

The second lesson also was limited to a mechanical drill in facts, and though differing in character from the first, was fully as absurd. During the lesson the teacher was standing at the blackboard mentioning facts or asking questions relating to geographical facts, and when the facts had been mentioned either by herself or by the pupils she wrote them upon the blackboard. The first topic under consideration was "Newfoundland." The teacher remarked: "Newfoundland is in the North Temperate Zone; the climate is cold-temperate." She then wrote the word "Newfoundland" upon the blackboard and the words "cold-temperate climate" under it. When these words had been written she asked one of the pupils to give the size of Newfoundland. While she was engaged with this pupil the others copied upon their slates what the teacher had previously written upon the blackboard. Those engaged in writing could, of course, pay no attention to what was said by those answering the teacher's questions. When the pupil called upon had given the size of Newfoundland, the teacher wrote upon the board, "Size—about 365 miles wide." When this had been written, the teacher asked a question of another pupil, the others meanwhile copying what the teacher had last written upon the blackboard. This process of copying was kept up until within a few minutes of the end of the recitation period. During the whole lesson no points were developed, no incidents were related, nothing but facts were mentioned.

A few minutes before the close of the lesson the teacher told the pupils to stop writing, after which she asked them some questions relating to the points that had been written upon the blackboard. During this part of the lesson the teacher said, "Children, you need not read the answers from the blackboard if you know them; but I have no objection to your reading them from the board if you wish to do so." When the pupils had finished reading all that had been written upon the board the lesson was over. I asked the teacher what the pupils did with the work on their slates after the lesson.

"Why, they rub it off," was the reply.

"Then why do they copy the words from the board?" I inquired.

"My only object in having them get the lesson in that way," she answered, "is to feel assured that they are all paying attention. Otherwise some of them would pay no attention."

What a peculiar notion!

The third lesson was conducted in the following way: The teacher, after telling the pupils to open their text-books at a certain map, asked them some questions concerning the location of places on this map. The pupils wrote the answers on their slates. This process was continued during the larger part of the recitation period, and during the remaining time the teacher asked the same questions over again, reading them from a text-book, and requested the pupils in answer to read what they had written upon their slates.

These lessons stand in marked contrast to the geography lesson given in my presence by Miss Rich, the first assistant of the Dwight School, which was one of the best geography lessons I ever attended. The recitation was upon Africa. Geography and history were beautifully interwoven, the pupils were full of ideas, and the enthusiasm throughout the lesson was great.

From the descriptions given it is clear that although some of the teaching in the Boston schools is excellent, unscientific teaching is accepted by the superintendents as satisfactory, which means that good teaching is optional and not obligatory and due, not to the activity and progressive spirit of the system itself, but to the fact that some of the principals and teachers are sufficiently interested in their work to do more than is required of them. That the bulk of the teaching is unscientific is evidently because the vast majority of teachers fail to comprehend the true spirit of modern methods and the principles underlying them.

But why does this weakness exist in a school-system that has labored under particularly favorable conditions for so many years? This, in my opinion, is due to the fact that far too little is done by the superintendents toward inspiring the teachers. In previous articles I have stated that I discovered upon my tour of investigation that the schools of the various cities had advanced in proportion to what had been done by the superintendents toward raising the standard of their teachers by instructing them in educational principles and methods. In Boston, although the number of supervisors is ample (there is one supervisor to one hundred and seventy teachers), nothing is done by them toward materially improving the minds of the teachers, their labors being limited to visiting the teachers in their class-rooms and giving them practical hints on teaching. That the average American teacher is too weak to stand alone, and that the

normal-school influence is soon lost unless she is inspired and instructed by the superintendents after she has received her appointment, is shown almost in its purity in Boston, where such unfavorable influences as politics and "pulls" are at a minimum and the number of supervisors is sufficiently large. That the Boston schools have everything in their favor and yet make a poor showing can, in my opinion, be traced to no cause other than the fact that the instructive and inspiring teachers' meetings are wanting.

There is nothing upon which the superintendents of those cities where the schools are progressive and where the best schools have been developed agree so generally as upon the fact that the main source of inspiration lies in the teachers' meetings. Mr. Balliet, superintendent of the schools of Springfield, Mass., says upon this point: "I devote most of my strength to the teachers' meetings. I find that it is there that I direct the work of the schools most effectively." Dr. Bradley, formerly superintendent of the schools of Minneapolis, says: "At the teachers' meetings I endeavored to get the teachers beyond the methods and devices to underlying pedagogical and psychological principles. I think I was more useful in thus getting almost every teacher to study and investigate for herself than in any other way." Miss Arnold, supervisor of the Minneapolis primary schools, depends largely upon teachers' meetings to inspire the teachers. Miss Cropsey, supervisor of the Indianapolis primary schools, says: "The teachers' meeting is by all means the greatest instrumentality for making progress." In Boston there is a principals' club that meets once a month, the meetings being conducted by the city-superintendent, and there are a few volunteer teachers' clubs that meet from time to time; but the superintendents do not meet their teachers for the purpose of instructing them.

The number of supervisors in Boston is ample for doing the most admirable work through the instrumentality of teachers' meetings. There being only twelve hundred teachers in Boston, the city-superintendent might conveniently meet all his teachers once a month by dividing them into sections of one hundred and fifty and holding two educational conferences weekly. And the assistant-superintendents might readily organize enough classes in psychology and pedagogy to meet all the teachers in smaller bodies once a week. I feel confident that until something is done in this way to stimulate the teachers no material advance of the Boston schools can reasonably be expected.

Boston has for many years had rare opportunities, so that, had the

proper progressive spirit prevailed, its schools might to-day be in advance of all others in the country. Judged by their reputation, it is not at all improbable that they were ahead in previous years. During the last decade, however, there has been a great educational revolution in this country, nearly all the good schools now existing having been developed within that period. It would appear as if the Boston schools had during this time been resting, meanwhile allowing the progressive schools to run ahead of them, leaving them somewhere near the middle of the list. If the Boston educators fail to wake up soon, it is more than probable that before another decade has passed they will find their schools among those at the end of the list. It appears to me that they do not recognize their position. At a principals' meeting I heard a member say in substance that he could not understand why people spoke so much of improving the Boston schools, as, in his opinion, they were already as good as elementary schools could be expected to be. At the same meeting I heard one of the assistant-superintendents remark that the Boston schools were ahead and that they must try to keep them ahead. There certainly is no greater barrier to progress than the feeling that things are perfect. The sooner the Boston educators recognize the fact that their schools can safely stand a material advance the better will be their chances of getting them where they belong.

J. M. RICE.

THE FUTURE OF POETRY.

As a critic Matthew Arnold has moments when he irritates; he tempts one at times to lay hands on father Parmenides. He writes occasionally as if he had bought Truth at a fair, as Englishmen used to do their wives, and had put a rope around her neck and led her away by main force to mutual dalliance. But when all allowances are made, what a victorious figure he appears! Sainte-Beuve, a man of peace, is not comparable with him in effectiveness. His life was one long war against fixed ideas and formulas and flourishing mediocrity. He moved with the confident assurance of the Greek hero, clad first in his own invulnerability and then in the armor of the goddess. His main effort was to impose poetry on mankind. He believed that men and women would be, if not saved, at least made more interesting by an habitual use of poetry. He prescribed poetry for most of the maladies of the age. "The future of poetry," he wrote in his introduction to Ward's "English Poets," "is immense."

It is well to recur to such a word as this at a time when we are all taking stock of our poetical assets, when many people are resignedly prepared to think that we have buried poetry with the poets. One can only quote to those who hold this opinion what Sir Guyon says in the garden of Acrasia to the unfortunate being who prefers to retain his porcine shape when his companions are re-translated into humanity: "Let Gryll be Gryll and have his hoggish mind." It is not necessary to regard such creatures, but there are people not really in need of exorcisement who yet fail to give their days and nights to poetry, and with these we may speak. I desire to write, not a defence of poetry, but a statement of some of its rights, privileges, and ancient immunities. Of writing defences of poetry there is indeed no end. Why does not some one write a defence of prose? It ought not to require argument to compel men to do themselves some particular good, but it does. Nearly all the other arts have an official standing. They are endowed, perpetuated, made part of the apparatus of life. But we are as incredulous of poetry as of the sea-serpent, and the affidavits of those who have seen the thing itself do not convince a skeptical world.

There are those among us to-day who admit the power and persuasiveness of poetry but deny the necessity of the formal art. To them one must try to justify the ways of metre to men. There are those who think that faith, idealism, distinction, the very breath of the nostrils of poetry, the light of her countenance, are no longer possible now that science and material welfare and universal democracy have made us all so happy and so good. To such I must whisper that faith, idealism, and distinction are such admirable inventions that if poetry will help us preserve or win them back we ought all to offer up hecatombs to Apollo. And there are those who, seeing the great luminaries of English verse that assembled toward the beginning of the century and marched almost in a body over the sky of literature now sink one by one under the horizon grave, seeing this great collateral movement, feel that the vigor of the race and the resources of the language must be for a time exhausted. To these it is difficult to reply.

In literature nothing will answer but the actual performance. Yet it may be urged that poems, like men, must come of age before they can acquire a legal status. Neither new poems nor new bottles of wine can have that ethereal flavor, that cobwebbed crust which time alone imparts. Fifty years ago Tennyson was "Miss Alfred," Arnold was "a frog croaking upon Helicon," Hawthorne "one of those visionists." The mass of men feel vaguely that there is a divorce between poetry and plain fact. Poets and the critics of poets have indulged in such airs, have perpetrated such flights into the inane, that honest folk rub their eyes and stare and presently condemn as pure folly a business that makes such pretensions. Mrs. Browning with her chrysms and apocalypses and other ecstatic things which she pours so plentifully on the heads of her poets (and she deals mainly in poets), Tennyson with his injunction to "vex not the poet's mind," and others with more in a like vein, have spread abroad the impression that the largest, most humane, in reality the simplest of arts is a thing suitable only for idiots and children. Poetry has claimed a monopoly, a patent royal over imagination, insight, the feeling for truth and beauty, and has treated prose as a mere squatter on the lands of fancy and romance.

Surely prose, the prose of literature or of life, has an equal estate with poetry in all these fine things, though she may become a poor relation by her manner of handling them. Poetry does not need any usurped possessions, and it were better for her to throw all such back into the hotch-pot and have a fresh and fair division with the other heirs.

I do not see why Shakespeare must needs resign half his wits when writing the divine talk of his comedies, why Milton's imagination does not fulmine behind his high-banked, heaven-filling prose sentences, why Burke should not be the inspired reporter of the Gazette of the World. No, the ideas of men are the common property of language in whatever form it may utter itself.

It remains for poetry to prove that by its use of language it raises such ideas to a higher power, gives them a more lasting effect. Literature was not invented yesterday and the common consent of mankind allows this claim. Thirty centuries of succession have made the throne of literature legitimate in the line of poetry. But some of its causes of superiority are simple, are apparent, are almost elementary to state. To begin with, poetry is the shorthand of literature. Verse tends to concentration, prose to diffusion. The aim of all expression is definiteness, the vivid, instantaneous rendering of the thing thought. Verse by the pregnant lucidity to which its close-packed form compels it, by the images and metaphors with which it seeks to evade the use of many words, attains more successfully and more usually than prose the definite and the concrete. This concentration is an immense advantage. Mankind is on a long march and must discard all superfluous *impedimenta* and content itself with what is easiest carried.

Our memories find themselves more at home with language that has a cadence, a reverberation, an echo, than with unmarked, unmodulated prose. It is the fortune of a pithy saying to be turned to rhythm and tagged with rhyme. The intellects of children begin to walk with the aid of crutches of rhyme, and we older children in our conversation or our writing use the phrases and lines and couplets of the poets as we once did the chairs that helped our tottering steps in infancy. Furthermore, verse has an apparent symmetry, a balance, a proportion of parts which is wanting in prose and seems to answer to some need of the human mind.

There are authors, De Quincey among them, who claim that prose has laws governing its outward form as real if not as rigid as those of verse. But such laws are not discernible to the ordinary eye, and when De Quincey himself tries to exemplify them he seems merely to aim beyond prose and to fall short of poetry. Compared with the drill and discipline of verse, prose has the disorder of a mob, or at least the non-coherent movement of the procession of life in a city street. It may almost be said that verse is to prose as a bird is to the wind in which it floats. One is a complete organism with voli-

tion and power, the other a blind force. Poetry has a motion whose rapidity begets a heat and brightness that prose knows not. In the quickening revolution the wheel of language disappears, the author forgets himself, and we call the result inspiration. In its best moments poetry seems to bring out that harmony which is in immortal spirits, in the order of nature—and dissonance and discord melt in song.

It is unfortunate that such words as song, measure, harmony, and others are indifferently applied to two arts, poetry and music. Music, the Cinderella of the arts, "made in the last promotion of the blest," seems disposed of late to take advantage of this confusion to subject her elder sister to her rule. "If music and sweet poetry agree"—but do they? I cannot see that poetry and music are any nearer related than mathematics and music. All three have in number a common property. In this sense poetry and music may be one, and so may poetry and the integral calculus and poetry and a great many other things. When we reach back to the basal unity we may call it music or what we will, but in this world of difference it is well enough for every tub to stand on its own bottom. For the confounding of things which are essentially separate is the root of all sophistication. An artist who talks of a "symphony in yellow," or a musician who calls his composition a "tone-poem," is on the road to taking a silk umbrella out of a stand in which he has placed a cotton one. The business of *meum* and *tuum* is difficult enough in this enticing world without morality being relaxed in the sphere of art.

Sidney Lanier thought that verse was the art of harmonious sound. In a language like ours where sibilants, and not only sibilants but the dental sounds, hiss like adders, harmonious sound is difficult. Any one who has noticed in congregational singing, where words are pronounced in volume, the hiss which every half-second runs through the house, like the salutation to Satan on his return to the infernal dominions in Milton, must doubt the malleability of words into music. Shelley, in the parlance we have to use, is a musical poet, but he is full of such lines as "In the first, sweet sleep of night," "The earth in fresh leaves drest," which are poetic enough, but fly in the face of music.

A word is an *eidolon*, an image, very much more than a sound. The order of words in verse is a movement, a dance, an intricate procession marching and countermarching, rather than a musical composition. Of course, as words are symbols of everything, they are necessarily symbols of nature's harmonic sound. But it may be remarked in parenthesis that, taken in large, nature seems to be deaf

and dumb. The leaves may whisper as they grow or the stars sing as they roll, but such sounds are not audible. Sound in fact is a minor event in nature's course. If music does not dominate poetry, neither does color nor the art of color. The Greeks, whose mythology is so marvellously acute, made Apollo the deity of both light and music, and modern research establishes the subtle inter-relation of the two forces. Verse uses both but is neither.

Many poets and prose writers have of late descended upon literature with palettes filled with pigment adjectives and have sought to render the effects of nature by direct transference. They seem not to know that poetry may be full of color without the use of color words, nay, may hold itself upright, as Dante said, without adjectives, by the verb and substantive alone. But even with adjectives the greater poets have an indirect way of using them. I have sometimes thought that they employ adjectives of spiritual import when describing material things and words of form and color when the content of the thought is moral or intellectual. This is, however, only a guess. Take Keats for example:

" As when upon a trancèd summer night
Those green-robed senators of mighty woods,
Tall oaks branch-charmèd by the earnest stars,
Dream and so dream all night without a stir."

Here is nothing paintable. One cannot paint a "trancèd night" or "branch-charmèd trees" or "earnest stars." The poet works by association of ideas, by remote metaphors, by mysterious suggestions, and thereby bodies forth a vision almost more real than reality itself.

I have tried to disengage poetry from those other forms of human expression which threaten to crush it out. Ours is an age of confusion. Nothing is allowed to be unless it is something else. It would save a world of trouble if it were recognized that poetry, in logical phrase, is a method, not a system; that it is a way of handling facts, not any segregated number of facts. We have to confront people who want poetry to deal entirely with emotion, entirely with thought, entirely with psychic philosophy, entirely with a dozen different things. There are critics who think that poetry, like charity, should begin at home, and that Pegasus must pace every inch of his native pasture before breaking loose into the wilds of space.

The claims of locality are especially strong in this country. We insist that our poets shall re-create their art out of their own American heads. I remember picking up a translation of the "Æneid" which

the author had taken the trouble to do in very tolerable blank-verse and happening on a passage in the preface where he nullified his work by protesting that to American readers a single stanza of our own Whittier was worth more than the entire poetry of Virgil. This disposition to make poetry a protected home industry is unfortunate. Nearly all the great poetry of the world was archaic at the period of its production; it sought out remote times and places so that its divine make-believe might have an air of possibility. No creator has ever come into the world without finding a chaos awaiting him, and whether the chaos be within him or without him or beyond him, matters little if he has the power to fill it with order and life. The poet is our modern substitute for the Universal Pan and the whole world is his province, not any special place or time in it.

De Quincey tells of an old Englishman, fond of discussion, who used to say to his guests: "Here I am, in my own house, at my own table, and not one of you has got the common decency to contradict me." Criticism, of late, has lost its gift of contradiction. We follow Sainte-Beuve's method, the method of the mirror, and write appreciations, subtle delineations of single authors; but we do not draw comparisons. Like Frederick's guards everybody in Sainte-Beuve is six feet high, and I am sure I have read the obituary notices of half a score of English writers as great as Shakespeare.

This seems an excessive allowance of greatness for the last half of the nineteenth century. It is barely possible that the constellation of our times will loom so large in the eyes of posterity. Indeed, it is hardly necessary to go back to Shakespeare to confront our late group of poets with comparisons. The great humanity of Burns, the kindling velocity of Byron, Keats' elemental largeness, and Wordsworth's brooding calm seem to some of us vaster poetical forces than our modern masters possess or are possessed by, and their diction has a sureness of ring, a certainty of stamp, which Tennyson alone of their successors has come near matching. Poets must have limitations, as houses must have walls, and readers unfortunately have limitations too; yet the repeated measuring by many minds of author with author will, in the course of time, give us some accurate verdict of the value of each. As Dr. Johnson says, we cannot call a river large or a mountain high save by comparison with other rivers or mountains. It may seem ingratitude to put our benefactors into the scales of measurement, but it is for their final good and ours.

Under correction, therefore, I am inclined to think that the de-

cadence of poetry, which, we are told, set in only when the superior allurements of Darwin and Spencer enticed away romantic readers, can be dated back early in the century. Even Tennyson kicks the beam weighed against any of his robust predecessors. By a sort of eclectic selection he seems to have resumed in himself many of the qualities of his immediate masters, but always with a loss of their primal vigor and freshness. Compared with Keats he is Praxiteles after Pheidias; compared with Wordsworth he is a chanter in a cathedral choir beside a Druid of the dawn. Arnold is a classic, but is he not at the foot of his class? Did ever poet before cast his thought into such perfect mould with so little fire to fuse his materials? Browning, since I must speak my mind without fear of those societies which menace the happiness of mankind and make plain people think that poetry, in Hazlitt's phrase, will bite them—Browning seems destined to take the place of Pope and to vex the minds of future generations (for a very different reason, however) with the query, "Is he a poet?" Whatever Pope's deficiency in matter may be, no one ever questioned his supremacy in words. He sent his verbal shafts with the accuracy of Ulysses through all the rings of opinion until they fastened firmly in his target, the human mind. But it would take an order of the King to put any of Browning's phrases into general circulation. A writer may be stimulating, or subtle, or puzzling, but if he is not a master of language what has he to do with poetry?

To turn from these grappling giants of English verse to their American contemporaries and rivals is like leaving an arena where blood and bruises abound and entering the precincts of a cloister where every footfall is a monition to peace. It is also to tread on dangerous ground. There must be no light jests here. Our patriotism, our fidelity to those who have done us service make us regard our accepted poets as sacred beings. Indeed, the way American audiences treat their poets reminds me of a story which Voltaire, I think, tells of a tribe of Indians, who care nothing for their females as long as these are young and blooming, but as soon as they fall into decay conceive a mighty passion for them, so that with every tooth a woman loses or every wrinkle she gains she is sure of a new adorer.

Promotion with us goes by seniority. We grade the rank of our poets by the dates of their first publications. But distinction once gained, incense and burnt sacrifice is their unfailing due. Murder and arson and blasphemy would be better for our literature than this tepid acquiescence in everybody. The fiery enthusiasm which makes the

respective adherents of Gray and Collins, Keats and Shelley, Wordsworth and Byron want to burn the idols of the opposing camp is utterly lacking in our way of worshipping our poets. Only Poe has strayed into the strife of the world, has been loved and hated, has become interesting. Patroclus got more honor from the struggle of the heroes over his dismembered body than could have come to him by the most unanimous of funerals. One is tempted but has to fly the joy of saying something natural, something real about our American reputations. It may not be. Our poets have been taken as read, they have been laid on the table; by a vote of the majority they are beyond discussion—they are American institutions. Let us honor their names and not venture to ask whether, taken singly or in a body, they can challenge comparison with the masters of haughty Greece or insolent Rome or imperious Albion.

I am reluctant to accept the theory which makes the poet simply a child of his age, a creature of his circumstances. Great poets defy the calculations of average or the laws of evolution. They move the minds of men to make the events we note as epochs, as often as they follow after to record events. But doubtless a ferment of intellect or a rush of action are favorable to the production of poetry. The mountain peaks are lifted up by earthquakes which convulse the globe. Now the greater part of our century has been a time of settlement rather than of upheaval. The things which the revolutions of seventy-six and ninety-three disrooted are getting growth again. Man is taking back into his bosom the kings and dynasties he thought he had got rid of. More than this, he is attempting the laborious, the amazing task of making an aristocracy out of people who have become rich. The masses know what they want. It is material comfort, not equality or power. The next revolution will be for luxury, not for liberty. It is difficult for poetry to become enthusiastic over the distribution of pianos; a capon for dinner every day is not an abstract idea. And such intellectual stir as is known to our time has been inimical to poetry rather than helpful. The hypothesis of evolution, the rationalistic method of inquiry, have done their best to cut the ground from under the feet of faith and idealism. But poetry's killing foe is wealth, and wealth of late has grown beyond the dreams of avarice. Money which can call into existence many of the arts, which can rear architectures, lay out gardens, which can even greatly help in the creation of music and painting—money has no potency over the proud and disdainful Muse.

It is happily ordained for the good of the race that poets shall be miserable. In the old ballads the nightingale always leans her breast against a thorn. I hope there will never be a society for the prevention of cruelty to poets. Even when circumstances are favorable a great poet will manage to get his share of misery. At the highest pitch of his prosperity he will want to retire like Alceste into a wilderness. The comfort and contentment of a well-ordered world can be no joy to one who knows the dark foundations of man's estate; the spectacle of a snug, self-sufficing existence can be no inspiration to him who yearns for greatness and for glory.

One result of the toppling of our faiths in anything greater than ourselves and the vast increase among men of the comfortable belief in their own importance is the comparative disappearance or disesteem of poems of great length, such as are suited to embody the aspirations and instincts of mankind at large, and the production and popularity of lyric poetry in which every human being can utter his own cry of existence. If the process goes on the great epics and dramas of the world will infallibly be gathered into the museums, like the remains of the Pterodactyl or Megatherium, and people will gaze on them with wonder and marvel at the energy of the races which brought forth and endured such gigantic works of art. Every one will be his own poet, and lyrics, those structureless polypes of the sea of song, will be more plentiful than blackberries. Mr. Pater says somewhere, in that celebrated style which one must read with a book-mark, that lyric verse is superior to the other forms of the poetic art because it has a higher unity. It is a curious thought which finds a higher unity in Jock o' Hazeldean than in the Wrath of Achilles or the Fall of Lucifer. But the fact is our minds have become too feeble to take in more than one idea at a time. We can appreciate momentary impressions, the dip of a swallow's wing against the sky, the bending of a flower-stalk; but we are incapable of receiving any impulse from the large, the continuing things of life, from the roll-call of the stars, or the measured march of night and day.

It is ill prophesying when one does not know. The future of poetry is as certain as the future of anything else; but the poetry of the future—to that we cannot give a date or description. At any moment some poet may by a lucky stroke reveal an unsuspected pocket of golden ore and the world will be the richer for it. It may be that the circumstances which seem at war with poetic effort are just those needed to encourage and call it forth. Or we may indulge

the hope that the increasing wealth and luxury of men may have their usual end, and that corruption and decay may set in and flame forth in colors of such grain and dye that poets looking on will dip their pencils in the hues of sunset and eclipse and body forth visions to enchant the coming years. Or they may, penetrated with disgust at the spectacle, tune their lyres to hail the dawning of a purer, simpler time, they may sing of new Saturnian reigns—and so the circle round.

I began this article by quoting with joy a saying of Arnold's; I must end it with a reservation in regard to his position on poetry. When Shelley remarks that poets are the unacknowledged legislators of mankind, the assertion may have a certain vague and indirect truth, but it is impossible of verification in any exact sense. Poems as they have hitherto been constructed are not entirely schools of virtue, nor could any Justinian codify from literature a system of law or ethics which men would care to substitute for their present jurisprudence and morality. Similarly when Arnold expresses the belief that poetry will more and more draw to itself the forces of religion, he fails in that moderation of opinion and utterance which he so much commends.

Poetry is not going to save anybody's soul; that is what religion at least promises to do. Poetry is not the art of administering affairs nor the art of expounding prophecy. It is the art which fills our minds with the happiest and loftiest images and impressions, it is the art which makes us more contented within ourselves and more agreeable to those about us. It has its office to inspire, to charm, to console; its business is to show us that the things of life which most assert themselves to be realities are neither so real nor so important as they claim to be. Its future is immense, because when actualities oppress, when utilities task, when "tired of all these for restful death we cry," we need merely open our books and without struggle partake the strife, without effort to attain the ease, without putting off mortality to have part in the immortality of those sole things which show a semblance of eternal life—the creations of the divine poets. Ponce de Leon sailed far for his fabled Fountain of Youth, but the wiser man is he who reaches down his Homer or his Shakespeare and discovers therein the spring the Spaniard failed to find.

CHARLES LEONARD MOORE.

HOW TO SOLVE THE HOUSEKEEPING PROBLEM.

THERE are two reasons for the turmoil and unrest in American housekeeping. One is the rapid change of fortune, so common in this country, and the other is the difficulty of adjusting the relations of employer and employed in a republic whose people are not free from aristocratic traditions and aspirations. If the essence of democracy is that all things should be at a dead level, the practical working of democracy makes everybody tumble over his neighbor in order to reach that level. Where all the atoms are free to struggle for precedence, social conditions are necessarily as unstable as the sea.

If the reader is not a recent immigrant, but has had some opportunity to observe the course of events in our country, he must have remarked how few families there are who retain the relative social importance they had a hundred years ago. Along the Atlantic seaboard, here and there in the fringe of the thirteen colonies, you may find people living on the same land that their ancestors owned before the Revolution and in relatively the same style. These people are usually outside the largest cities, which are the gathering-places of the new, and they are more frequently found in the North, for south of Washington the Civil War submerged everything.

For the rest of our fellow-citizens change has been the law of life. The course of our successful people may be traced in this way: born in an unpainted cottage on a husk bed, the youth goes barefoot to school, fights his way through college on an empty purse, marries, starts in his profession, and begins to rise. If the infant is born in the city, the chief difference is that he does not stop for an education, but hustles himself into business as soon as he can count. The lower the circumstances of childhood the greater the "bounce" they give the successful man, and the more he delights to boast of them in after-life. The partner of this progressive and, when he has used honorable means, truly respectable citizen is, if he marries young, a woman duly circumstanced like himself, possibly more gently conditioned, and usually of vastly greater social ambition. How must their style of living vary at different periods of life! What adroitness and alert-

ness they must exercise to make their domestic habits keep pace with their expanding fortune! What anxiety lest in an unwary moment they revert to the manner of a previous social condition!

I remember hearing a judge of the Supreme Court say that in his youth he frequently woke on a winter morning and found the bed covered with snow which had sifted in through the rafters, and yet in his age this excellent man found a house with twenty-two rooms heated by steam throughout none too great for his comfort. I know other people, and so must you, who were brought up where the whole family bathed in the kitchen sink. These people in middle age have separate bath-rooms for every member of the household.

Others of our friends began housekeeping without napkins; they now use different finger-bowls for each meal and have their dinner served in courses. It is marvellous how quickly the enterprising American accustoms himself to change of circumstances, even those most deeply impressed on his childhood. We see people who once thought a meal of salt pork and fried eggs a luxury now eating cucumbers in January without a shiver. We may know others that started in married life without a silver teaspoon who now are not content unless they can have strawberry forks and ice-cream knives. This change from a struggle for something to eat and drink to a strife for the most elaborate and luxurious way of accomplishing the eating and drinking is so common that it may be described as almost typical of our American life.

I am not lamenting the good old times. I know that, despite our enormous growth in wealth, social distinctions are far less marked than they were in pre-Revolutionary days. Nothing now commands any particular respect. Official life has lost nearly all its dignity. You may look out of your window and see the Governor of the State hustled off the sidewalk by a small boy. Once the whole school-house would have been drawn up in line and would have courtesied as the great man passed. The professions cannot maintain their precedence. The minister is no longer surrounded by a halo, and the college-president bows before the pork-packer. The editor has become the employee of a corporation. The army and navy, following European traditions, once piqued themselves on social distinction; but the officers are now obliged to marry heiresses to maintain their position, and competitive examinations have thrown open to every one the doors of West Point and Annapolis.

If you wish further proof that our ancestors were not more humble

and lowly in spirit than ourselves, look in Lydia Maria Child's "Frugal Housewife" (your grandmother doubtless had a copy), and there, amid directions for dressing tripe and covering up the pump at night to keep it from freezing, you will find most excellent wise counsel about living within your means, and lamentations over the extravagance of the period, and sage parables showing what becomes of the young people who buy alabaster vases for their parlors when they have not copper kettles for their kitchens. Our grandparents were no better than we, but they had not the opportunities for making money so rapidly, and consequently of creating social confusion on so large a scale. The conditions of life were more simple, and though Thomas Brooks, of Charlestown, might own silver plate whose weight was one thousand dollars (that was their honest way of estimating the value of their flagons and porringers in honest coin), his neighbors never expected to do more than eat their porridge from pewter. Now if everybody does not have silver plate, all have silver-plated, and a steel table fork is almost as much a curiosity as a warming-pan.

The gradual evolution of American housekeeping may best be traced in New England. The log-cabin and garrison-house period may be passed over with a word, because that time is sufficiently remote to have become picturesque, and consequently familiar as the theme of the poet, the romancer, and the antiquarian. Necessity made labor dignified in those days. The men worked in the fields, the women in the kitchen; but both men and women had a great many other occupations besides farming and housework. Both men and women knew the elements of several trades, and they made the things now bought at stores. It is as familiar as a Fourth of July oration to be told that the men used to shoe their ploughs with iron they had hand-wrought, and that the women spun and wove the cloth and household linen.

The next stage of social habits is illustrated by the frame house, examples of which still survive in many parts of New England. The house was built about the great chimney. The kitchen was the main living-room and the scene of all domestic processes. At either end were two small bedrooms, where the family slept because they were nearest the one winter fire. In front were the two "fore" rooms—parlor and "settin'-room," parlor and bedroom, parlor and store-room, as the case might be—and between was crowded a narrow entry with a staircase huddled up against the chimney. The path to the front door was rarely shovelled in winter, and the two "fore" rooms and the

entry were cold storage-vaults, except on rare occasions. Upstairs there was one chamber or more, but the greater part was probably an unfinished loft.

Housekeeping was easy in those days. The family lived in so small a space that house-cleaning was reduced to a minimum. Seldom more than one room had a carpet. There was no *bric-à-brac* to dust, no silver to rub, a half-dozen thin teaspoons being often the only precious metal in the household besides a string of gold beads. There was no upholstered furniture for moths and buffalo-bugs to corrupt, because painted wooden or flag-bottomed chairs often constituted the acme of elegance for the parlor. The family cooked, ate, washed, sat, sewed, and almost slept in the kitchen. No wonder that the housewife could do all the in-doors work, make all the clothes, nurse her children, "watch" with the neighboring sick, knit pillow-cases of stockings, piece scores of patch-work quilts, and braid dozens of rugs, besides finding time to go to meeting, attend funerals, and to lay out the dead.

The transition from the rural frame house to the house with modern improvements, which is the style that governs us now, began with the evolution of the dining-room. I thought at first that it was the stove that was responsible; but the stove and the various forms of cellar heat which have supplanted it were merely incidental and accessory. With the dining-room began "the putting on of style," the ignoring of the process of cooking, the separation of the household into the serving and the served. The kitchen became degraded; it was no longer the centre of family life, Mrs. Katy Scudder's "throne-room," as Mrs. Stowe calls it in "The Minister's Wooing"; it was a distinctly inferior part of the house, and as such was put in the care of inferiors. From this all sorts of specialization were easy. People must have wash-bowls in their rooms; the family ablutions were no longer performed in a tin basin or at the pump in the back yard. They must have a nursery for their children; in old days children were such a recognized adjunct of the family that mothers used to take their nursing infants to sewing-circles, to meeting, and even to balls.

With the specialized house began the rise of the servant-girl problem. In the log-cabin period each family did all its own work, and neighbors sometimes "exchanged." In the next stage families took a child to bring up or hired "help" from neighboring households; the "help" ate and worked with the family. They were of the same nationality and attended the same church. It was as nearly a demo-

cratic state of society as the world has ever seen. Traces of it still survive in our New England villages. Within a few years a lady of my acquaintance applied to the local washerwoman for her services and was refused. "But you do washing for other people?" "Yes," replied the matron of the tubs, "but you have never called on me." Instances like this make us feel that the republic is not wholly gone to decay.

The present state of American household service in the house with modern improvements, outside of the largest cities, may be described as the woman with one "girl." "Servant" the employers sometimes call her, but "servant" is a ludicrous term in the singular number. In the European sense, signifying a wholly distinct class of inferiors, servants are as impossible in a continuing republic as slaves. The change from the "help" of former years to the modern hirelings was accomplished in several ways. The development of the dining-room I believe to be the first cause. As soon as social distinctions began to be made, it was impossible to get American girls. The degradation of household service was completed by the introduction of foreign labor. The change was similar to that which took place in the factories, although the latter was more sudden. I have been told by a friend who lived in Lowell at the time exactly how it took place.

We all know that in the early days of Lucy Larcom American girls of excellent family and superior intelligence were employed in the mills. When summer came these girls, who had been brought up in good country homes, could not endure the heat and confinement of the city. They longed for the green grass and blueberry pastures of their childhood. They had to have vacations or they fell ill. The managers tried the experiment of substituting the robust Irish peasants who were coming in great numbers into the country. When the first Irish girl was introduced into one of the departments of one of the Lowell factories every American girl in the room left. The places were filled by Irish. In this manner room after room was vacated by one nationality and replaced by the other, until in a short time not an American mill girl was left in Lowell. The Irish race has become so assimilated with our own that we may forget how its first ignorant representatives appeared to our rigid New England parents. Alien in thought, habits, and religion, almost in speech, the early Irish immigrants occupied a position at the North almost as distinct as that of the colored people at the South, and "Paddy" had somewhat the same meaning as "nigger."

The quality of any work is ranked largely according to the quality of the person that performs it. When Irish girls were introduced into household service they carried the service down with them. Doubtless other causes besides immigration would have brought about this change. As soon as people began to get money they wished to live luxuriously. They bought fine clothes and found that to wear them to advantage they must refrain from labor. They filled their houses with modern improvements and discovered that the new conveniences required incessant care. Whereas houses in the olden time had dirt cellars and raftered garrets, they now have basements and third stories, painted, plastered, curtained, and as much trouble to keep clean as any of the first-floor rooms. As people became educated and travelled, they observed that life went very comfortably in Europe for the upper classes (to which theoretically every American belongs), and they thought they would try to import a few foreign notions into their own domestic management. Alas for silly human nature, always trying to overreach, to stand on somebody else, to gamble with fate! Our short-sighted newly-rich Americans did not reflect that to have upper-class comforts we must have lower-class service, and that when society is divided into fixed *strata* the state ceases to be a republic.

I suppose that we ought to regard with joy the long wail that goes up from the American household over its one "servant." We ought to contemplate with satisfaction the trials and cares of the mistress and the inefficiency and impudence of the maid. We ought to smile at the struggle for independence going on in the typical republican kitchen. I say "typical," for I do not know how otherwise to characterize the conditions of the mass of intelligent, well-to-do American citizens. If we were to draw our ideas of contemporary social life from the fashionable magazine stories we might believe that the only people living in this country were the families that kept a butler, a brougham, and a summer villa, and that the few outsiders existed only as curiosities among the canyons of the West, the mountain fastnesses of the South, and the remote back towns of New England.

In the absence of statistics I am unable to say whether the single-domestic or one-girl system is the most prevalent style of American housekeeping; but it is certainly the most characteristic. The primitive plan where each family does all its own work is found in every land; but in non-republican countries it is confined to the peasantry, a class that does not exist with us. The complex plan, where each

family supports as many retainers as it can afford, is found among the rich minority of our large cities, who cultivate, as far as they can in a democratic climate, the style of the European leisure classes.

It is to me an interesting fact that the characteristic American type of housekeeping stops at one domestic. In Europe, if people have any domestics, they have at least two. I suppose no English man or woman will ever be able to understand how families may move in society in this country (outside the largest cities) and keep but one maid-of-all-work. The life of the average housekeeper in a New England town is beset with cares and perplexities innumerable. With one domestic, who often cannot perform a single duty without oversight, with the care of the children and the family sewing ever at hand, with unannounced company arriving at any hour, the matron is expected to belong to a literary club, to have her meals served in the style of her neighbor who keeps several servants, to help get supper at the church sociables, to serve as director in the charitable society, and to be ready to receive callers at three o'clock every afternoon.

The last item illustrates the difficulty of the situation. In a rural neighborhood the occasional visitor would bring her work and expect to find her hostess likewise employed. In a large city the matron would have her "day," and having plenty of leisure, would not submit to its infraction. To add to all this, American women in moderate circumstances are probably the best-educated women in the world and the ones most eager for self-culture and most alive to the higher uses of life. The sufferings of such a woman, caught in the vise of the average American housekeeping plan, have been adequately described in only one book, "The Story of Avis." How many thousands of other women, perhaps without the artistic gift of Miss Phelps' heroine, have hopelessly struggled on, scourged by the Puritan conscience and stimulated by the democratic atmosphere, which makes no allowance for inequalities of fortune, strength, or ability, till they have yielded up their sacrificed lives!

Why do not American women keep more servants? To many people this would seem only an aggravation of the evil. It is enough to have one ignorant, wasteful, dish-breaking, relation-feeding foreigner in our homes; with two we should be obliged to seek shelter elsewhere. But suppose competent domestics could be obtained: their expense would place them beyond the reach of all but rich families. In no country is domestic labor so well paid as in America, and in no country is the service so unsatisfactory. Before the Civil War the

regular wages for the ordinary maid-of-all-work was one dollar and a half a week. Now the most ignorant importation from a European hovel, who does not know a dust-pan by sight, who "does not prefer" to wash, who will break and burn at pleasure and stop up the sink-drain without remorse, cannot be induced to come and board in any family at less than three dollars a week.

But the wages paid are the smaller item of expense. Where is the family that would dare offer in the kitchen any less costly fare than appears in the dining-room? In Europe the servants do not dream of eating the same food as the people whom they serve. In America a separate table applies to time and place only, never to things to eat. As Americans live better than any other nation, and as the cook has the first choice of everything brought into the house, the cost of the food of the average domestic probably exceeds her wages in every case.

Household service is better paid than almost any other manual labor performed by women. It is done under more comfortable surroundings than many kinds of work in factories, in sewing-rooms and shops. It must be the natural lot of the larger portion of women who marry. "Why, then," exclaims the woe-begone housewife, "is it impossible for me, willing to pay high wages, to get any trustworthy, efficient service in my kitchen?"

When people lament that intelligent, self-respecting girls will starve at any other occupation before entering household service, I think of the orations delivered at agricultural fairs. The city magnate, lawyer, banker, politician, or whatever he may be, comes out into the country, extols the beauties of rural life, exhorts the boys to stick to the farm, and exalts agriculture as the noblest occupation under the sun. I always wonder at the boldness of the speaker and at the meekness of the audience. I wonder that they do not punctuate every period with a chorus of "Why don't you try it yourself?" He knows and they know that nothing earthly would induce him or any other man wishing a comfortable income to depend upon one-horse farming for a living. He knows and they know that there is no political economist like the man who has got ahead in the world and wishes to restore the balance by shoving his fellows behind. He knows and they know that no occupations are so much to be shunned as those which editors and orators are always urging other people to undertake. The fault with farming is that it brings in no money. The fault with household service is that it commands no respect. Mr. Bellamy is not the only writer who has rebuked our inconsistency

in compelling those within our power to perform certain necessary labor and then in despising them for doing it. People will fight for glory who cannot be hired for money. The Sisters of Charity shrink from no service, however loathsome, because spiritual enthusiasm goes with it and honor is the reward of their order. Many women will cook in the homes of the poor on account of the romance of benevolence who would feel abused if they had to do the same work for their own families. So long as servants are regarded as a distinct class, separated from the rest of society by insuperable barriers, so long will there be no health in the social body.

The only way to make cooking, cleaning, and the other forms of housework respectable is to have this labor performed by respected people. Education or training is the first step in raising a workman in esteem. We ought to profit by the history of the trained nurses. A friend of mine visiting in Ottawa a few years ago was rather surprised to meet at various social assemblies a trained nurse who, as the guest of Lady L—, was the heroine of the hour. Knowing that the English are not wont to treat governesses or other cultivated people in their employ with special consideration, the American girl could not understand the enthusiasm with which the profession of nursing was regarded. The conservative English adopt some new ideas more quickly than we, but few Americans need to be told that nursing is now looked forward to as a profession by hundreds of American girls of good families and refined antecedents. The work is often hard and sometimes of the most menial order; the nurses have to wear uniforms when on duty, and they must become members of others' households; but their knowledge gives them recognized authority, and their service in saving life confers on them a badge of merit.

Another kind of service has lately risen in dignity because it has been taken up by cultivated people. At the summer resorts in many parts of the country, notably at the White Mountains, the dining-room attendance has passed into the hands of college students and local school-mistresses. A quick eye, a steady hand, a sure foot, and a long memory are the essentials for a skilful hotel waiter, and these requirements are admirably met by our keen-witted youth who are struggling for an education. Their position is recognized by those guests whose wealth is not recently acquired. I lately happened to be seated at table under the shadow of Chocorua with a gentleman who was a cosmopolitan of Colonel Higginson's description—at home even in his own country. Being familiar with the society of Euro-

pean capitals, this gentleman appreciated the social conditions of different peoples. When the pretty waitress, evidently the village school-mistress and probably a descendant of some Revolutionary soldier, came for orders, the gentleman at once addressed her as "Miss."

The great reason why housework is repugnant to self-respecting Americans is not so much on account of the work itself, for other kinds of labor are hard and monotonous, but on account of the conditions under which it is performed. The single domestic lacks society; she is isolated from the family life and she can never call any time her own. Girls will work all day amid the steam of a laundry, the fumes of a factory, the bad air of a sewing-room, because there they have companionship, their hours are defined, and they are their own mistresses when the day's work is done. It is impossible to have these conditions in domestic service except in very wealthy families, and there the workers must be branded as servants. As there is every probability that house-wages will go higher rather than lower, and as the girls will not come to the houses, the houses must go to the girls.

In thickly-settled communities with modern apparatus it is becoming more and more practicable to have household labor done outside the house. There is an immense waste of force in the average kitchen. The time, labor, and fire spent in cooking a dinner for a small family would often suffice for one four times as large. It is possible to make a great reduction in the kinds of food that need to be cooked at home. One important item that might be eliminated is bread-making. Everybody, except on remote farms, has given up the making of butter, and it is needless to state that the creamery grade is far superior to the average home-made article. The quality of bread could probably be as much improved if it were made scientifically in large quantities from the best material.

Other departments of housekeeping besides cooking can be handed over to skilled outside labor. All kinds of carpet-cleaning, rug-beating, and window-washing can be hired by the hour in cities. Even such daily routine as dusting, lamp-trimming, and dish-washing can be performed in the same way. Work of this sort in elegant houses must be done by people of intelligent minds and careful fingers who understand the value of costly *bric-à-brac*. It has opened up a new occupation for women of refinement suddenly thrown upon their own resources. If we could get rid of the old feudal idea which we inherit from England, that we must feed and lodge and exercise a paternal

control over all people in our employ, we could specialize our work to our own advantage and the self-respect of our domestics.

The latest phase of American housekeeping, which throws a hopeful side-light on the situation, is the "girl-bachelor" establishment, which is springing up in all our large cities. This method is probably derived from the customs of art-life abroad, where economy is so well understood, combined with a reminiscence of the girl's own school or college experience, when tempting spreads were evolved in one's study-parlor over a gas-stove.

This is the way one of a trio of young college women, two of whom had earned the degree of Ph.D., describes their family life in her class letter:

"We hire a house of eight rooms. [It was in the country.] All our laundry work is done outside. Our bread is sent up from the city. [Observe that bread-making is always given up when people are trying to live simply.] On Saturdays we hire native talent to come in and scrub. We have a boy to tend our furnace and do our chores. The rest we do ourselves. [They were all engaged in teaching.] Come and see us. Our house is made of India-rubber, and I wish you could taste my chicken croquettes."

There are hundreds of little flats in New York and other cities where two or more bright business and professional women have joined forces and solved the housekeeping problem, independent alike of the boarding-mistress and the servant-girl. Such a way of living does not admit of ostentation, hardly of ceremony; perhaps, like Mrs. Whitney's "Real Folks," the ladies may dine in their kitchen or "kitch" in their dining-room. But we may be hopeful about the future when people of culture are willing to perform the humble tasks of every day.

FRANCES M. ABBOTT.

IMMINENT DANGER FROM THE SILVER-PURCHASE ACT.

ON December 26 last, Mr. Foster, the Secretary of the Treasury, announced that in three weeks \$12,000,000 of gold had been sent abroad, all of which was taken from the Treasury. "Bradstreet's" reports that on the nineteenth of that month "the New York share market reached the verge of panic. Rates for called loans touched forty per cent." It was almost impossible on that day to borrow money in New York except with the agreement to repay in gold. The month of December has for twelve years past, with one exception, shown an excess of imports of gold, which have averaged \$3,800,000. Ordinary trade conditions at the present time furnish no reason for the exportation of gold. The fact that the stringency of the money market on December 19 was relieved by large loans of sterling exchange in New York by foreign bankers indicates that the causes for the exportation of gold are internal, and the financial journals of the country are agreed that the silver-purchase act of July 14, 1890, is directly responsible for the disappearance of gold from our country and the state of alarm which prevails in the money market.

Fear is an element in monetary conditions which may be as serious in its effects as reason, and the experience of last December indicates a dangerous state of uneasiness in financial circles. It has, however, been an evil in the discussion of our monetary questions that temporary and surface indications of disaster have been too often made the basis of argument. The greatest weapon which the inflationist legislators have had in discussion has been the repeated failure of predictions of disaster. It would be well if at last the business community were aroused to the contemplation of easily determined conditions which will bring us to the edge of a crisis only when the inevitable forward movement makes the crisis inevitable.

It is hardly realized by bankers themselves what an enormous change has taken place in the last five years in the relation of our

paper money to the gold which is available for redemption purposes in the Treasury.¹

Taking the last official statement of imports and exports of gold and silver for the five years preceding the 1st of December, 1892, it appears that the net exports of gold for the five years have been \$147,000,000, an average in round numbers of \$30,000,000 each year. In the same time the net exports of silver have been about \$64,000,000, or about \$13,000,000 annually. If, as is estimated, the net product of gold for five years available for coinage purposes has been \$95,000,000, it appears that we have sent it all abroad and drawn upon our accumulated gold to the extent of \$52,000,000. Our Treasury has since 1888 lost \$79,000,000 of gold. In the same time the Treasury has added \$168,000,000 to its silver fund.

The critical nature of our present situation appears not only in the smallness of our gold reserve, but in the constantly diminishing supply to the Treasury of gold through the legitimate channel of the collection of duties. From the Treasurer's report, No. 23, it appears that in November, 1889, the gold receipts from customs at New York

¹ The following table will illustrate approximately the change which has taken place. We had on June 30, 1892, in round numbers, which will serve best in such a discussion, the following uncovered notes for which gold may be called on demand :

United States legal-tender notes.....	\$346,000,000
Fractional currency and old demand notes.....	7,000,000
National bank-notes for redemption	27,000,000
Treasury notes, law of 1890	102,000,000
Silver certificates	331,000,000
A total of.....	\$813,000,000

We had on June 30, 1892, of available gold \$114,000,000, or fourteen per cent of the notes liable to redemption ; the available silver fund was \$448,000,000, or fifty-five per cent of such notes.

Only four years ago, on June 30, 1888, the corresponding notes were as follows :

United States legal-tender notes.....	\$346,000,000
Fractional currency and sundry demand notes.....	16,000,000
Silver certificates	229,000,000
A total of.....	\$591,000,000

There was then of available gold in the Treasury \$193,000,000, or thirty-three per cent of the redeemable notes ; of silver then available there was \$280,000,000, or forty-seven per cent of such notes. In other words, the percentage of available gold has fallen since 1888 from thirty-three to fourteen and the percentage of silver risen from forty-seven to fifty-five.

were 92.6 per cent of the total receipts. In November, 1890, the percentage of gold payments had fallen to 80.4 per cent; in November, 1891, to 43.5 per cent; and in November, 1892, to 7.8. In the six months preceding the 1st of December, 1892, the average of gold so paid to the Government was less than nine per cent of the total payments. It thus appears that gold payments at the custom-house by debtors of the Government have substantially ceased, and if the same fact holds in the department of internal revenue, for which returns are wanting, it may safely be said that the Government can no longer rely for its gold reserve upon the ordinary avenue of collections.

It must not be forgotten that of the gold in the Treasury \$100,000,000 are substantially pledged to the redemption of the outstanding legal-tender notes, amounting to \$346,000,000. If this fund be held inviolable, the appalling fact presents itself that we have \$467,000,000 of Government promises outstanding which have only \$14,000,000, or about three per cent of gold available for their redemption.

The recent heavy drafts upon the Treasury of gold for exportation are a sufficient reminder that even in the ordinary course of business two or three weeks may exhaust this whole fund in excess of the legal-tender reserve. When this occurs the Secretary of the Treasury must face the question of issuing bonds to maintain the good faith of the country. There is much thoughtlessness in the talk of the purchase of gold with bonds. It is forgotten that this purchase must be made from abroad and with the cooperation of the banks if they are to avail anything. If the Treasury merely buys gold from our banks they can at once secure their gold again by presenting government notes for redemption in gold. If we drained gold from Europe the conversion of our securities into money and the disruption of the money market would be likely to follow.

The movements of foreign countries toward a gold standard have been small, slow, and cautious, but nevertheless have disturbed the money market. Indeed, the results of an issue of United States bonds to secure gold may be well dreaded in the financial world. From all the present uncertainty we may be relieved by repeal of the silver-purchase act. It would be an announcement that this Government will no longer experiment or trifle with its gold standard, and our ability to maintain the present silver-circulation would not be questioned.

At the present time our Government stands in the market to take the total product of the mines of our country, saving that which is used in the arts, and every ounce of silver purchased is hoarded in

the Treasury vaults. So long as a gold standard is maintained our hoarded silver is worse than worthless. It cannot be sold for gold, as there are no purchasers. Even to begin the sale of our hundreds of millions would wreck the silver market and shake the world's finances. When silver was in full repute, Germany, by slow sales, disposed of \$140,000,000 and reduced the world's price from fifty-nine and one-half pence to fifty pence. Our silver hangs, therefore, as a dead weight in the arms of the Treasury, unavailable for redemption of government promises and a threat to the world. Yet we continue to buy it at the rate of nearly \$1,000,000 a week.

There is no reason to suppose that, under any legislation which may be enacted for the use of silver as money, the fluctuations in the market price will be materially affected. What a silver standard means to the country appears in the fluctuations of silver during the last fiscal year. There was a variation in the price during the year from \$1.016 to \$0.855 per fine ounce. The value of the silver contained in the silver dollar varied at these prices from 78.6 cents to 64.2 cents, showing a difference in the price of silver of sixteen cents an ounce and in the value of the dollar of nearly thirteen cents. The total of the silver coin and bullion stock in the United States is placed by the Director of the Mint on the 1st of July, 1892, at \$570,000,000. A variation of thirteen cents on the dollar represents the enormous amount of \$74,000,000.

The Comptroller of the Currency in his last report admitted that the 378,000,000 silver dollars coined under the law of 1878 had on October 31, 1892, a bullion value of only \$250,000,000, and showed a difference between the actual cost of the metal and its market value of \$57,000,000. He admitted that the silver bullion accumulated in the Treasury under the purchase act of 1890 at a cost of \$116,000,000 showed a depreciation in two years of \$14,000,000. Upon his showing, therefore, the country has actually lost in its purchase of silver in round numbers \$71,000,000, and in the last two years has lost at the rate of \$7,000,000 a year.

The silver dollar, which, at the enactment of the law of 1878, was intrinsically worth more than ninety cents, is now worth but sixty-three cents. The ratio between silver and gold, which was in 1872 about fifteen and one-half to one, is now about twenty-five to one. Supposing that our Government in 1890, instead of providing for silver purchases at a loss of \$7,000,000 a year, had devoted this seven millions to the purchase of gold, we could have offered a bonus of

two per cent upon importations, or issued two per cent bonds, and secured with seven millions of dollars \$350,000,000 of gold. Instead of this, we have been driving gold from the country and losing money in the accumulation of a metal which would be more valuable at the bottom of the sea than in our Treasury vaults.

If the law for the purchase of silver is repealed without qualification we shall then find, for the first time, what its natural price is, and if we continue to use it as a money metal we ought to approach the market like any other customer at a price which is not certain to fall continuously by virtue of the fact that we are a permanent customer.

If we reduce silver at once to a normal price we shall only do that with safety now which we must eventually do at a terrible sacrifice, to wit, liquidate our assets. And indeed, under our present system, maintaining as we do gold redemption of all our obligations, it is not material whether our silver dollar is intrinsically worth ninety cents, sixty-three cents, or fifty cents. It is material, however, that we shall not continue to accumulate assets which by our very accumulation are bringing us to a disastrous liquidation or to a silver standard of payments. It ought now to be settled whether we are to remain upon a gold standard or pass to a silver standard. The transition from one to the other will be more expensive with each year, first, because the more silver we acquire the greater will be our loss, and, secondly, because the continuation of paper inflation may go deeper even than the question of the silver standard and imperil our national credit.

It must not be expected that the repeal of the law of 1890 will be allowed to pass into a law without a most desperate struggle, because that law appeals at once to both branches of the silver supporters in Congress. The inflationist would see the expansion of the currency stopped and the silver-mine owners would lose their single customer. The contest will be more severe even than that which was made upon the Bland and Stewart bills in the late session of Congress. The struggle, when it comes, will be Titanic and final. The inflationists and the mine-owners will win, unless at last there is an uprising of the business men of the country, the organization of an army to march upon the mischief-makers at Washington; with this victory can be secured.

The National Silver Committee will throw its forces and money again into the struggle; appeals will be made through subsidized newspapers to alarm the timid and excite the ignorant. The stake for which the silver interests play amounts to more than the forty-five

millions of dollars which they receive from the Government for their otherwise useless product; their market in the next year and the years following as well is involved in this contest. They will not see that the cessation of silver purchases by Government would compel the whole world to join in the restoration of silver or share with us the shrinkage in money value. On the other hand, the business men of the country must insist that our monetary system be no longer prostituted to the support of a single interest.

If the silver-purchase law is repealed, silver will fall in price and many mines must be closed for a time at least. Well, why not? If each man answers this question for himself he will understand his own position better and profit by it. Is he consulting the financial interests of the country, or has he indeed become a party to a private scheme to make a single commodity more valuable at the expense of the people? Does he look with more complacency on a nation plunged into repudiation and disaster than on the closing of a few mines which are maintained out of the earnings of a tax-burdened people and out of the treasury of a government which is on the verge of borrowing to meet its legitimate obligations? The Farmers' Alliance plan is even better. Grain, tobacco, or cotton would be available assets with which to redeem government promises, because the world is buying each and all of them; but silver is now mined to no purpose, except that the owners may make a profit and the financial world be made to suffer more with every dollar they produce out of the Pandora pits. Why shall the world be made any longer a sacrifice to the prosperity of the silver-miners? Their ores will not rot or wear out; their wealth will merely lie fallow.

The time has come for the business community to lead a contest, regardless of politics, against the spirit of recklessness or indifference in which politicians are dealing with our monetary system. Those who have been making the fight in Washington for honest money have made it substantially without cooperation or assistance from the great interests involved in their contest. Appeals for this cooperation have been met even to the present day with the statement that if the moneyed interests take an active part in the agitation of public sentiment, the cry of "gold-bug and moneyed aristocracy" will be raised in Washington and will lend strength to the hands of inflation and class prejudice. It is high time that this error gave place to the truth. Such a plan of fighting insures defeat. The attack should be made not only upon the existing evils in our currency system, but to

prevent the repetition of compromises which have in the last twenty years only substituted one evil for another. The silver law of February 28, 1878, was a compromise with the greenback and silver inflation sentiment of that time and the silver-purchase act of July 14, 1890, as a political compromise with the silver interests of the West.

Recent political history ought to suffice as proof that the country is now ready for an aggressive movement to restore our currency to a sounder basis without compromise or concession. In the late election Mr. Cleveland abated nothing of his declared hostility to silver inflation and achieved a notable victory even in the very sections where inflation was supposed to have its greatest strength and to be fatal to the chances of any candidate who did not yield to it. The opening of the Fifty-second Congress indicated a certain majority in favor of the free coinage of silver. The Senate alone seemed doubtful, yet, in the House, a contest as bitter as has been known within a party for a generation resulted in the overwhelming defeat of free coinage, while a drifting, timid policy in the Senate resulted in the passage of a free-coinage measure. If, previous to the vote upon the Bland bill last March, the business men of the country had through their banks, their boards of trade, clearing-houses, and other organizations given warning to their representatives in Congress that they would no longer tolerate any trifling with our monetary system, we should not have been brought so near to peril as a tie vote, and a basis would have been laid for sound legislation at the second session. Yet it is a surprising fact that not one business man or organization appeared before the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures to raise a voice against free coinage. At the present time the most potent argument in Congress against the repeal of the law of 1890 is that the whole matter of monetary legislation should be postponed to the Fifty-third Congress. Unless the business interests of the country arouse themselves at once, it is not certain that even the Fifty-third Congress will not be encouraged by the remarkable apathy of our merchants and bankers to refuse again to act, or what is worse, cast upon some new compromise.

It is not so important to discuss in public prints the necessity for the repeal of the silver-purchase act as it is to convince business men that they alone can secure that which politicians cannot wrest from Congress. How long will political candidates be permitted to bid boldly for the votes of the Farmers' Alliance and presume with im-

punity upon the indifference of the great commercial interests which, if but slightly organized, could make or wreck the fortunes of political candidates throughout the land? The repeal of the silver-purchase act is an issue upon which a definite contest can be made between sound money and inflation. In the efforts which have thus far been made toward a repeal, a single question has been repeated by the "silver-men" so often as to give a plain indication of the situation. "What," it is asked, "do you propose to put in place of silver purchases?" There never was a time more opportune to answer definitely this question with the single word, "Nothing."

GEO. FRED. WILLIAMS.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE A FAILURE: SHALL WE ABOLISH IT?

THE relation of the Negro to the State and Federal Governments is yet an unsolved problem. Since slavery was abolished efforts have been made, some earnest, some not earnest, at a satisfactory solution; but all have been alike experimental and unsatisfactory, pleasing neither the men who made them nor the Negro for whom they were made. The first step taken to solve the Negro problem was the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which enfranchised the slave. This was one of the earnest efforts. This amendment was the work of men who were moved solely by a desire to do justice to the Negro without doing injustice to the white man, to benefit the late slave without profit to themselves. At the time of its adoption it was received with great bitterness by a large majority of the people of the South, who refused to give its authors credit for their real motives, but attributed its enactment solely to enmity toward the people of the States lately in insurrection. Of course it is useless to say that this feeling has long ago passed away, and the Southern people credit this amendment to its real and proper motive.

The next move made was the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, which, so far as it concerned the Negro, provided for his civil rights directly, and indirectly sought to secure him political rights by depriving a State which should deny him the right to vote of a portion of its Congressional representation. This measure was largely the work of men who were seeking advantage for themselves, using consideration for the Negro as a pretext. This was the first insincere effort to solve the problem. The next effort was the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, the effect of which was to clothe the Negro with political rights and absolutely to prohibit any State from denying him the electoral franchise. But twenty months had elapsed since the adoption of this amendment—not time enough to observe its practical workings, nay, barely time enough for it to get into practical operation—and yet this radical change in the fundamental law was made. This last amendment was purely a political move, made in the interest of a political party, without a thought of its ostensible

beneficiary, the Negro, and was then and is yet, with one exception, which will be touched upon later, the shallowest of all the pretences made of a desire to solve the Negro problem.

Under these amendments, acts of Congress were adopted peculiarly for the benefit of the Negro and intended to give him advantages enjoyed by no other race. He was made the ward of the nation. A special bureau was created to watch over him and his interests. Special laws were enacted intended to guard his right to vote and to have his vote counted. In short, the Negro became the object ostensibly of special solicitude. This was a degree of concern shown for no other race in the country. The Caucasian was and is left to get along as best he can under the ordinary operation of general laws. The native American Indian has no constitutional amendment nor legislative enactment making him a citizen and voter. The despised Mongolian, so far from being made either citizen or voter, is prohibited from becoming a resident. It was reserved for the African race, as a mass the lowest of the four races, to have its privileges made the highest and the most carefully provided for.

Thus there has elapsed more than a quarter of a century during which efforts have been made to solve the Negro problem by legislation along the line of enforced political equality between the races, and all these efforts, without exception, stand forth confessed failures. The problem yet remains unsolved. To the question, "Why?" I would answer that in attempting its solution the legislators seem to have lost sight of the great fact, shining forth from every page of modern history, that "where the Anglo-Saxon sets his foot there he rules." Into the reason for this there is no necessity to inquire. It is enough that the fact exists. Nor does the relative numerical strength of the races in any locality seem to have aught to do with it. Cast away upon an island inhabited by savages a rude, unlettered American or British sailor, and, if the natives do not eat him within twenty-four hours, in five years he will be king of the country. Whether it be upon the icy surface of Plymouth Rock or on the burning sands of India, from the moment the Saxon's foot pressed the soil, his domination begins. It is only with due regard to this fact that the Negro problem is capable of solution. While the Federal power has been engaged for more than twenty-five years in an effort to overturn this immutable truth with the "be it enacted" of the National Legislature, the people most directly affected have been steadily engaged in nullifying that effort and in trying to solve the problem

along the line of white supremacy. There are two ways in which this has been tried: the legal way and the illegal way.

I shall first consider the legal way, although chronologically it comes second. The only effort made, within the law, to deprive the Negro of the suffrage was the incorporation into the Constitution of Mississippi of what is known as "the educational qualification for voting." Briefly stated, this requires a voter to be able to read the Constitution of the State "or to understand the same when read to him." There is no concealment of the fact, nay, it is openly and candidly avowed, that the sole purpose of this clause in the fundamental law of Mississippi is to exclude the Negro from the ballot-box. In the first place, nine out of every ten white men who cannot read can understand what is read to them. The contrary is true of the Negroes. In the second place, the question whether or not the illiterate applicant for the suffrage can "understand the same when read to him" is left to the judgment of the election officers, and it is no more difficult to imagine what this judgment would be in the case of the illiterate Negro than it is plain the very power which framed the article intended that this judgment should be so exercised. This is the "shallowest" subterfuge to which I have already referred. Of the motives of the people of Mississippi and of the subject of their justification, a word later.

Let me now consider the illegal methods which have been resorted to in the efforts to solve this problem. These methods all resolve themselves into one effort, namely, to prevent, by illegal means, the Negro from controlling public affairs by his vote, which legally he has the right to do if he is in the majority. This effort has not been confined to any one State nor any particular section: it has been made wherever the Negro has been found in sufficient numbers to be a factor in political affairs. It is not a question of locality, it is a matter of race. The means used are not always the same: sometimes it has been fraud, sometimes it has been force, sometimes it has been bribery. In some places the leaders among the Negroes have been paid large sums to deliver their followers in blocks. This is easier perhaps than people not acquainted with the Negro imagine. As a rule, the Negro leaders have given out the tickets to be voted to their followers at the Negro churches on the Sunday previous to election day. Each Negro jealously guarded his scrap of paper until he deposited it with his own hands in the ballot-box. As but few of them could read (and those few were known to the leader), there was nothing

easier for the leader to do than to give out the opposition ticket instead of the ticket the Negroes thought they were receiving; and there are instances without number where this was done—for a consideration in cash. In other instances white rule was obtained by a fraudulent count after the close of the polls, either by a substitution of their ballots for those actually cast or by a total disregard of the ballots. Cases of this sort, however, were not nearly so numerous as people north of Mason and Dixon's line have been led to believe. In other cases intimidation was practised before the election, and the Negroes were given to understand that they could not vote for candidates representing the principle of Negro domination. There is no need to discuss the methods employed. We are dealing only with results, and the result in cases of this sort was that the Negro either stayed away from the polls and did not vote at all, or else he voted an open ticket for the candidates standing upon the platform of white supremacy.

I do not propose to discuss the right or the wrong of this suppression of the Negro vote, nor do I propose to enter upon any defence of the white people of the South for such suppression. Their defence is found in the fact that their civilization was threatened and they felt that they *must* defend it. Mistaken zealots and unscrupulous politicians had left them only the choice between a Hayti in the heart of the United States or a resort to some one of the methods outlined above. They chose, and I believe they chose with wisdom. Self-preservation is not only the first, but it is also the great, the overshadowing law of nature. In the face of the most strenuous efforts by those who did not understand the conditions, in the face of the fact that their State governments were in the hands either of the Negroes or of white men who represented Negro domination, in spite of all the power of the Federal Government available for the purposes of prevention, the white people of the South, by some of the means referred to above, overthrew Negro rule, even where the Negro was in the majority, and all over the South they have established the rule of the white man.

These are the simple facts, plainly stated, without any attempt to gloss them over or to apologize for them. What are we to deduce from them? I do not mean what opinions of the past, but what lesson for the future? The history of what has gone before has no value save as a guide for what is to follow; the record of the errors of the past is useless save as a finger-board for the present.

If the white people of the South, impoverished by war, bound and

hampered by adverse legislation directed solely against them, with large numbers of their voters disfranchised and all their offices in the possession of the men who advocated Negro domination, were able to overthrow that domination and assert the principle of Saxon supremacy, can any reasonable man suppose that those people, with all these embarrassments removed and all the conditions reversed, will ever consent to the subversion of the principle in which they believe and consent that intelligence shall again be ruled by ignorance? There can be but one answer to this question. It is equally clear that, with a part of the people attempting to work out the solution upon one line and the rest attempting to work it out upon another and diametrically opposite line, it will never be solved. The only hope for its solution rests in a united effort by all the people working solely for that end and without regard to sectional advantage.

But before we attempt to discuss a common line of action, or rather as a prelude to that discussion, let us take a look at the political results of the counter-efforts which have been made. The political result to the Negro may be disposed of in a word—Nothing. He stands just where he did twenty-five years ago—a cipher on the political blackboard, valuable only when controlled by other figures, and in nowise affecting the result by reason of his own worth. The result to the country generally has been to add a certain number of votes to the number necessary in the Electoral College to choose a President and to increase the membership of the lower house of Congress. The result to the Southern States has been to give them a greater weight than before in Presidential elections and to add to their influence in the Federal legislature; while the result to the Northern States has been correspondingly to reduce their representation and influence. And the same are the results to the two great political parties. The Republican party, by the Fifteenth Amendment, made for itself a club to use in political warfare. The Democratic party has now wrested that weapon from its grasp and is biennially using it to batter its maker.

This naturally leads us to the remedy for the existing state of affairs. In politics, as in all other matters, the base-line both of motive and of action should be honesty. That expediency which permits wrong to be done that right may come of it has no more place in the science of government than in morals; and in politics, as in mathematics, the shortest line to any point is the direct one. In taking the direct line to the successful solution of the Negro problem,

the two great bodies of workers will each have to abandon something, to surrender some of the ground which it occupies. The Northern idea of Negro political equality must be abandoned; the Southern advantage of additional political representation must be surrendered. This resolves itself into a repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and a remission of the question of qualification for the suffrage to the several States.

This is no new theory. Upon every sort of qualification save that of race the several States have the undisputed right to pronounce. Upon the age of the voter, his residence in the State, in the country, in the ward and in the district, his mental qualifications, in some instances his property, and even upon the voter's sex, the State alone decides without interference by the National Government. Why should race alone be an exception from the general rule?

It is a favorite answer to this question that a man's race is a thing for which he cannot be held responsible, and that therefore a State should not be permitted to disfranchise him therefor. Neither can an individual be held responsible for his or her age or sex, yet both are permitted to be made qualifications or disqualifications by a State. The illiterate condition of a candidate for the elective franchise may be and frequently is the fault, not of the man, but of his parents; yet he suffers therefrom. Why, then, I ask again, except the matter of race from this general rule of State control? That this action would be consonant with what is the acknowledged doctrine of the Democratic party cannot be disputed. Remission, or rather reservation, of as much of the power of government as is possible to the several States has always been and always will be the corner-stone of Democratic faith. I think it can be demonstrated that it is in line with the principle upon which the Republican party also won its first national victory. The issue upon which Abraham Lincoln was first elected President was the claim made by the Republican party that the decision of whether a State should be a "free" State or a "slave" State should be left to that State itself at the time of its admission into the Union. I take it that the matter of personal liberty, the question of man or chattel, is much graver, much more important, than a decision upon a question of political privilege. And if it were the doctrine of the Republican party to submit the graver question to the decision of the State, would it not be stultification to refuse to so submit the lesser?

The effect that the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment would

have is obvious. Such States as chose to debar the Negro from participation in elections would, under the operation of the Fourteenth Amendment, be deprived of such votes in the Electoral College and such seats in the National House of Representatives as were based upon the disfranchised Negroes. But the matter would be left entirely to these States. If Louisiana, for instance, desired to retain her eight electoral votes and her six members of the House of Representatives, she would leave the Negro a suffragist. If she desired (as she does) white supremacy within the law, she would surrender two or three of her Congressmen and a corresponding influence in the choice of a President.

To the white people such legislation would be a blessing. Criminations and recriminations over "bulldozing" and ballot-box stuffing would cease. The moral sensibilities of the people, which have unquestionably been blunted by the practices toward the Negro, into which they have been forced by dire necessity, would regain their normal tone, and we might hope for a return to that purity of politics which is now a tradition of the times of our fathers. To the Negro it would be no less a blessing. I put aside the matter of his personal safety and his freedom from molestation and consider the change as affecting him from a political point of view only. In a State where the color-line was drawn he would cease to be the political nightmare of his white neighbors and a political enemy to be held in a state of political siege. In many of the States, while the color-line would be drawn, the law would doubtless be so framed as to permit such Negroes as could qualify themselves by intelligence and thrift to step across it, and this incentive would result in the moral, material, and mental improvement of the race. To the whole country the gain would be still greater. Parties could then differ and men range themselves into parties upon questions of political economy and governmental functions; sectional lines would be wiped out, and a man's opinions, not his residence, would decide his political affiliations. The whole country would be made the Presidential battle-ground, instead of two or three States being selected as the field of the political trickster and the market of the political corruptionist. The purchase of the Presidency, which is possible where but one or two States are to be bought, would be an impossibility with forty-four States in the doubtful column.

I claim no originality for this method of solving this problem. I believe that it has suggested itself to the minds of many. The trouble

has been that no one has cared to incur the possible odium which might attach to him who should suggest it. But once proposed (and by "proposed" I mean formulated and presented for action), I believe it would be overwhelmingly approved. There is no doubt that it would meet with opposition, especially from some Democrats of the Northern States, who would be unwilling to surrender the electoral vote in the Southern States which would be thereby lost, and from some Republican leaders in the Southern States who are factors in the political sum only by reason of the Negro ciphers that stand behind them. But I believe that this opposition, together with that of those whose misguided zeal for the Negro would lead them to do him the injury of keeping him in his present condition, would be overcome by the vast majority of the people of the country who desired to settle forever the Negro problem on the basis of the good of the whole country and the benefit of both races, regardless of the effect of such settlement upon individual, sectional, or party interests.

JNO. C. WICKLIFFE.

A PRACTICAL REMEDY FOR EVILS OF IMMIGRATION.

THE discussion of the subject of immigration has now reached a stage when the calm consideration of rational and practical measures for the protection of this country must take the place of wholesale denunciation, wild theories, and impracticable propositions. That serious economic questions are involved in the problem is now more or less clearly realized by those who have heretofore not paid much attention to the important part taken by immigration in our material development, and whose apprehensions have been raised by the continuous stream of foreigners landed on our shores, and more recently by the possibility of the introduction of disease. The advocates of a total prohibition of immigration, or of such severe restriction as practically to result in shutting off the stream, now ask themselves if our country is prepared to dispense with the material that has developed its resources, that builds its railroads, works its mines, clears its forests, and performs the many different kinds of coarse menial labor for which native Americans cannot be hired. Every branch of activity in the land, in fact every American household, is deeply interested in this question and would be seriously affected by any radical measure aiming to cut off or materially to obstruct the supply of labor and of domestic service that our native population does not and will not render for many years to come.

The fact is perceived that there is a mode of treating this important question more befitting the dignity of an enlightened nation than the application of anti-Chinese legislation to European people, and that we can fully protect our people without taking action that will be disastrous to our own vital interests. I refer to the regulation and sifting of immigration as distinguished from total or partial prohibition, and as one who has by long experience in the ocean transportation business acquired some knowledge of this matter I venture to give the results of my observations with regard to it.

In most of the public discussions of the question there seems to have been a tendency to confound the subjects of immigration, quarantine, and naturalization, and to treat them as *one* question,

whereas each should be considered by itself; and although related, the measures called for to meet the exigencies of one do not apply to the other. Yet it is true that by a judicious enforcement of quarantine regulations and by changes in our naturalization laws, many of the evils now laid by an indiscriminating public at the door of the poor immigrant can easily be remedied.

In view of the probability of the reappearance of cholera in Europe with the approach of spring, the question of quarantine is at present of the gravest importance to the United States, and it appears of the utmost necessity that measures should be adopted to prevent the introduction of this disease through the medium of immigration. Heretofore it has seemed to be the policy of the Government, in times of pestilence, to rely entirely upon a quarantine at the port of arrival, where all passenger-carrying vessels have been held for an indefinite period, irrespective of the condition of the ports from which they sailed, of the countries from which the passengers came, or of the health of the passengers themselves. It has been proposed, as an effective measure of precaution against cholera, to prohibit the landing of any steerage immigrants in this country for the period of one year, while permitting American citizens, travelling in the steerage from Europe, to land unmolested, presumably because they will in some way be free from the infection carried by a foreign immigrant in the same class. The fatal objection to this radical measure is that which must be urged against any prohibition of the migration of people into this country. As long as our frontier lines on the north and south are not closely guarded and watched a large mass of immigrants will pour into this country, and if deflected from our Atlantic seaboard to Canadian ports and sent by railroad along our four thousand miles of frontier, they will slip into the United States at innumerable points without passing any quarantine. The risk of the introduction of disease will be increased tenfold under this condition of affairs, and instead of a measure of security, a new element of danger will be created. There are at present three well-equipped lines between Canada and Europe prepared and willing to take any business they can get. Canadians are by no means opposed to immigration and will welcome any immigration traffic through their territory, in the hope that they may glean something from it. Canada's uniform policy has been to encourage and stimulate immigration by cheap fares, and the Dominion has gone so far as to pay bounties to secure settlers.

The only rational way to solve this quarantine problem is to place the quarantine at the *port of departure* and there to hold the steerage passengers, under control of the United States consuls or of other United States officials, for such length of time as medical science shall consider necessary to effect a thorough disinfection of the person and of the baggage of the immigrant. When this is done and the quarantine at the port of departure is supplemented by a careful observation during the voyage and a searching examination on arrival, no lengthy quarantine on this side will be required, and the possibility of the introduction of disease will appear to have been absolutely removed.

The objection may be made that the United States has no power to enforce a quarantine in a foreign port of departure; but on closer examination this objection will be seen not to apply. It is true that this country can have no jurisdiction over foreign vessels in their home ports, but these foreign vessels regularly run to our ports and can be forced, if they do not comply with a quarantine requirement of the United States such as described at the port of departure, to undergo a lengthy quarantine on arrival, the mere threat of which will be sufficient to insure compliance, as no steamship line would for an instant hesitate to choose a quarantine of steerage passengers at the port of departure and before embarkation rather than a long detention of vessel, cargo, cabin and steerage passengers at the port of arrival. The United States Government, therefore, actually has absolute power to prescribe and enforce a quarantine or period of observation in the home port. Aside from this, however, it is of the greatest importance to the steamship lines to avoid any infectious disease, such as cholera, and as a matter of self-interest alone, apart from any other consideration, they would welcome any measure or adopt any precaution that should insure their passengers and their vessels immunity from the epidemic, for the occurrence of a single case of cholera on a steamship line is sufficient, in the present state of the public mind, to ruin the business of that line for an indefinite period of time.

As a case in point, I refer to the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, which company, early last summer, when the cholera threatened to advance from Russia into Germany, voluntarily instituted, and still carries out, a rigorous quarantine of all its steerage passengers at the port of embarkation for a period of five days before departure, during which time these passengers are under the careful observation of a corps of physicians acting under the control of the United States

consul. These physicians closely examine every passenger several times daily and supervise the disinfection of their baggage by sulphur and steam. The lodging-houses in which the passengers are kept are under the constant surveillance of the police, the health-officers of the port, and of these physicians. They are specially licensed by the steamship company for the reception of the company's passengers, and in case of non-compliance with the rules of the police, health, and medical authorities, under whose constant control they are, they are deprived of the privilege to lodge the steamship company's passengers. At the same time that these precautions were adopted the same company placed an additional ship's doctor on each passenger steamer and prescribed a most rigorous system of inspection and careful diet on board during the voyage. The result of these regulations, adopted without compulsion and solely with a view to avoid any possible case of cholera on the steamers of this company, was that not a single case occurred, although the company's port of departure, Bremen, is within two hours by rail of the infected city of Hamburg.

The details of such a quarantine at the port of departure can be left to the United States Government. The regulations established by it should be carried out by the United States consul and by physicians under his supervision, and he should be required to certify to the execution of the requirements prescribed by his Government. If the port of departure is not infected, a careful observation and disinfection in the ordinary lodging-houses should suffice; but if infected, a strict isolation in special buildings used for that purpose should be required.

The Committee on Immigration of the United States Senate recently addressed an inquiry to nine of the most eminent physicians of New York City as to "what means, if any, connected with immigration, should be at once adopted to prevent the introduction of cholera during the coming year." In reply, seven of these distinguished gentlemen recommended a quarantine or period of observation and disinfection at the port of departure of five days or more, with careful scrutiny during the voyage, as the most effective means to prevent the introduction of cholera. This opinion of the highest medical authorities in the country on the measures to be adopted against cholera ought to be conclusive.

A great variety of measures have been suggested for the regulation of immigration. A favorite theory appears to be the inspection of intending immigrants by United States consular officers in Europe,

and many people seem to consider this a feasible and desirable method to regulate immigration and to prevent the admission into this country of objectionable persons. In reality, this system, far from obtaining the results expected from it, namely, the sifting of immigration and the exclusion of those who would not be valuable acquisitions to this country, would give *us* the dregs and enable the countries of Europe to retain their able-bodied citizens. Consular inspection must take place either at the port of departure or in the district whence the immigrant comes. The inspection at the port of departure could be only a matter of form, as no opportunity there exists for a proper investigation of the character and antecedents of the immigrant. Nor could any statements made by the immigrant at the port of departure to the consul be verified or their correctness ascertained. Any examination of immigrants by consular officers must of necessity take place in the districts where the intending immigrants live, and the consul must inevitably rely entirely upon information obtained from the home authorities with regard to the qualifications of immigrants applying for consular certificates. These local authorities could, of course, not be compelled to certify to the character of the immigrant; it should be purely voluntary on their part, and in view of the natural desire on the part of foreign governments to prevent able-bodied men liable to military service and desirable citizens from immigrating, it is most natural to suppose that no favor will be shown to the good, but that the undesirable elements will be certified to with alacrity, the result being that those who are infirm or objectionable will easily obtain their certificates, while the healthy and morally fit will find it extremely difficult to obtain the testimonials required by the consul.

Most European immigrants come from agricultural districts and are widely dispersed over a large tract of territory in the various countries of Europe. It is obvious, therefore, that it will be an impossibility for the small number of United States consuls in these country districts in any way to control or examine into applications for certificates. Russian Poland, from which more than twenty-five thousand have annually immigrated of late years, contains but one consulate; Hungary, from which the annual immigration approximates thirty thousand, is also provided with but one consulate; the entire dual kingdom of Norway and Sweden contains four consulates. It is inconceivable that, even with a large force of officials, a proper and reliable examination of the immigrants in their various districts, many

hundred miles distant from the consulate, could be made. The Italian immigrant is now obliged to obtain a passport to enable him to leave his country, and under the Italian law such passports cannot be given to criminals. Yet the experience of the United States immigration authorities at New York shows that of the immigrants returned from the port of New York as criminals a large proportion was Italian, and all of these had been provided with the regular passports by the Italian authorities. The United States Commissioner of Immigration at New York reports the case of an Italian who arrived on December 7, 1891, and whose landing was prohibited on the ground that he was a person convicted of a felony and who had served out a sentence of ten years' imprisonment in the prison at Ancona for robbery. This undesirable immigrant had in his possession the regular passport, duly signed, sealed, and stamped, and on the back of the passport was printed in the Italian language an extract from the United States laws prohibiting the landing of criminals, insane, etc. This is a sample of the reliability of certificates based upon information received from the home authorities in Europe. It is clear that a system of this kind would not only result in the very reverse of what it is intended to obtain, but would degenerate into a most lamentable farce.

Another plan for the regulation and restriction of the immigrant traffic consists in the demand of a money qualification, the proposition most frequently suggested being that every immigrant arriving in this country should possess the sum of one hundred dollars. A requirement of this kind would exclude the very classes the coming of which the large majority of our citizens desire to encourage, namely, the Scandinavians and Germans, equally with those nationalities who are generally considered less capable of early assimilation with our people. The Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes, comprised under the general head of Scandinavians, show the smallest number of illiterates among all the nationalities that arrive on our shores, about six per thousand, or slightly more than one-half of one per cent. The average amount of money or money's equivalent brought into this country by these Scandinavians is about twenty-two dollars per head. The Finlanders, a most intelligent and desirable Scandinavian race, possess on an average about fourteen dollars a head; the Germans in the neighborhood of thirty dollars per head. According to the statistics of the United States Immigration Bureau, showing the money possessions of arriving immigrants, out of two hundred and

two thousand immigrants over twenty years of age who arrived in the port of New York from January 1 to November 1, 1892, one hundred and ninety-four thousand would have been excluded if the money qualification of one hundred dollars had been enforced; and it is interesting to observe that out of thirty thousand Scandinavians twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty-five, and out of thirty-one thousand Germans twenty-eight thousand, would have been unable to obtain permission to land in this country. It is therefore safe to say that a money qualification of any considerable amount would virtually prohibit immigration.

An educational qualification, *i.e.*, the admission of only those immigrants who are able to read and write in their own languages, if it could be enforced, would, while admitting Scandinavian and German immigration, undoubtedly exclude large numbers of other nationalities; but a test of this character hardly appears practicable. Nor does it seem desirable, as it would shut out from this country a large part of the coarse labor material that we require.

The regulation and sifting of immigration can most readily and efficaciously be carried out through the steamship companies and their agents in Europe. These agents are scattered in great numbers throughout the large districts in Europe from which immigration comes. They are under the direct control of the companies, subject to the regulations of these companies and to the stringent laws of their countries, as well as under the supervision of government officials, and are required to possess licenses before they are allowed to transact a passenger business. They can, therefore, be held by the steamship companies responsible for any objectionable persons whom they may accept as passengers, and can be subjected to fines and penalties for any violation of the regulations and rules issued by the United States Government for the admission of immigrants into this country. The agent is in most cases personally acquainted with those who apply for passage, and is in fact the only one who is in a position to obtain reliable information with regard to the immigrant. If it is made his personal interest to avoid the booking of any person who may by his return involve him in pecuniary loss, he may be relied upon to be extremely circumspect before issuing a ticket.

A formula should be prescribed by the United States Government for the examination of intending immigrants by the agent in Europe, and the immigrant should be required to answer satisfactorily questions that will prove his right to admission upon landing in this country.

He should be warned that, in case the answers he gives should prove incorrect upon further information or examination on arrival here, he will be returned; and he might be required upon arrival here to swear to the answers he has given if his case appears doubtful. A requirement of this kind, with the prospect of punishment for perjury, would undoubtedly operate as a wholesome deterrent. The United States Government, although unable directly to reach the agent in Europe, thus has complete control through the steamship company landing the passenger here. The steamship company can be and should be held responsible for the immigrant, and in case it should appear that the status of the immigrant was incorrectly given, the steamship company should be obliged to return him, and would fall back upon the agent through whom the passenger had been booked. In case any wilful violation of the regulations on the part of the agent or connivance with the immigrant is shown, the steamship company would be liable to a fine or penalty, which it would proceed to collect from the guilty agent. The steamship agents in Europe are now more or less familiar with the requirements of the United States laws governing immigration, and are now held by the principal steamship lines responsible for persons accepted by them in violation of the present regulations. They are therefore in a position to apply any further stringent rules that may be prescribed by our Government.

In connection with the proposed plan for the regulation and sifting of immigration through the agents of steamship lines in Europe—recommended by the United States Commissioners of Immigration, the Hon. J. B. Weber, and Dr. Kempster—the term during which immigrants who, after landing in this country, become burdens upon the public or are discovered to belong to the interdicted classes, can be returned, should be extended beyond the present period, one year. The steamship companies should be obliged to return such immigrants at any time within such period as may seem proper to protect our poor-houses, insane-asylums, and other institutions. This would provide an additional protection and safeguard, and is also recommended by the United States immigration authorities.

The principle upon which it is proposed to place the system of quarantine and immigration inspection is by appealing to self-interest to secure the regulation of the immigration traffic and its inspection at its fountain head. The examination by the agents of steamship companies in Europe is intended to sift immigration in the countries

where it originates, as an aid to the inspection upon the arrival of the immigrant in our ports. The opinion is frequently expressed by those who have not examined the process of the inspection of immigrants upon arrival that this inspection is lax. This, however, is a mistaken idea. A comparison of the present inspection at New York with that of the State Board of Commissioners of Immigration, prior to the assumption of the immigration business by the Federal authorities, shows a most marked change in the rigor of the examination. During the last five years of the control of immigration by the State Board, one thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven immigrants were returned to Europe; whereas, during the last two years and seven months that have elapsed since the United States authorities have taken charge of immigration matters at the port of New York, three thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight persons have been prevented from landing and have been returned to Europe. Under the regulations of the former State Board of Immigration, such immigrants as fell into distress within twelve months of their landing were assisted at the expense of the immigrant fund, resulting from the head tax paid by the steamship lines. In the year 1889, the last year during which the State Board of Immigration had control, there was an average daily attendance of such immigrants of two hundred and sixty-six. The Federal authorities, upon assuming charge of the immigration business, continued the practice of assisting distressed immigrants out of the immigrant fund, and the average daily number so assisted during the year 1892 fell, by reason of the stricter application of the immigration laws, to sixty, showing that the inspection of arriving immigrants at this port, under the able administration of the present Commissioner of Immigration, Colonel Weber, is not open to the charge ignorantly made by thoughtless critics.

The fear is frequently expressed that immigration will endanger our political institutions. If there is ground for this apprehension, the remedy lies in extending the time of naturalization and providing that citizenship shall be predicated upon an educational requirement. Under the present laws of many of our Western States, immigrants are naturalized after six months' or one year's residence in the country. If any real danger threatens from this source, an extension of this period of time will afford an effective safeguard, and naturalization should be taken from State control and intrusted to a Federal bureau. The labor force that we require for our material needs should not be intrusted with the franchise until properly conversant with our form

of government and imbued with the spirit of our institutions. It is admitted here solely for the purpose of doing the low grade of work for which it is indispensable and which cannot be furnished from our native stock. It should, however, be rigidly excluded from any participation in our Government until it has reached a stage of political intelligence that will place it on a par with the American.

If sanitary protection is afforded to our country by a careful quarantine of immigrants at the port of departure, if by holding the steamship companies and their agents strictly responsible for the sifting of immigration before embarkation, supplemented by examination upon arrival, and if, by guarding the avenues to citizenship, the integrity of our institutions is preserved, immigration need have no terrors for us, and we may continue to receive the beneficent stream to which we owe in large measure the present development of our country.

GUSTAV H. SCHWAB.

WRITERS FOR THE FEBRUARY FORUM.

MR. DAVID A. WELLS (*Tariff Reform: Retrospective and Prospective*) was born in Springfield, Mass., in 1828, and was graduated at Williams College in 1847. After a brief experience on the editorial staff of the "Springfield Republican," he took the scientific course at Harvard as a special pupil of Louis Agassiz. He was an assistant at Harvard and a teacher of science at Groton until 1857. During the next few years, he compiled several scientific works which won for him a wide reputation. In 1864, he published a political essay entitled "Our Burden and Our Strength," that created much discussion both in America and Europe. In 1867, after investigations in Europe as a member of a Governmental commission sent to study industrial conditions, he became a free-trader. He has since been a member of several Governmental commissions, has assisted as an expert in the management of railroads, and has written voluminously on economic subjects.

MR. WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY (*The Art of Writing History*), born in Ireland in 1838, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1861, he published anonymously his first work, "Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland." Then he turned his attention to philosophical subjects, and in 1865 his "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe" appeared, and won for him a place among the leading thinkers of the day. In 1869, he published a "History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne." For the next ten years he devoted himself to the preparation of a "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," the first two volumes of which were issued in 1878. He now holds an established position as one of the leading historians of our time.

DR. JOHN SHAW BILLINGS (*Medicine as a Career*), born in Switzerland County, Ind., in 1838, was graduated from the Miami University in 1857 and at the Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati in 1860. He became medical inspector for the Army of the Potomac and later librarian of the Surgeon-General's Office in Washington. In 1880, he was made president of the American Public Health Association. He has published many official medical reports, and contributed occasionally to the magazines.

MR. F. MARION CRAWFORD (*Emotional Tension and the Modern Novel*) was born in Lucca, Italy, in 1854, and educated under private tutors in Rome, at St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., at the University of Cambridge, England, and at the German universities. After travelling extensively in Europe and in the East, he came to New York, and in 1882 he wrote his first novel, "Mr. Isaacs," which at once leaped into popularity. He has since resided chiefly in Italy, and he has published many novels, among them "Dr. Claudius," "A Roman Singer," "Zoroaster," "A Tale of a Lonely Parish," "Saracinesca," "The Witch of Prague," and "Don Orsino."

SIR SPENCER WELLS (*How to Prevent the Coming of Cholera*), born in St. Alban's, England, in 1818, was educated at Trinity College. He studied medicine at Dublin, Leeds, and at St. Thomas' Hospital, London. He began his career as a surgeon in the navy and distinguished himself during the Crimean War by his services in the hospitals of Smyrna and Rankoi. After his return to London he won eminence for his treatment of the diseases of women. He was vice-president of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1879-1880, and in 1883 he was made president of the college and a baronet.

DR. J. M. RICE (*The Public Schools of Boston*), born in Philadelphia in 1857, was graduated from the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1881. He took a course of psychology and pedagogy at the universities of Jena and Leipsic, after which he visited the schools of various European countries. Dr. Rice, in the service of the FORUM, has visited the public schools in thirty-six cities, spending every school-hour in school-rooms, making the investigations upon which he has based these articles.

MR. CHARLES LEONARD MOORE (*The Future of Poetry*) was born in Philadelphia in 1854. He has been engaged chiefly in railroad work both in South America and in the United States. He has published several volumes of prose and verse. His "Day Dreams: A Century of Sonnets," was discussed by Dr. S. Weir Mitchell in the FORUM for June, 1892.

MISS FRANCES M. ABBOTT (*How to Solve the Housekeeping Problem*) was born in Concord, N. H., where she has always lived. She was graduated from the Concord High School in 1875 and from Vassar College in 1881. She has done considerable newspaper work and has contributed to the "New England Magazine," "Wide Awake," and other periodicals.

HON. GEORGE FRED. WILLIAMS (*Imminent Danger from the Silver-Purchase Act*), born in Dedham, Mass., in 1852, after his graduation at the Dedham High School in 1868 and at Dartmouth College in 1872, studied at the universities at Heidelberg and Berlin. In 1875, he was admitted to the Bar. He was elected as a Democrat to the Massachusetts Legislature in 1889 and to the Fifty-second Congress. He has edited "Williams' Citations of Massachusetts Cases" and several volumes of the "Annual Digest of the United States."

MR. JOHN C. WICKLIFFE (*Negro Suffrage a Failure: Shall We Abolish It?*) was born in Lexington, Ky., in 1854, and removed to Louisiana in 1881. He has been for several years one of the leading lawyers in New Orleans and was until recently editor of "The New Delta," a paper devoted to the suppression of the Louisiana lottery. Mr. Wickliffe has taken an active interest in all matters affecting the welfare of the South, and he has, at great personal sacrifice, been one of the foremost men in the movement against the Louisiana Lottery Company. In the FORUM for January, 1892, he contributed an article on the history of that organization.

MR. GUSTAV H. SCHWAB (*A Practical Remedy for Evils of Immigration*) was born in New York City in 1851. He studied for nine years in Germany, where he received his business education. Since 1876 he has been a member of the firm of Oelrichs & Co., American agents and representatives of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, of Bremen, Germany, and has personally managed the affairs of the company in this country.

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